

The War of Cataline / The Jurgurthine War

Gaius Sallustius Crispus (Sallust)

English translated by John Selby Watson. Introduction

Notes to the Latin by C. G. Zumpt.



De Bello Catlinario et Jugurthino

Gaius Sallustius Crispus (Sallust)

Both the originals and the translations are in the Public Domain.

Access Related Support Files and Links

[Warde Publishers/Dual Language](#) offers support files to supplement the reading experience. This website links to highly regarded resources for this title.

The website also includes opportunities to interact with other readers and the publisher. We look forward to the interactions and your suggestions about *De Bello Catlinario et Jugurthino*.

Documents found at the website include:

1. A .pdf of all the numbered footnotes in the text.
2. The Preface and Introduction (In English) to the Latin Notes by C. G. Zumpt is included in the support files.

SALLUSTII CRISPI

BELLUM CATILINARIUM.

1. Omnes¹ homines, qui sese student² praestare ceteris animalibus, summa ope³ niti decet, ne vitam silentio transeant veluti pecora, quae natura prona⁴ atque ventri obedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est; animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur; alterum nobis cum dis,⁵ alterum cum beluis⁶ commune est. Quo mihi rectius videtur ingenii quam virium opibus gloriam quaerere et, quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis est, memoriam nostri⁷ quam maxime longam⁸ efficere. Nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus clara aeternaque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortales certamen fuit,⁹ vine corporis an virtute animi res militaris magis procederet. Nam et prius quam incipias consulto, et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est.¹⁰ Ita utrumque per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio eget.

2. Igitur¹¹ initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit), diversi pars¹² ingenium, alii corpus exercebant; etiamtum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur, sua cuique satis placebant. Postea vero quam¹³ in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbes atque nationes subigere; libidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putare, tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum est in bello plurimum ingenium posse. Quodsi¹⁴ regum atque imperatorum animi virtus¹⁵ in pace ita ut in bello valeret, aequabilis atque constantius sese res humanae haberent, neque aliud alio¹⁶ ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneret. Nam imperium facile his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate libido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque¹⁷ a minus bono transfertur. Quae homines arant, navigant, aedificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam sicuti peregrinantes transiere;¹⁸ quibus profecto contra naturam corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta aestimo,¹⁹ quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enimvero²⁰ is demum mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui aliquo negotio intentus²¹ praeclari facinoris aut artis bonae famam quaerit. Sed in magna copia rerum aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

3. Pulcrum est bene facere rei publicae; etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est;²² vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet; et qui fecere et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem,²³ tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequitur scriptorem et actorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere; primum quod facta dictis exaequanda sunt, dehinc quia plerique, quae delicta reprehenderis, malivolentia et invidia dicta putant;²⁴ ubi de magna virtute atque gloria

C. SALLUSTII CRISPI

BELLUM CATILINARIUM.

1. It becomes all men, who desire to excel other animals, to strive, to the utmost of their power, not to pass through life in obscurity, like the beasts of the field, which nature has formed groveling and subservient to appetite. All our power is situate in the mind and in the body. Of the mind we rather employ the government; of the body, the service. The one is common to us with the gods; the other with the brutes. It appears to me, therefore, more reasonable to pursue glory by means of the intellect than of bodily strength, and, since the life which we enjoy is short, to make the remembrance of us as lasting as possible. For the glory of wealth and beauty is fleeting and perishable; that of intellectual power is illustrious and immortal. Yet it was long a subject of dispute among mankind, whether military efforts were more advanced by strength of body, or by force of intellect. For, in affairs of war, it is necessary to plan before beginning to act, and, after planning, to act with promptitude and vigor. Thus, each being insufficient of itself, the one requires the assistance of the other.

2. In early times, accordingly, kings (for that was the first title of sovereignty in the world) applied themselves in different ways; some exercised the mind, others the body. At that period, however, the life of man was passed without covetousness; every one was satisfied with his own. But after Cyrus in Asia, and the Lacedaemonians and Athenians in Greece, began to subjugate cities and nations, to deem the lust of dominion a reason for war, and to imagine the greatest glory to be in the most extensive empire, it was then at length discovered, by proof and experience, that mental power has the greatest effect in military operations. And, indeed, if the intellectual ability of kings and magistrates were exerted to the same degree in peace as in war, human affairs would be more orderly and settled, and you would not see governments shifted from hand to hand, and things universally changed and confused. For dominion is easily secured by those qualities by which it was at first obtained. But when sloth has introduced itself in the place of industry, and covetousness and pride in that of moderation and equity, the fortune of a state is altered together with its morals; and thus authority is always transferred from the less to the more deserving. Even in agriculture, in navigation, and in architecture, whatever man performs owns the dominion of intellect. Yet many human beings, resigned to sensuality and indolence, uninstructed and unimproved, have passed through life like travelers in a strange country; to whom, certainly, contrary to the intention of nature, the body was a gratification, and the mind a burden. Of these I hold the life and death in equal estimations, for silence is maintained concerning both. But he only, indeed, seems to me to live, and to enjoy life, who, intent upon some employment, seeks reputation from some ennobling enterprise, or honorable pursuit. But in the great abundance of occupations, nature points out different paths to different individuals.

3. To act well for the Commonwealth is noble, and even to speak well for it is not without merits. Both in peace and in war it is possible to obtain celebrity; many who have acted, and many who have recorded the actions of others, receive their tribute of praise. And to me, assuredly, though by no means equal glory attends the narrator and the performer of illustrious deeds, it yet seems in the highest degree difficult to write the history of great transactions; first, because deeds must

bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat, aequo animo accipit, supra ea²⁵ veluti ficta pro falsis ducit. Sed ego²⁶ adolescentulus initio sicuti plerique studio ad rem publicam latus sum, ibique mihi multa adversa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigeant. Quae tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium,²⁷ tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur²⁸: ac me, quum ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem qua ceteros fama atque invidia vexabat.²⁹

4. Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit et mihi reliquam aetatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium contere;³⁰ neque vero agrum colendo aut venando, servilibus officiis,³¹ intentum aetatem agere; sed a quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res gestas populi Romani carptim,³² ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere; eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus rei publicae animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinae conjuratione quam verissime poteram paucis absolvam:³³ nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existimo sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cuius hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

5. Lucius Catilina,³⁴ nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens³⁵ inediae, algoris, vigiliae, supra quam cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, subdolos, varius, cuius rei libet³⁶ simulator ac dissimulator, alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus; satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc post dominationem Lucii Sullae libido maxima invaserat rei publicae capiundae,³⁷ neque id quibus modis assequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum, quae utraque his artibus auxerat,³⁸ quas supra memoravi. Incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessima ac diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere³⁹ ac paucis instituta majorum domi militiaeque,⁴⁰ quomodo rem publicam habuerint quantamque reliquerint, ut paulatim immutata ex pulcherrima pessima ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.

be adequately represented by words; and next, because most readers consider that whatever errors you mention with censure, are mentioned through malevolence and envy; while, when you speak of the great virtue and glory of eminent men, every one hears with acquiescence only that which he himself thinks easy to be performed; all beyond his own conception he regards as fictitious and incredible.

I myself, however, when a young man, was at first led by inclination, like most others, to engage in political affairs; but in that pursuit many circumstances were unfavorable to me; for, instead of modesty, temperance, and integrity, there prevailed shamelessness, corruption, and rapacity. And although my mind, inexperienced in dishonest practice, detested these vices, yet, in the midst of so great corruption, my tender age was ensnared and infected by ambition; and though I shrunk from the vicious principles of those around me, yet the same eagerness for honors, the same obloquy and jealousy, which disquieted others, disquieted myself.

4. When, therefore, my mind had rest from its numerous troubles and trials, and I had determined to pass the remainder of my days unconnected with public life, it was not my intention to waste my valuable leisure in indolence and inactivity, or, engaging in servile occupations, to spend my time in agriculture or hunting; but, returning to those studies from which, at their commencement, a corrupt ambition had allured me, I determined to write, in detached portions, the transactions of the Roman people, as any occurrence should seem worthy of mention; an undertaking to which I was the rather inclined, as my mind was uninfluenced by hope, fear, or political partisanship. I shall accordingly give a brief account with as much truth as I can, of the Conspiracy of Catiline; for I think it an enterprise eminently deserving of record, from the unusual nature both of its guilt and of its perils. But before I enter upon my narrative, I must give a short description of the character of the man.

5. Lucius Catiline was a man of noble birth, and of eminent mental and personal endowments, but of a vicious and depraved disposition. His delight, from his youth, had been in civil commotions, bloodshed, robbery, and sedition; and in such scenes he had spent his early years. His constitution could endure hunger, want of sleep, and cold, to a degree surpassing belief. His mind was daring, subtle, and versatile, capable of pretending or dissembling whatever he wished. He was covetous of other men's property, and prodigal of his own. He had abundance of eloquence, though but little wisdom. His insatiable ambition was always pursuing objects extravagant, romantic, and unattainable. Since the time of Sylla's dictatorship, a strong desire of seizing the government possessed him, nor did he at all care, provided that he secured power for himself, by what means he might arrive at it. His violent spirit was daily more and more hurried on by the diminution of his patrimony, and by his consciousness of guilt; both which evils he had increased by those practices which I have mentioned above. The corrupt morals of the state, too, which extravagance and selfishness, pernicious and contending vices, rendered thoroughly depraved, furnished him with additional incentives to action. Since the occasion has thus brought public morals under my notice, the subject itself seems to call upon me to look back, and briefly to describe the conduct of our ancestors in peace and war; how they managed the state, and how powerful they left it; and how, by gradual alteration, it became, from being the most virtuous, the most vicious and depraved.

6. Urbem Romam,⁴¹ sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur, cumque his Aborigines,⁴² genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, iberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una⁴³ moenia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alius alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint.⁴⁴ Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satia prospera satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello temptare,⁴⁵ pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri metu percussi a periculis aberant. At Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem, patriam parentesque armis tegere. Post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant,⁴⁶ magisque dandis quam accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant. Imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regium habebant;⁴⁷ delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, rei publicae consultabant;⁴⁸ hi vel aetate vel curae similitudine patres appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandae libertatis atque augendae rei publicae⁴⁹ fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque convertit⁵⁰ immutato more annua imperia binosque imperatores⁵¹ sibi fecere; eo modo minime posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

7. Sed ea tempestate coepere se quisque magis extollere magisque ingenium in promptu habere.⁵² Nam regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas incredibile memoratu est adeptas⁵³ libertate quantum brevi⁵⁴ creverit; tanta cupido gloriae incesserat.⁵⁵ Jam primum juvenus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiam discebat, magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis atque conviviis libidinem habebant.⁵⁶ Igitur talibus viris non labos⁵⁷ insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus; virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriae maximum certamen inter ipsos erat: sic se quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici, dum tale facinus faceret, properabat; eas⁵⁸ divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant; laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant; gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maximas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbes natura munitas pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.

8. Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex libidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego aestimo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere, verum aliquanto⁵⁹ minores tamen quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis⁶⁰ celebrantur. Ita eorum, qui ea fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. At populo Romano nunquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissimus quisque maxime negotiosus erat;⁶¹ ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat; optimus quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis bene facta laudari

6. Of the city of Rome, as I understand, the founders and earliest inhabitants were the Trojans, who, under the conduct of Aeneas, were wandering about as exiles from their country, without any settled abode; and with these were joined the Aborigines, a savage race of men, without laws or government, free and owning no control. How easily these two tribes, though of different origin, dissimilar language, and opposite habits of life, formed a union when they met within the same walls, is almost incredible. But when their state, from an accession of population and territory, and an improved condition of morals, showed itself tolerably flourishing and powerful, envy, as is generally the case in human affairs, was the consequence of its prosperity. The neighboring kings and people, accordingly, began to assail them in war, while a few only of their friends came to their support; for the rest, struck with alarm, shrunk from sharing their dangers. But the Romans, active at home and in the field, prepared with alacrity for their defense. They encouraged one another, and hurried to meet the enemy. They protected with their arms, their liberty, their country, and their homes. And when they had at length repelled danger by valor, they lent assistance to their allies and supporters, and procured friendships rather by bestowing favors than by receiving them. They had a government regulated by laws. The denomination of their government was monarchy. Chosen men, whose bodies might be enfeebled by years, but whose minds were vigorous in understanding, formed the council of the state; and these, whether from their age, or from the similarity of their duty, were called fathers. But afterwards, when the monarchical power, which had been originally established for the protection of liberty, and for the promotion of the public interest, had degenerated into tyranny and oppression, they changed their plan, and appointed two magistrates, with power only annual; for they conceived that, by this method, the human mind would be least likely to grow overbearing through want of control.

7. At this period every citizen began to seek distinction, and to display his talents with greater freedom; for, with princes, the meritorious are greater objects of suspicion than the undeserving, and to them the worth of others is a source of alarm. But when liberty was secured, it is almost incredible how much the state strengthened itself in a short space of time, so strong a passion for distinction had pervaded it. Now, for the first time, the youth, as soon as they were able to bear the toils of war, acquired military skill by actual service in the camp, and took pleasure rather in splendid arms and military steeds than in the society of mistresses and convivial indulgence. To such men no toil was unusual, no place was difficult or inaccessible, no armed enemy was formidable; their valor had overcome everything. But among themselves the grand rivalry was for glory; each sought to be first to wound an enemy, to scale a wall, and to be noticed while performing such an exploit. Distinction such as this they regarded as wealth, honor, and true nobility. They were covetous of praise, but liberal of money; they desired competent riches, but boundless glory. I could mention, but that the account would draw me too far from my subject, places in which the Roman people, with a small body of men, routed vast armies of the enemy; and cities which, though fortified by nature, they carried by assault.

8. But, assuredly, Fortune rules in all things. She makes everything famous or obscure rather from caprice than in conformity with truth. The exploits of the Athenians, as far as I can judge, were very great and glorious, yet something inferior to what fame has represented them. But because writers of great talent flourished there, the actions of the Athenians are celebrated over the world as the most splendid of achievements. Thus, the merit of those who have acted is estimated at the highest point to which illustrious intellects could exalt it in their writings.

quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

9. Igitur domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur, concordia maxima, minima avaritia erat, jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura⁶² valebat. Jurgia, discordias, simultates cum hostibus exercebant, cives cum civibus de virtute certabant; in supplicii⁶³ deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat, aequitate seque⁶⁴ remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxima documenta haec habeo, quod in bello saepius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius revocati proelio excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere aut pulsi loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod beneficiis quam⁶⁵ metu imperium agitabant, et accepta injuria⁶⁶ ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

10. Sed ubi labore atque justitia res publica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, aemula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant, saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, his otium, divitiae optandae aliis oneri miseriaeque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperii cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem ceterasque artes bonas subvertit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. Ambitio multos mortales falsos fieri subegit, aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere, amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re, sed ex commodo aestimare, magisque vultum quam ingenium bonum habere. Haec primo paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari; post, ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium ex justissimo atqueoptimo crudele intolerandumque factum.

11. Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat, quod tamen vitium proprius virtutem⁶⁷ erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium bonus et ignavus aequae sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit;⁶⁸ ea quasi venenis malis imbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat, semper infinita, insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia minuitur. Sed postquam L. Sulla, armis recepta re publica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit,⁶⁹ rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores habere, foeda crudeliaque in civibus⁷⁰ facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in

But among the Romans there was never any such abundance of writers; for, with them, the most able men were the most actively employed. No one exercised the mind independently of the body; every man of ability chose to act rather than narrate, and was more desirous that his own merits should be celebrated by others, than that he himself should record theirs.

9. Good morals, accordingly, were cultivated in the city and in the camp. There was the greatest possible concord, and the least possible avarice. Justice and probity prevailed among the citizens, not more from the influence of the laws than from natural inclination. They displayed animosity, enmity, and resentment only against the enemy. Citizens contended with citizens in nothing but honor. They were magnificent in their religious services, frugal in their families, and steady in their friendships.

By these two virtues, intrepidity in war, and equity in peace, they maintained themselves and their state. Of their exercise of which virtues, I consider these as the greatest proofs; that, in war, punishment was oftener inflicted on those who attacked an enemy contrary to orders, and who, when commanded to retreat, retired too slowly from the contest, than on those who had dared to desert their standards or, when pressed by the enemy, to abandon their posts; and that, in peace, they governed more by conferring benefits than by exciting terror, and, when they received an injury, chose rather to pardon than to revenge it.

10. But when, by perseverance and integrity, the republic had increased its power; when mighty princes had been vanquished in war; when barbarous tribes and populous states had been reduced to subjection; when Carthage, the rival of Rome's dominion, had been utterly destroyed, and sea and land lay everywhere open to her sway, Fortune then began to exercise her tyranny, and to introduce universal innovation. To those who had easily endured toils, dangers, and doubtful and difficult circumstances, ease and wealth, the objects of desire to others, became a burden and a trouble. At first the love of money, and then that of power, began to prevail, and these became, as it were, the sources of every evil. For avarice subverted honesty, integrity, and other honorable principles, and, in their stead, inculcated pride, inhumanity, contempt of religion, and general venality. Ambition prompted many to become deceitful; to keep one thing concealed in the breast, and another ready on the tongue; to estimate friendships and enmities, not by their worth, but according to interest; and to carry rather a specious countenance than an honest heart. These vices at first advanced but slowly, and were sometimes restrained by correction; but afterwards, when their infection had spread like a pestilence, the state was entirely changed, and the government, from being the most equitable and praiseworthy, became rapacious and insupportable.

11. At first, however, it was ambition, rather than avarice, that influenced the minds of men; a vice which approaches nearer to virtue than the other. For of glory, honor, and power, the worthy is as desirous as the worthless; but the one pursues them by just methods; the other, being destitute of honorable qualities, works with fraud and deceit. But avarice has merely money for its object, which no wise man has ever immoderately desired. It is a vice which, as if imbued with deadly poison, enervates whatever is manly in body or mind. It is always unbounded and insatiable, and is abated neither by abundance nor by want.

Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret,⁷¹ contra morem majorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat; loca amoena, voluptaria⁷² facile in otio feroces militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare,⁷³ potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata⁷⁴ mirari, ea privatim et publice rapere, delubra⁷⁵ spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant; ne illi corruptis moribus victoriae temperarent.⁷⁶

12. Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentia⁷⁷ duci coepit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere; rapere, consumere, sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere, pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere. Operae pretium est,⁷⁸ quum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant, neque victis quidquam praeter injuriae licentiam, eripiebant.⁷⁹ At hi contra ignavissimi homines per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissimi viri victores reliquerant; proinde quasi injuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti.

13. Nam quid ea memorem, quae nisi his qui videre nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria constructa⁸⁰ esse. Quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae; quippe quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed libido stupri, ganeae ceterique cultus⁸¹ non minor incesserat; viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere, dormire prius quam somni cupido esset, non famem aut sitim neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Haec juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile libidinibus carebat; eo profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui⁸² deditus erat.

But after Lucius Sylla, having recovered the government by force of arms, proceeded, after a fair commencement, to a pernicious termination, all became robbers and plunderers; some set their affections on houses, others on lands; his victorious troops knew neither restraint nor moderation, but inflicted on the citizens disgraceful and inhuman outrages. Their rapacity was increased by the circumstance that Sylla, in order to secure the attachment of the forces which he had commanded in Asia, had treated them, contrary to the practice of our ancestors, with extraordinary indulgence, and exemption from discipline; and pleasant and luxurious quarters had easily, during seasons of idleness, enervated the minds of the soldiery. Then the armies of the Roman people first became habituated to licentiousness and intemperance, and began to admire statues, pictures, and sculptured vases; to seize such objects alike in public edifices and private dwellings; to spoil temples; and to cast off respect for everything, sacred and profane. Such troops, accordingly, when once they obtained the mastery, left nothing to the vanquished. Success unsettles the principles even of the wise, and scarcely would those of debauched habits use victory with moderation.

12. When wealth was once considered an honor, and glory, authority, and power attended on it, virtue lost her influence, poverty was thought a disgrace, and a life of innocence was regarded as a life of ill-nature. From the influence of riches, accordingly, luxury, avarice, and pride prevailed among the youth; they grew at once rapacious and prodigal; they undervalued what was their own, and coveted what was another's; they set at naught modesty and continence; they lost all distinction between sacred and profane, and threw off all consideration and self-restraint.

It furnishes much matter for reflection, after viewing our modern mansions and villas extended to the size of cities, to contemplate the temples which our ancestors, a most devout race of men, erected to the Gods. But our forefathers adorned the fanes of the deities with devotion, and their homes with their own glory, and took nothing from those whom they conquered but the power of doing harm; their descendants, on the contrary, the basest of mankind have even wrested from their allies, with the most flagrant injustice, whatever their brave and victorious ancestors had left to their vanquished enemies; as if the only use of power were to inflict injury.

13. For why should I mention those displays of extravagance, which can be believed by none but those who have seen them; as that mountains have been leveled, and seas covered with edifices, by many private citizens; men whom I consider to have made a sport of their wealth, since they were impatient to squander disreputably what they might have enjoyed with honor.

But the love of irregular gratification, open debauchery, and all kinds of luxury, had spread abroad with no less force. Men forgot their sex; women threw off all the restraints of modesty. To gratify appetite, they sought for every kind of production by land and by sea; they slept before there was any inclination for sleep; they no longer waited to feel hunger, thirst, cold, or fatigue, but anticipated them all by luxurious indulgence. Such propensities drove the youth, when their patrimonies were exhausted, to criminal practices; for their minds, impregnated with evil habits, could not easily abstain from gratifying their passions, and were thus the more inordinately devoted in every way to rapacity and extravagance.

14. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se tamquam stipatorum catervas habebat.⁸³ Nam quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo manu,⁸⁴ ventre, pene bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum aes grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret, praeterea omnes undique parricidae, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis aut pro factis iudicium timentes, ad hoc quos manus atque lingua perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat: hi Catilinae proximi familiaresque erant. Quodsi quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat, cotidiano usu atque illecebris facile par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxime adolescentium familiaritates appetebat; eorum animi molles et aetate fluxi dolis haud difficulter⁸⁵ capiebantur. Nam ut cujusque studium ex aetate⁸⁶ flagrabat, aliis scorta praebere, aliis canes atque equos mercari, postremo neque sumptui neque modestiae suae parcere, dum⁸⁷ illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret. Scio fuisse nonnullos qui ita existimarent, juventutem, quae domum Catilinae frequentabat, parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, haec fama valebat.

15. Jam primum adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdotesse Vestae, alia hujusmodi contra jus fasque. Postremo captus amore Aureliae Orestillae cujus praeter formam nihil unquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulta aetate, pro certo creditur necato filio vacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse.⁸⁸ Quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat; ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat.⁸⁹ Igitur color exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus incessus; prorsus in facie vultuque vecordia inerat.

16. Sed juventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere, post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat; si causa peccandi in praesens minus suppetebat, nihilo minus insontes sicuti sontes circumvenire, jugulare; scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito⁹⁰ potius malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod aes alienum per omnes terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani milites,⁹¹ largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores civile bellum exoptabant, opprimendae rei publicae consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus; Gn.⁹² Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat; ipsi consulatum petenti magna spes; senatus nihil sane intentus;⁹³ tutae tranquillaeque res omnes: sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

14. In so populous and so corrupt a city, Catiline, as it was very easy to do, kept about him, like a body-guard, crowds of the unprincipled and desperate. For all those shameless, libertine, and profligate characters, who had dissipated their patrimonies by gaming, luxury, and sensuality; all who had contracted heavy debts, to purchase immunity for their crimes or offences; all assassins or sacrilegious persons from every quarter, convicted or dreading conviction for their evil deeds; all, besides, whom their tongue or their hand maintained by perjury or civil bloodshed; all, in fine, whom wickedness, poverty, or a guilty conscience disquieted, were the associates and intimate friends of Catiline. And if any one, as yet of unblemished character, fell into his society, he was presently rendered, by daily intercourse and temptation, similar and equal to the rest. But it was the young whose acquaintance he chiefly courted; as their minds, ductile and unsettled from their age, were easily ensnared by his stratagems. For as the passions of each, according to his years, appeared excited, he furnished mistresses to some, bought horses and dogs for others, and spared, in a word, neither his purse nor his character, if he could but make them his devoted and trustworthy supporters. There were some, I know, who thought that the youth, who frequented the house of Catiline, were guilty of crimes against nature; but this report arose rather from other causes than from any evidence of the fact.

15. Catiline, in his youth, had been guilty of many criminal connections, with a virgin of noble birth, with a priestess of Vesta, and of many other offences of this nature in defiance alike of law and religion. At last, when he was smitten with a passion for Aurelia Orestilla, in whom no good man, at any time of her life, commended anything but her beauty, it is confidently believed that because she hesitated to marry him, from the dread of having a grown-up step-son, he cleared the house for their nuptials by putting his son to death. And this crime appears to me to have been the chief cause of hurrying forward the conspiracy. For his guilty mind, at peace with neither gods nor men, found no comfort either waking or sleeping; so effectually did conscience desolate his tortured spirit. His complexion, in consequence, was pale, his eyes haggard, his walk sometimes quick and sometimes slow, and distraction was plainly apparent in every feature and look.

16. The young men, whom, as I said before, he had enticed to join him, he initiated, by various methods, in evil practices. From among them he furnished false witnesses, and forgers of signatures; and he taught them all to regard, with equal unconcern, honor, property, and danger. At length, when he had stripped them of all character and shame, he led them to other and greater enormities. If a motive for crime did not readily occur, he invited them, nevertheless, to circumvent and murder inoffensive persons, just as if they had injured him; for, lest their hand or heart should grow torpid for want of employment, he chose to be gratuitously wicked and cruel.

Depending on such accomplices and adherents, and knowing that the load of debt was everywhere great, and that the veterans of Sylla, having spent their money too liberally, and remembering their spoils and former victory, were longing for a civil war, Catiline formed the design of overthrowing the government. There was no army in Italy; Pompey was fighting in a distant part of the world; he himself had great hopes of obtaining the consulship; the senate was wholly off its guard; everything was quiet and tranquil, and all these circumstances were exceedingly favorable for Catiline.

17. Igitur, circiter Kalendas Junias, L. Caesare et G. Figulo consulibus,⁹⁴ primo singulos appellare, hortari alios, alios temptare; opes suas, imparatam rem publicam, magna praemia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt quae voluit, in unum omnes convocat, quibus maxima necessitudo⁹⁵ et plurimum audaciae inerat. Eo convenere senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, G. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sullae, Servii filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius; praeterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, G. Cornelius; ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant praeterea complures⁹⁶ paulo occultius concilii hujusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut aliqua necessitudo. Ceterum juvenus pleraque,⁹⁷ sed maxime nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat; quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate⁹⁸ qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum⁹⁹ non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse; quia Gn. Pompeius invisus ipsi magnum exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si conjuratio valisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

18. Sed antea¹⁰⁰ item conjuravere pauci contra rem publicam, in quibus Catilina fuit; de qua¹⁰¹ quam verissime potero, dicam. L. Tullo et M. Lepido consulibus,¹⁰² P. Autronius et P. Sulla designati consules, legibus ambitus interrogati¹⁰³ poenas dederant. Post paulo¹⁰⁴ Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus,¹⁰⁵ prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri¹⁰⁶ nequiverat. Erat eodem tempore Gn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rem publicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc Catilina et Autronius circiter Nonas Decembres consilio communicato parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Januariis L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules¹⁰⁷ interficere, ipsi fascibus correptis Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias¹⁰⁸ mittere. Ea re cognita, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium caedis transtulerant. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. Quodni¹⁰⁹ Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die post conditam urbem Romam pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit.

19. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quaestor pro praetore¹¹⁰ missus est, adnitente Crasso, quod eum infestum inimicum Gn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat; quippe foedum hominem a re publica procul esse volebat; simul quia boni complures praesidium in eo putabant, et jam tum potentia Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens occisus est. Sunt qui ita dicunt,¹¹¹ imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia barbaros nequivisse pati; alii autem equites illos Gn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes voluntate ejus Pisonem aggressos; numquam Hispanos praeterea tale

17. Accordingly, about the beginning of June, in the consulship of Lucius Caesar and Caius Figulus, he at first addressed each of his accomplices separately, encouraged some, and sounded others, and informed them of his own resources, of the unprepared condition of the state, and of the great prizes to be expected from the conspiracy. When he had ascertained, to his satisfaction, all that he required, he summoned all whose necessities were the most urgent, and whose spirits were the most daring, to a general conference. At that meeting there were present, of senatorial rank: Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Caius Cethegus, Publius and Servius Sylla, the sons of Servius Sylla, Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Marcus Porcius Laeca, Lucius Bestia, Quintus Curius; and of the equestrian order, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinius Capito, Caius Cornelius; with many from the colonies and municipal towns, persons of consequence in their own localities. There were many others, too, among the nobility, concerned in the plot, but less openly; men whom the hope of power, rather than poverty or any other exigence, prompted to join in the affair. But most of the young men, and especially the sons of the nobility, favored the schemes of Catiline; they who had abundant means of living at ease, either splendidly or voluptuously, preferred uncertainties to certainties, war to peace. There were some, also, at that time, who believed that Marcus Licinius Crassus was not unacquainted with the conspiracy; because Cneius Pompey, whom he hate, was at the head of a large army, and he was willing that the power of anyone whomsoever should raise itself against Pompey's influence; trusting, at the same time, that if the plot should succeed, he would easily place himself at the head of the conspirators.

18. But previously to this period, a small number of persons, among whom was Catiline, had formed a design against the state; of which affair I shall here give as accurate an account as I am able. Under the consulship of Lucius Tullus and Marcus Lepidus, Publius Autronius and Publius Sylla, having been tried for bribery under the laws against it, had paid the penalty of the offence. Shortly after Catiline, being brought to trial for extortion, had been prevented from standing for the consulship, because he had been unable to declare himself a candidate within the legitimate number of days. There was at that time, too, a young nobleman of the most daring spirit, needy and discontented, named Cneius Piso, whom poverty and vicious principles instigated to disturb the government. Catiline and Autronius, having concerted measures with this Piso, prepared to assassinate the consuls, Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, in the Capitol, on the first of February, when they, having seized on the fasces, were to send Piso with an army to take possession of the two Spains. But their design being discovered, they postponed the assassination to the fifth of February; when they meditated the destruction, not of the consuls only, but of most of the senate. And had not Catiline, who was in front of the senate-house, been too hasty to give the signal to his associates, there would that day have been perpetrated the most atrocious outrage since the city of Rome was founded. But as the armed conspirators had not yet assembled in sufficient numbers, the want of force frustrated the design.

19. Some time afterwards, Piso was sent as quaestor, with Praetorian authority, into Hither Spain; Crassus promoting the appointment, because he knew him to be a bitter enemy to Cneius Pompey. Nor were the senate, indeed, unwilling to grant him the province; for they wished so infamous a character to be removed from the seat of government; and many worthy men, at the same time, thought that there was some security in him against the power of Pompey, which was then becoming formidable. But this Piso, on his march towards his province, was murdered by some Spanish cavalry whom he had in his army. These barbarians, as some say, had been unable to endure his

facinus fecisse, sed imperia saeva multa ante perpressos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

20. Catilina,¹¹² ubi eos, quos paulo ante memoravi, convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens universos appellare et cohortari, in abditam partem aedium secedit, atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujusmodi habuit. 'Ni virtus fidesque vestra spectata mihi forent, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio in manibus frustra fuissent. Neque ego per ignaviam¹¹³ aut vana ingenia incerta pro certis captarem. Sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortes fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maximum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere, simul quia vobis eadem quae mihi bona malaque esse intellexi; nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed ego quae mente agitavi omnes jam antea diversi¹¹⁴ audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, quum considero, quae condicio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam res publica in paucorum potentium jus atque dicionem concessit, semper illis reges, tetrarchae¹¹⁵ vectigales esse, populi, nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles vulgus fuimus sine gratia, sine auctoritate, iis obnoxii, quibus, si res publica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiae apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere pericula repulsas, judicia, egestatem. Quae quousque tandem patiemini fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem praestat quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verum enimvero pro deum atque hominum fidem¹¹⁶ victoria in manu nobis est, viget aetas, animus valet; contra illis annis atque divitiis omnia consenuerunt. Tantummodo incepto opus est; cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium cui virile ingenium est, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare,¹¹⁷ quas profundant in extruendo mari et montibus coaequandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis larem familiarem¹¹⁸ nusquam ullum esse? Quum tabulas, signa, toreumata¹¹⁹ emunt, nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant, tamen summa libidine divitias vincere¹²⁰ nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris aes alienum, mala res, spes multo asperior; denique quid reliqui habemus praeter miseram animam? Quin¹²¹ igitur expergiscimini? En¹²² illa, illa, quam saepe optastis, libertas, praeterea divitiae, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt. Fortuna omnia ea victoribus praemia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magna magis quam oratio mea vos hortentur. Vel imperatore vel milite me utimini; neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. Haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam, nisi forte me animus fallit, et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis.

unjust, haughty, and cruel orders; but others assert that this body of cavalry, being old and trusty adherents of Pompey, attacked Piso at his instigation, since the Spaniards, they observe, had never before committed such an outrage, but had patiently submitted to many severe commands. This question we shall leave undecided. Of the first conspiracy enough has been said.

20. When Catiline saw those, whom I have just above mentioned, assembled, though he had often discussed many points with them singly, yet thinking it would be to his purpose to address and exhort them in a body, retired with them into a private apartment of his house, where, when all witnesses were withdrawn, he harangued them to the following effect: if your courage and fidelity had not been sufficiently proved by me, this favorable opportunity would have occurred to no purpose; I mighty hopes, absolute power, would in vain be within our grasp; nor should I, depending on irresolution or fickle-mindedness, pursue contingencies instead of certainties. But as I have, on many remarkable occasions, experienced your bravery and attachment to me, I have ventured to engage in a most important and glorious enterprise. I am aware, too, that whatever advantages or evils affect you, the same affect me, and to have the same desires and the same aversions, is assuredly a firm bond of friendship.

“What I have been meditating you have already heard separately. But my ardor for action is daily more and more excited when I consider what our future condition of life must be, unless we ourselves assert our claims to liberty. For since the government has fallen under the power and jurisdiction of a few, kings and princes have constantly been their tributaries; nations and states have paid them taxes; but all the rest of us, however brave and worthy, whether noble or plebeian, have been regarded as a mere mob, without interest or authority, and subject to those, to whom, if the state were in a sound condition, we should be a terror. Hence, all influence, power, honor, and wealth, are in their hands, or where they dispose of them; to us they have left only insults, dangers, prosecutions, and poverty. To such indignities, bravest of men, how long will you submit? Is it not better to die in a glorious attempt, than, after having been the sport of other men's insolence, to resign a wretched and degraded existence with ignominy?

“But success (I call gods and men to witness!) is in our own hands. Our years are fresh, our spirit is unbroken; among our oppressors, on the contrary, through age and wealth, a general debility has been produced. We have therefore only to make a beginning; the course of events will accomplish the rest.

“Who in the world, indeed, that has the feelings of a man, can endure that they should have a superfluity of riches, to squander in building over seas and leveling mountains, and that means should be wanting to us even for the necessities of life, that they should join together two houses or more, and that we should not have a hearth to call our own? They, though they purchase pictures, statues, and embossed plate; though they pull down new buildings and erect others, and lavish and abase their wealth in every possible method, yet cannot, with the utmost efforts of caprice, exhaust it. But for us there is poverty at home, debts abroad; our present circumstances are bad, our prospects much worse; and what, in a word, have we left, but a miserable existence?

“Will you not, then awake to action? Behold that liberty, that liberty for which you have so often wished, with wealth, honor, and glory, are set before your eyes. All these prizes fortune offers to the victorious. Let the enterprise itself, then, let the opportunity, let your poverty, your dangers, and the glorious spoils of war, animate you far more than my words. Use me either as your leader

21. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis quieta movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulavere plerique, uti proponeret, quae condicio belli foret, quae praemia armis peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas,¹²³ proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quae bellum atque libido victorum fert. Praeterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes; petere consulatum G. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum; cum eo se consulem¹²⁴ initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc maledictis increpat omnes bonos, suorum unum quemque nominans laudare; admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suae, complures periculi aut ignominiae,¹²⁵ multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacres videt, cohortatus, ut petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit.

22. Fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habita, quum ad iurandum populares¹²⁶ sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse; inde quum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in sollemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, atque eo dictitare¹²⁷ fecisse, quo inter se magis fidi forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta et haec et multa praeterea existimabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

23. Sed in ea conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus, quera censors senatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam audacia; neque reticere, quae audierat, neque suamet¹²⁸ ipse scelera occultare, prorsus neque dicere neque facere quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri¹²⁹ vetus consuetudo; cui quum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montesque polliceri coepit et minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret, postremo ferocius agitare¹³⁰ quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiae Curii causa cognita, tale periculum rei publicae haud occultum habuit, sed sublato auctore¹³¹ de Catilinae conjuratione quae quoque modo audierat compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat,¹³² et quasi pollui consulum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novus¹³³ adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere.¹³⁴

or your fellow-soldier; neither my heart nor my hand shall be wanting to you. These objects I hope to effect, in concert with you, in the character of consul; unless, indeed, my expectation deceives me, and you prefer to be slaves rather than masters.”

21. When these men, surrounded with numberless evils but without any resources or hopes of good, had heard this address, though they thought it much for their advantage to disturb the public tranquillity, yet most of them called on Catiline to state on what terms they were to engage in the contest; what benefits they were to expect from taking up arms; and what support or encouragement they had, and in what quarters. Catiline then promised them the abolition of their debts; a proscription of the wealthy citizens; offices, sacerdotal duties, plunder, and all other gratifications which war, and the license of conquerors, can afford. He added that Piso was in Hither Spain, and Publius Sittius Nucerinus with an army in Mauritania, both of whom were privy to his plans; that Caius Antonius, whom he hoped to have for a colleague, was canvassing for the consulship, a man with whom he was intimate, and who was involved in all manner of embarrassments; and that, in conjunction with him, he himself, when consul, would commence operations. He, moreover, assailed all the respectable citizens with reproaches, commended each of his associates by name, reminded one of his poverty, another of his ruling passion, several others of their danger or disgrace, and many of the spoils which they had obtained by the victory of Sylla. When he saw their spirits sufficiently elevated, he charged them to attend to his interest at the election of consuls, and dismissed the assembly.

22 There were some, at that time, who said that Catiline, having ended his speech, and wishing to bind his accomplices in guilt by an oath, handed round among them in goblets, the blood of a human body mixed with wine; and that when all, after an imprecation, had tasted of it, as is usual in sacred rites, he disclosed his design; and they asserted that he did this, in order that they might be the more closely attached to one another, by being mutually conscious of such an atrocity. But some thought that this report, and many others, were invented by persons who supposed that the odium against Cicero, which afterwards arose, might be lessened by imputing an enormity of guilt to the conspirators who had suffered death. The evidence which I have obtained, in support of this charge, is not at all in proportion to its magnitude.

23. Among those present at this meeting was Quintus Curius, a man of no mean family, but immersed in vices and crimes, and whom the censors had ignominiously expelled from the senate. In this person there was not less levity than impudence; he could neither keep secret what he heard, nor conceal his own crimes; he was altogether heedless what he said or what he did. He had long had a criminal intercourse with Fulvia, a woman of high birth, but growing less acceptable to her, because in his reduced circumstances he had less means of being liberal, he began, on a sudden, to boast, and to promise her seas and mountains; threatening her, at times, with the sword, if she were not submissive to his will; and acting, in his general conduct, with greater arrogance than ever. Fulvia, having learned the cause of his extravagant behavior, did not keep such danger to the state a secret; but, without naming her informant, communicated to several persons what she had heard, and under what circumstances, concerning Catiline's conspiracy. This intelligence it was that incited the feelings of the citizens to give the consulship to Marcus Tullius Cicero. For before this period, most of the nobility were moved with jealousy, and thought the consulship in some

24. Igitur comitiis habitis consules declarantur M. Tullius et G. Antonius, quod factum primo populares conjurationis concusserat.¹³⁵ Neque tamen Catilinae furor minuebatur, sed in dies plura agitare, armaper Italiam locis opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuam Faesulas¹³⁶ ad Manlium quendam portare,¹³⁷ qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur, mulieres etiam aliquot, quae primo ingentes sumptus¹³⁸ stupro corporis toleraverant, post ubi aetas tantummodo quaestui neque luxuriae modum fecerat, aes alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi vel interficere.

25. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis audaciae facinora commiserat. Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro, liberis satis fortunata fuit; litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere, saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probae, multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt. Sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres;¹³⁹ libidine sic accensa, ut saepius peteret viros quam peteretur. Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia praeceps¹⁴⁰ abierat. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum; posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci; prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

26. His rebus comparatis Catilina nihilo minus in proximum annum¹⁴¹ consulatum petebat, sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae deerant. Namque a principio consulatus sui multa pollicendo per Fulviam effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet. Ad hoc¹⁴² collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciae¹⁴³ perpulerat, ne contra rem publicam sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinae neque petitio neque insidiae, quas consuli in Campo¹⁴⁴ fecerat, prospere cessere, constituit bellum facere et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quae occulte temptaverat aspera foedaque¹⁴⁵ evenerant.

degree sullied, if a man of no family, however meritorious, obtained it. But when danger showed itself, envy and pride were laid aside.

24. Accordingly, when the comitia were held, Marcus Tullius and Caius Antonius were declared consuls; an event which gave the first shock to the conspirators. The ardor of Catiline, however, was not at all diminished; he formed every day new schemes; he deposited arms, in convenient places, throughout Italy; he sent sums of money, borrowed on his own credit, or that of his friends, to a certain Manlius, at Faesulae, who was subsequently the first to engage in hostilities. At this period, too, he is said to have attached to his cause great numbers of men of all classes, and some women, who had, in their earlier days, supported an expensive life by the price of their beauty, but who, when age had lessened their gains but not their extravagance, had contracted heavy debts. By the influence of these females, Catiline hoped to gain over the slaves in Rome, to get the city set on fire, and either to secure the support of their husbands or take away their lives.

25. In the number of these ladies was Sempronia, a woman who had committed many crimes with the spirit of a man. In birth and beauty, in her husband and her children, she was extremely fortunate; she was skilled in Greek and Roman literature; she could sing, play, and dance, with greater elegance than became a woman of virtue, and possessed many other accomplishments that tend to excite the passions. But nothing was ever less valued by her than honor or chastity. Whether she was more prodigal of her money or her reputation, it would have been difficult to decide. Her desires were so ardent that she oftener made advances to the other sex than waited for solicitation. She had frequently, before this period, forfeited her word, forsworn debts, been privy to murder, and hurried into the utmost excesses by her extravagance and poverty. But her abilities were by no means despicable; she could compose verses, jest, and join in conversation either modest, tender, or licentious. In a word, she was distinguished by much refinement of wit, and much grace of expression.

26. Catiline, having made these arrangements, still canvassed for the consulship for the following year; hoping that, if he should be elected, he would easily manage Antonius according to his pleasure. Nor did he, in the mean time, remain inactive, but devised schemes, in every possible way, against Cicero, who, however, did not want skill or policy to guard against them. For, at the very beginning of his consulship, he had, by making many promises through Fulvia, prevailed on Quintus Curius, whom I have already mentioned, to give him secret information of Catiline's proceedings. He had also persuaded his colleague, Antonius, by an arrangement respecting their provinces, to entertain no sentiments of disaffection towards the state; and he kept around him, though without ostentation, a guard of his friends and dependents.

When the day of the comitia came, and neither Catiline's efforts for the consulship, nor the plots which he had laid for the consuls in the Campus Martius, were attended with success, he determined to proceed to war, and to resort to the utmost extremities, since what he had attempted secretly had ended in confusion and disgrace.

27. Igitur G. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem¹⁴⁶ in agrum Picenum, G. Julium in Apuliam dimisit; praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romae multa simul moliri, consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere, ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere, hortari; uti semper intenti paratique essent, dies noctesque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo ubi multa agitant nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte conjurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Laecam, ibique multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet se Manlium praemississe ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat, item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent, seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis multum officere.

28. Igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, G. Cornelius eques Romanus operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius senator constituere ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus sicuti salutatum¹⁴⁷ introire ad Ciceronem ac de improvviso domi suae imparatum confodere. Curius ubi intellegit,¹⁴⁸ quantum periculum consuli impendat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum, qui paratur, enuntiat. Ita illi janua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore injuriae novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullae dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat, praeterea latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat, nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus libido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

29. Ea quum Ciceroni nuntiarentur, ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus aut quo consilio foret satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, jam antea vulgi rumoribus exagitata.¹⁴⁹ Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet; senatus decrevit,¹⁵⁰ darent operam consules, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per senatum more Romano magistratui maxima permittitur, exercitum parare,¹⁵¹ bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque cives, domi militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere; aliter sine populi jussu nulliarum rerum consuli jus est.

30. Post paucos dies L. Saenius senator in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Faesulis allatas sibi dicebat, in quibus scriptum erat, G. Manlium arma cepisse cum magna multitudine ante diem VI. Kalendas Novembres.¹⁵² Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia¹⁵³ nuntiabant, alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. Igitur senati¹⁵⁴ decreto Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca missi; hi

27. He accordingly dispatched Caius Manlius to Faesulae, and the adjacent parts of Etruria; one Septimius, of Camerinum, into the Picenian territory; Caius Julius into Apulia; and others to various places, wherever he thought each would be most serviceable. He himself, in the mean time, was making many simultaneous efforts at Rome; he laid plots for the consul; he arranged schemes for burning the city; he occupied suitable posts with armed men, he went constantly armed himself, and ordered his followers to do the same; he exhorted them to be always on their guard and prepared for action; he was active and vigilant by day and by night, and was exhausted neither by sleeplessness nor by toil. At last, however, when none of his numerous projects succeeded, he again, with the aid of Marcus Porcius Laeca, convoked the leaders of the conspiracy in the dead of night, when, after many complaints of their apathy, he informed them that he had sent forward Manlius to that body of men whom he had prepared to take up arms; and others of the confederates into other eligible places, to make a commencement of hostilities; and that he himself was eager to set out to the army, if he could but first cut off Cicero, who was the chief obstruction to his measures.

28. While, therefore, the rest were in alarm and hesitation, Caius Cornelius, a Roman knight, who offered his services, and Lucius Vargunteius, a senator, in company with him, agreed to go with an armed force, on that very night, and with but little delay, to the house of Cicero, under pretence of paying their respects to him, and to kill him unawares, and unprepared for defense, in his own residence. But Curius, when he heard of the imminent danger that threatened the consul, immediately gave him notice, by the agency of Fulvia, of the treachery which was contemplated. The assassins, in consequence, were refused admission, and found that they had undertaken such an attempt only to be disappointed. In the mean time, Manlius was in Etruria, stirring up the populace, who, both from poverty, and from resentment for their injuries (for, under the tyranny of Sylla, they had lost their lands and other property), were eager for a revolution. He also attached to himself all sorts of marauders, who were numerous in those parts, and some of Sylla's colonists, whose dissipation and extravagance had exhausted their enormous plunder.

29. When these proceedings were reported to Cicero, he, being alarmed at the twofold danger, since he could no longer secure the city against treachery by his private efforts, nor could gain satisfactory intelligence of the magnitude or intentions of the army of Manlius, laid the matter, which was already a subject of discussion among the people, before the senate. The senate, accordingly, as is usual in any perilous emergency, decreed that the consuls should make it their care that the commonwealth should receive no injury. This is the greatest power which, according to the practice at Rome, is granted by the senate to the magistrate, and which authorizes him to raise troops; to make war; to assume unlimited control over the allies and the citizens; to take the chief command and jurisdiction at home and in the field, rights which, without an order of the people, the consul is not permitted to exercise.

30 A few days afterwards, Lucius Saenius, a senator, read to the senate a letter, which, he said, he had received from Faesulae, and in which it was stated that Caius Manlius, with a large force, had taken the field by the 27th of October. Others at the same time, as is not uncommon in such a crisis, spread reports of omens and prodigies; others of meetings being held, of arms being transported, and of insurrections of the slaves at Capua and in Apulia. In consequence of these rumors,

utriusque¹⁵⁵ ad urbem imperatores erant,¹⁵⁶ impediti ne triumpharent calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat.¹⁵⁷ Sed praetores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum,¹⁵⁸ hisque permissum, uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent. Ad hoc, si quis indicavisset de conjuratione, quae contra rem publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et sestertia centum,¹⁵⁹ libero impunitatem ejus rei et sestertia ducenta; itemque decrevere, uti gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur pro cujusque opibus,¹⁶⁰ Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur, iisque minores magistratus¹⁶¹ praessent.

31. Quibus rebus permota civitas atque immutata urbis facies erat; ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnes tristitia invasit; festinare, trepidare, neque loco neque homini cuiquam satis credere, neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere, suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus¹⁶² rei publicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus inceserat, afflictae sese,¹⁶³ manus supplices ad coelum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, rogare, omnia pavere, superbia atque deliciis omissis sibi patriaeque diffidere. At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi praesidia parabantur et ipse lege Plautia¹⁶⁴ interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. Postremo dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi, sicuti¹⁶⁵ jurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam ejus timens sive ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit.¹⁶⁶ Sed ubi ille assedit,¹⁶⁷ Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu, voce supplicis postulare, 'Patres conscripti ne quid de se temere crederent; ea familia ortum, ita se ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet; ne existimarent, sibi, patricio homini, cujus ipsius atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perditare publica opus esse, quum eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romae.¹⁶⁸ Ad hoc maledicta alia quum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus: 'Quoniam quidem circumventus, inquit, ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam.'

32. Dein se ex curia domum proripuit; ibi multa ipse secum volvens, quod neque insidiae consuli procedebant et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augere ac prius quam legiones scriberentur, antecapere quae bello usui forent, nocte intempta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo ceterisque, quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent opes factionis confirmari, insidias consuli maturent, caedem, incendia aliaque belli facinora parent; sese propediem cum magno

Quintus Marcius Rex was dispatched, by a decree of the senate, to Faesulae, and Quintus Metellus Creticus into Apulia and the parts adjacent, both which officers, with the title of commanders, were waiting near the city, having been prevented from entering in triumph, by the malice of a cabal, whose custom was to ask a price for everything, whether honorable or infamous. The praetors, too, Quintus Pompeius Rufus, and Quintus Metellus Celer, were sent off, the one to Capua, the other to Picenum, and power was given them to levy a force proportioned to the exigency and the danger. The senate also decreed, that if any one should give information of the conspiracy which had been formed against the state, his reward should be, if a slave, his freedom and a hundred sestertia, if a freeman, a complete pardon and two hundred sestertia. They further appointed that the schools of gladiators should be distributed in Capua and other municipal towns, according to the capacity of each; and that, at Rome, watches should be posted throughout the city, of which the inferior magistrates should have the charge.

31. By such proceedings as these the citizens were struck with alarm, and the appearance of the city was changed. In place of that extreme gaiety and dissipation, to which long tranquillity had given rise, a sudden gloom spread over all classes; they became anxious and agitated; they felt secure neither in any place, nor with any person; they were not at war, yet enjoyed no peace; each measured the public danger by his own fear. The women, also, to whom, from the extent of the empire, the dread of war was new, gave way to lamentation, raised supplicating hands to heaven, mourned over their infants, made constant inquiries, trembled at everything, and, forgetting their pride and their pleasures, felt nothing but alarm for themselves and their country.

Yet the unrelenting spirit of Catiline persisted in the same purposes, notwithstanding the precautions that were adopted against him, and though he himself was accused by Lucius Paullus under the Plautian law. At last, with a view to dissemble, and under pretence of clearing his character, as if he had been provoked by some attack, he walked into the senate-house. It was then that Marcus Tullius, the consul, whether alarmed at his presence, or fired with indignation against him, delivered that splendid speech, so beneficial to the republic, which he afterwards wrote and published.

When Cicero sat down, Catiline, being prepared to pretend ignorance of the whole matter, entreated, with downcast looks and suppliant voice, that "the Conscript Fathers would not too hastily believe anything against him;" saying "that he was sprung from such a family, and had so ordered his life from his youth, as to have every happiness in prospect; and that they were not to suppose that he, a patrician, whose services to the Roman people, as well as those of his ancestors, had been so numerous, should want to ruin the state, where Marcus Tullius, a mere adopted citizen of Rome, was eager to preserve it." When he was proceeding to add other invectives, they all raised an outcry against him, and called him an enemy and a traitor. Being thus exasperated, "Since I am encompassed by enemies," he exclaimed, "and driven to desperation, I will extinguish the flame kindled around me in a general ruin."

32. He then hurried from the senate to his own house; and then, after much reflection with himself, thinking that, as his plots against the consul had been unsuccessful, and as he knew the city to be secured from fire by the watch, his best course would be to augment his army, and make provision for the war before the legions could be raised, he set out in the dead of night, and with a few attendants, to the camp of Manlius. But he left in charge Lentulus and Cethegus, and others of whose prompt determination he was assured, to strengthen the interests of their party in every

exercitu ad urbem accessurum. Dum haec Romae geruntur, G. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit cum mandatis hujuscemodi:

33. ‘Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent, qui miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate feneratorum plerique patriae, sed omnes fama atque fortunis¹⁶⁹ expertes sumus; neque cuiquam nostrum licuit more majorum lege uti,¹⁷⁰ neque amisso patrimonio liberum corpus habere, tanta saevitia feneratorum atque praetoris fuit. Saepe majores vestrum¹⁷¹ miseriti plebis Romanae, decretis suis inopiae ejus opitulati sunt; ac novissime memoria nostra, propter magnitudinem aeris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, argentum aere solutum est.¹⁷² Saepe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbia magistratuum, armata a patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum causa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortales sunt, sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima simul amittit.¹⁷³ Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus, legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis; neve nobis eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quaeramus, quonam modo maxime ulti sanguinem nostrum pereamus.’

34. Ad haec Q. Marcius respondit: ‘Si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur; ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo unquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit.’ At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, praeterea optimo cuique, litteras mittit: ‘Se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, Massiliam¹⁷⁴ in exilium proficisci: non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti res publica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur.’ Ab his longe diversas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditae dicebat; earum exemplum infra scriptum est.

35. L. Catilina Q. Catulo. Egregia tua fides re cognita, grata mihi, in magnis meis periculis fiduciam commendationi meae tribuit. Quamobrem defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare, satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi,¹⁷⁵ quam mediusfidius¹⁷⁶ veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus statur dignitatis non obtinebam,¹⁷⁷ publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi, non quin aes alienum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem, quum et alienis nomini-

possible way, to forward the plots against the consul, and to make arrangements for a massacre, for firing the city, and for other destructive operations of war; promising that he himself would shortly advance on the city with a large army. During the course of these proceedings at Rome, Caius Manlius dispatched some of his followers as envoys to Quintus Marcius Rex, with directions to address him to the following effect:

33. “We call gods and men to witness, general, that we have taken up arms neither to injure our country, nor to occasion peril to any one, but to defend our own persons from harm, who, wretched and in want, have been deprived, most of us, of our homes, and all of us of our character and property, by the oppression and cruelty of usurers; nor has any one of us been allowed, according to the usage of our ancestors, to have the benefit of the law, or, when our property was lost, to keep our persons free. Such has been the inhumanity of the usurers and of the praetor.

Often have your forefathers, taking compassion on the commonalty at Rome, relieved their distress by decrees; and very lately, within our own memory, silver, by reason of the pressure of debt, and with the consent of all respectable citizens, was paid with brass.

“Often too, have the commonalty themselves, driven by desire of power, or by the arrogance of their rulers, seceded under arms from the patricians. But at power or wealth, for the sake of which wars, and all kinds of strife, arise among mankind, we do not aim; we desire only our liberty, which no honorable man relinquishes but with life. We therefore conjure you and the senate to befriend your unhappy fellow-citizens; to restore us the protection of the law, which the injustice of the praetor has taken from us and not to lay on us the necessity of considering how we may perish, so best to avenge our blood.”

34. To this address Quintus Marcius replied, that, “if they wished to make any petition to the senate, they must lay down their arms, and proceed as suppliants to Rome;” adding, that “such had always been the kindness and humanity of the Roman senate and people, that none had ever asked help of them in vain.”

Catiline, on his march, sent letters to most men of consular dignity, and to all the most respectable citizens, stating, that “as he was beset by false accusations, and unable to resist the combination of his enemies, he was submitting to the will of fortune, and going into exile at Marseilles; not that he was guilty of the great wickedness laid to his charge, but that the state might be undisturbed, and that no insurrection might arise from his defense of himself.” Quintus Catulus, however, read in the senate a letter of a very different character, which, he said, was delivered to him in the name of Catiline, and of which the following is a copy.

35 “Lucius Catiline to Quintus Catulus. Your eminent integrity, known to me by experience, gives a pleasing confidence, in the midst of great perils, to my present recommendation. I have determined therefore, to make no formal defense with regard to my new course of conduct; yet I was resolved, though conscious of no guilt, to offer you some explanation, which, on my word of honor, you may receive as true. Provoked by injuries and indignities, since, being robbed of the fruit of my labor and exertion, I did not obtain the post of honor due to me, I have undertaken, according

bus liberalitas Orestillae suis filiaeque copiis persolveret;¹⁷⁸ sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, meque falsa suspicione alienatum esse sentiebam.¹⁷⁹ Hoc nomine¹⁸⁰ satis honestas pro meo casu spes reliquae dignitatis conservandae sum secutus. Plura quum scribere vellem, nuntiatum est vim mihi parari.¹⁸¹ Nunc Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei trado: eam ab injuria defendas per liberos tuos rogatus. Haveto.¹⁸²

36. Sed ipse paucos dies commoratus apud G. Flaminium in agro Arretino,¹⁸³ dum vicinitatem antea sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Haec ubi Romae comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostes judicat; ceterae multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude¹⁸⁴ liceret ab armis discedere praeter¹⁸⁵ rerum capitalium condemnatis. Praeterea decernit, uti consules delectum habeant, Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet, Cicero urbi praesidio sit. Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxime miserabile visum est, cui quum ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque divitiae, quae prima mortales putant, affluerent, fuere tamen cives, qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent.¹⁸⁶ Namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta multitudine neque praemio inductus conjurationem patefecerat neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat; tanta vis morbi uti tabes plerosque civium animos invaserat.

37. Neque solum illis aliena¹⁸⁷ mens erat, qui conscii conjurationis fuerant, sed omnino cuncta plebes novarum rerum studio Catilinae incepta probabat. Id adeo¹⁸⁸ more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullae sunt, bonis¹⁸⁹ invident, malos extollunt, vetera odere, nova exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student, turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur; quoniam egestas facile habetur¹⁹⁰ sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea vero¹⁹¹ praeceptis ierat multis de causis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxime praestabant, item alii per dedecora patrimonii amissis, postremo omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, in Romam sicut in sentinam¹⁹² confluerant. Deinde multi memores Sullanae victoriae, quod ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, ut regio victu atque cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis foret, ex victoria talia sperabat. Praeterea juvenus, quae in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita¹⁹³ urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerat; eos atque alios omnes malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum est homines egentes, malis moribus, maxima spe, rei publicae juxta ac sibi consuluisse.¹⁹⁴ Praeterea quorum,¹⁹⁵ victoria Sullae parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum expectabant. Ad hoc quicumque aliarum atque senatus partium erant, conturbari rem publicam quam minus valere ipsi malebant. Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.

to my custom, the public cause of the distressed. Not but that I could have paid, out of my own property, the debts contracted on my own security; while the generosity of Orestilla, out of her own fortune and her daughter's, would discharge those incurred on the security of others. But because I saw unworthy men ennobled with honors, and myself proscribed on groundless suspicion, I have, for this very reason, adopted a course, amply justifiable in my present circumstances, for preserving what honor is left to me. When I was proceeding to write more, intelligence was brought that violence is preparing against me. I now commend and entrust Orestilla to your protection; entreating you, by your love for your own children, to defend her from injury. Farewell."

36. Catiline himself, having stayed a few days with Caius Flaminius Flamma in the neighborhood of Arretium while he was supplying the adjacent parts, already excited to insurrection, with arms, marched with the fasces, and other ensigns of authority, to join Manlius in his camp. When this was known at Rome, the senate declared Catiline and Manlius enemies to the state, and fixed a day as to the rest of their force, before which they might lay down their arms with impunity except such as had been convicted of capital offences. They also decreed that the consuls should hold a levy; that Antonius, with an army, should hasten in pursuit of Catiline; and that Cicero should protect the city.

At this period the empire of Rome appears to me to have been in an extremely deplorable condition; for though every nation, from the rising to the setting of the sun, lay in subjection to her arms, and though peace and prosperity, which mankind think the greatest blessings, were hers in abundance, there yet were found, among her citizens, men who were bent, with obstinate determination, to plunge themselves and their country into ruin; for, notwithstanding the two decrees of the senate, not one individual, out of so vast a number, was induced by the offer of reward to give information of the conspiracy; nor was there a single deserter from the camp of Catiline. So strong a spirit of disaffection had, like a pestilence, pervaded the minds of most of the citizens.

37. Nor was this disaffected spirit confined to those who were actually concerned in the conspiracy; for the whole of the common people, from a desire of change, favored the projects of Catiline. This they seemed to do in accordance with their general character; for, in every state, they that are poor envy those of a better class, and endeavor to exalt the factious; they dislike the established condition of things, and long for something new; they are discontented with their own circumstances, and desire a general alteration; they can support themselves amidst revolt and sedition, without anxiety, since poverty does not easily suffer loss.

As for the populace of the city, they had become disaffected from various causes. In the first place, such as everywhere took the lead in crime and profligacy, with others who had squandered their fortunes in dissipation, and, in a word, all whom vice and villainy had driven from their homes, had flocked to Rome as a general receptacle of impurity. In the next place, many, who thought of the success of Sylla, when they had seen some raised from common soldiers into senators, and others so enriched as to live in regal luxury and pomp, hoped, each for himself, similar results from victory, if they should once take up arms. In addition to this, the youth, who, in the country, had earned a scanty livelihood by manual labor, tempted by public and private largesses, had preferred idleness in the city to unwelcome toil in the field. To these and all others of similar character, public disorders would furnish subsistence. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that men in distress, of dissolute principles and extravagant expectations, should have consulted the interest

38. Nam postquam Gn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus¹⁹⁶ tribunicia potestas restituta est, homines adolescentes summam potestatem nacti, quibus aetas animusque ferox erat, coepere senatum criminando plebem exagitare, dein largiundo atque pollicitando magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas senatus specie¹⁹⁷ pro sua magnitudine. Namque uti paucis verum absolvam, post illa tempora quicumque rem publicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii sicuti populi jura defenderent, pars quo¹⁹⁸ senatus auctoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant; neque illis modestia neque modus contentionis erat; utriusque victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

39. Sed postquam Gn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes imminutae, paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere, ipsi innoxii,¹⁹⁹ florentes, sine metu aetatem agere, ceteros judiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent.²⁰⁰ Sed ubi primum dubiis rebus²⁰¹ novandi spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quodsi primo proelio Catilina superior aut aequa manu discessisset, profecto magna clades atque calamitas rem publicam oppressisset; neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus qui plus posset imperium atque libertatem extorqueret.²⁰² Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt; in his erat A. Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere parens necari jussit. Iisdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se aut per alios sollicitabat, neque solum cives, sed cujusque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret.

40. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum²⁰³ requirat eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli, existimans publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea, quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat atque eos noverat; itaque sine

of the state no further than as it was subservient to their own. Besides, those whose parents, by the victory of Sylla, had been proscribed, whose property had been confiscated, and whose civil rights had been curtailed, looked forward to the event of a war with precisely the same feelings.

All those, too, who were of any party opposed to that of the senate, were desirous rather that the state should be embroiled, than that they themselves should be out of power. This was an evil, which, after many years, had returned upon the community to the extent to which it now prevailed.

38. For after the powers of the tribunes, in the consulate of Cneius Pompey and Marcus Crassus, had been fully restored, certain young men, of an ardent age and temper, having obtained that high office, began to stir up the populace by inveighing against the senate, and proceeded, in course of time, by means of largesses and promises, to inflame them more and more; by which methods they became popular and powerful. On the other hand, the most of the nobility opposed their proceedings to the utmost; under pretence, indeed, of supporting the senate, but in reality for their own aggrandizement. For, to state the truth in few words whatever parties, during that period, disturbed the republic under plausible pretexts, some, as if to defend the rights of the people, others, to make the authority of the senate as great as possible, all, though affecting concern for the public good, contended everyone for his own interest. In such contests there was neither moderation nor limit; each party made a merciless use of its successes.

39. After Pompey, however, was sent to the maritime and Mithridatic wars, the power of the people was diminished and the influence of the few increased. These few kept all public offices, the administration of the provinces, and everything else, in their own hands; they themselves lived free from harm, in flourishing circumstances, and without apprehension; overawing others, at the same time, with threats of impeachment, so that, when in office, they might be less inclined to inflame the people. But as soon as a prospect of change, in this dubious state of affairs, had presented itself, the old spirit of contention awakened their passions; and had Catiline, in his first battle, come off victorious, or left the struggle undecided, great distress and calamity must certainly have fallen upon the state, nor would those, who might at last have gained the ascendancy, have been allowed to enjoy it long, for some superior power would have wrested dominion and liberty from them when weary and exhausted.

There were some, however, unconnected with the conspiracy, who set out to join Catiline at an early period of his proceedings. Among these was Aulus Fulvius, the son of a senator, whom, being arrested on his journey, his father ordered to be put to death. In Rome, at the same time Lentulus, in pursuance of Catiline's directions, was endeavoring to gain over, by his own agency or that of others, all whom he thought adapted, either by principles or circumstances, to promote an insurrection; and not citizens only but every description of men who could be of any service in war.

40. He accordingly commissioned one Publius Umbrenus to apply to certain deputies of the Allobroges, and to lead them, if he could, to a participation in the war; supposing that as they were nationally and individually involved in debt, and as the Gauls were naturally warlike, they might easily be drawn into such an enterprise. Umbrenus, as he had traded in Gaul, was known to most

mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percontatus pauca de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum, requirere coepit, quem exitum tantis malis sperarent. Postquam illos videt queri de avaritia magistratum, accusare senatum, quod in eo auxilii nihil esset, miseris suis remedium mortem expectare: 'At ego, inquit, vobis, si modo viri esse vultis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis.' Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maximam spem adducti Umbrenum orare, ut sui misereretur; nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissime facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum, D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat neque aliena consilii²⁰⁴ propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Praeterea Gabinium accersit,²⁰⁵ quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset. Eo praesente conjurationem aperit, nominat socios, praeterea multos cujusque generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior²⁰⁶ esset; deinde eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit.

41. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae, at in altera majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa praemia. Haec illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cujus patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam con silio cognito, legatis praecepit, ut studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur, dentque operam, uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant.²⁰⁷

42. Iisdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore,²⁰⁸ item in agro Piceno, Bruttio,²⁰⁹ Apulia motus erat. Namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementia cuncta simul agebant; nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer praetor ex senati consulto, causa cognita, in vincula conjecerat; item in ulteriore Gallia G. Murena, qui ei provinciae legatus²¹⁰ praeerat.

43. At Romae Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut videbatur, magnis copiis, constituerant, uti quum Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum exercitu venisset. L. Bestia tribunus plebis contione habita quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissimi invidiam optimo consuli imponeret; eo signo²¹¹ proxima nocte cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exequeretur. Sed²¹² ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinus uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilius aditum ad consulem ceterosque, quibus insidiae parabantur, fieret; Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret eumque vi aggrediretur, alius autem alium; sed filii²¹³ familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxima pars erat,

of the chief men there, and personally acquainted with them; and consequently without loss of time, as soon as he noticed the envoys in the Forum, he asked them, after making a few inquiries about the state of their country, and affecting to commiserate its fallen condition, "what termination they expected to such calamities?" When he found that they complained of the rapacity of the magistrates, inveighed against the senate for not affording them relief, and looked to death as the only remedy for their sufferings, "Yet I," said he, "if you will but act as men, will show you a method by which you may escape these pressing difficulties." When he had said this, the Allobroges, animated with the highest hopes, besought Umbrenus to take compassion on them; saying that there was nothing so disagreeable or difficult, which they would not most gladly perform, if it would but free their country from debt. He then conducted them to the house of Decimus Brutus, which was close to the Forum, and, on account of Sempronia, not unsuitable to his purpose, as Brutus was then absent from Rome. In order, too, to give greater weight to his representations, he sent for Gabinus, and, in his presence, explained the objects of the conspiracy, and mentioned the names of the confederates, as well as those of many other persons, of every sort, who were guiltless of it, for the purpose of inspiring the ambassadors with greater confidence. At length, when they had promised their assistance, he let them depart.

41. Yet the Allobroges were long in suspense what course they should adopt. On the one hand, there was debt, an inclination for war, and great advantages to be expected from victory; on the other, superior resources, safe plans, and certain rewards instead of uncertain expectations. As they were balancing these considerations, the good fortune of the state at length prevailed. They accordingly disclosed the whole affair, just as they had learned it, to Quintus Fabius Sanga, to whose patronage their state was very greatly indebted. Cicero, being apprised of the matter by Sanga, directed the deputies to pretend a strong desire for the success of the plot, to seek interviews with the rest of the conspirators, to make them fair promises, and to endeavor to lay them open to conviction as much as possible.

42. Much about the same time there were commotions in Hither and Further Gaul, in the Picenian and Bruttian territories, and in Apulia. For those, whom Catiline had previously sent to those parts, had begun, without consideration and seemingly with madness, to attempt everything at once, and, by nocturnal meetings, by removing armor and weapons from place to place, and by hurrying and confusing everything, had created more alarm than danger. Of these, Quintus Metellus Celer, the praetor, having brought several to trial, under the decree of the senate, had thrown them into prison, as had also Caius Muraena in Further Gaul, who governed that province in quality of legate.

43. But at Rome, in the mean time, Lentulus, with the other leaders of the conspiracy, having secured what they thought a large force, had arranged, that as soon as Catiline should reach the neighborhood of Faesulae, Lucius Bestia, a tribune of the people, having called an assembly, should complain of the proceedings of Cicero, and lay the odium of this most oppressive war on the excellent consul; and that the rest of the conspirators, taking this as a signal, should, on the following night, proceed to execute their respective parts.

These parts are said to have been thus distributed. Statilius and Gabinus, with a large force, were

parentes interficerent, simul caede et incendio percussis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter haec parata atque decreta²¹⁴ Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum; illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere, facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse, seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat; maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

44. Sed Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt;²¹⁵ ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statio, item Cassio postulant iusjurandum, quod signatum ad cives perferant; aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant; Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur ac paulo ante legates ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum his T. Volturcium quemdam Crotoniensem mittit, ut Allobroges prins quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina data atque accepta fide societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est: 'Qui²¹⁶ sim ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse; consideres, quid tuae rationes postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.'²¹⁷ Ad hoc mandata verbis dat: 'Quum ab senatu hostis iudicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse, quae iusserit; ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere.'

45. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte, qua proficiscerentur, Cicero per legates cuncta edoctus,²¹⁸ L. Valerio Flacco et G. Pomptinio praetoribus imperat, ut in ponte Mulvio²¹⁹ per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant; rem omnem aperit, cuius gratia mittebantur, cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. Illi, homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis collocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt.²²⁰ Postquam ad id loci²²¹ legati cum Volturcio venerunt et simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine mora praetoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit, deinde ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinium obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus ac vitae diffidens velut hostibus²²² sese praetoribus dedit.

to set on fire twelve places of the city, convenient for their purpose, at the same time; in order that, during the consequent tumult, an easier access might be obtained to the consul, and to the others whose destruction was intended; Cethegus was to beset the gate of Cicero, and attack him personally with violence; others were to single out other victims; while the sons of certain families, mostly of the nobility, were to kill their fathers; and, when all were in consternation at the massacre and conflagration, they were to sally forth to join Catiline.

While they were thus forming and settling their plans, Cethegus was incessantly complaining of the want of spirit in his associates; observing, that they wasted excellent opportunities through hesitation and delay; that, in such an enterprise, there was need, not of deliberation, but of action and that he himself, if a few would support him, would storm the senate-house while the others remained inactive. Being naturally bold, sanguine, and prompt to act, he thought that success depended on rapidity of execution.

44. The Allobroges, according to the directions of Cicero, procured interviews, by means of Gabinus, with the other conspirators; and from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statio, and Cassius, they demanded an oath, which they might carry under seal to their countrymen, who otherwise would hardly join in so important an affair. To this the others consented without suspicion; but Cassius promised them soon to visit their country, and, indeed, left the city a little before the deputies. In order that the Allobroges, before they reached home, might confirm their agreement with Catiline, by giving and receiving pledges of faith, Lentulus sent with them one Titus Volturcius, a native of Crotona, he himself giving Volturcius a letter for Catiline, of which the following is a copy: "Who I am, you will learn from the person whom I have sent to you. Reflect seriously in how desperate a situation you are placed, and remember that you are a man. Consider what your views demand, and seek aid from all, even the lowest. In addition, he gave him this verbal message: Since he was declared an enemy by the senate, for what reason should he reject the assistance of slaves? That, in the city, everything which he had directed was arranged and that he should not delay to make nearer approaches to it."

45. Matters having proceeded thus far, and a night being appointed for the departure of the deputies, Cicero, being by them made acquainted with everything, directed the praetors, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and Caius Pomptinus, to arrest the retinue of the Allobroges, by lying in wait for them on the Milvian Bridge; he gave them a full explanation of the object with which they were sent, and left them to manage the rest as occasion might require. Being military men, they placed a force, as had been directed, without disturbance, and secretly invested the bridge; when the envoys, with Volturcius, came to the place, and a shout was raised from each side of the bridge, the Gauls, at once comprehending the matter, surrendered themselves immediately to the praetors. Volturcius, at first, encouraging his companions, defended himself against numbers with his sword; but afterwards, being unsupported by the Allobroges, he began earnestly to beg Pomptinus, to whom he was known, to save his life, and at last, terrified and despairing of safety, he surrendered himself to the praetors as unconditionally as to foreign enemies.

46. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuntios consuli declarantur. At ilium ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere; nam laetabatur intellegens conjuratione patefacta civitatem periculis ereptam esse, porro autem anxius erat, dubitans, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset; poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundae rei publicae²²³ fore credebat. Igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item quendam Caeparium Tarracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt: Caeparius paulo ante domo egressus cognito indicio ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens in senatum²²⁴ perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, magnaue frequentia ejus ordinis, Volturcium cum legatis introducit, Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem afferre jubet.

47. Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid aut qua de causa consilii habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare deconjuratione; post, ubi fide publica dicere jussus est,²²⁵ omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit docetque se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Caepario socium ascitum nihil amplius scire quam legatos; tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Ser. Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea conjuratione esse. Eadem Galli fatentur ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt praeter litteras sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat; ex libris Sibyllinis²²⁶ regnum Romae tribus Corneliis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri;²²⁷ praeterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis haruspices²²⁸ respondissent bello civili cruentum fore. Igitur perlectis litteris, quum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus, itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis²²⁹ habeantur. Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius G. Caesari, Gabinus M. Crasso, Caeparius (nam is paulo ante ex fuga retractus erat) Gn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

48. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quae primo cupida rerum novarum nimis bello favebat, mutata mente Catilinae consilia execrari, Ciceronem ad coelum tollere; veluti ex servitute erepta gaudium atque laetitiam agitabat.²³⁰ Namque alia belli facinora praedae magis quam detrimento fore, incendium vero crudele, immoderatum ac sibi maxim calamitosum putabat, quippe cui omnes copiae in usu cotidiano et cultu corporis erant.²³¹ Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum ajebant. Is, quum se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset, jussus a consule quae sciret edicere, eadem fere quae Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de caede bonorum, de itinere hostium senatum docet; praeterea se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinae nuntiaret, ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus alique ex conjuratione deprehensi²³² terrerent, eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur. Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum

46. The affair being thus concluded, a full account of it was immediately transmitted to the consul by messengers. Great anxiety, and great joy, affected him at the same moment. He rejoiced that, by the discovery of the conspiracy, the state was freed from danger; but he was doubtful how he ought to act, when citizens of such eminence were detected in treason so atrocious. He saw that their punishment would be a weight upon himself, and their escape the destruction of the Commonwealth. Having, however, formed his resolutions he ordered Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinus, and one Quintus Coeparius of Terracina, who was preparing to go to Apulia to raise the slaves, to be summoned before him. The others came without delay; but Coeparius, having left his house a little before, and heard of the discovery of the conspiracy, had fled from the city. The consul himself conducted Lentulus, as he was praetor, holding him by the hand, and ordered the others to be brought into the Temple of Concord, under a guard. Here he assembled the senate, and in a very full attendance of that body, introduced Volturcius with the deputies. Hither also he ordered Valerius Flaccus, the praetor, to bring the box with the letters which he had taken from the deputies.

47. Volturcius, being questioned concerning his journey, concerning his letter, and lastly, what object he had had in view, and from what motives he had acted, at first began to prevaricate, and to pretend ignorance of the conspiracy; but at length, when he was told to speak on the security of the public faith, he disclosed every circumstance as it had really occurred, stating that he had been admitted as an associate a few days before, by Gabinus and Coeparius; that he knew no more than the envoys, only that he used to hear from Gabinus, that Publius Autronius, Servius Sylla, Lucius Vargunteius, and many others, were engaged in the conspiracy. The Gauls made a similar confession, and charged Lentulus, who began to affect ignorance, not only with the letter to Catiline, but with remarks which he was in the habit of making, "that the sovereignty of Rome, by the Sibylline books, was predestined to three Corneli, that Cinna and Sylla had ruled already; and that he himself was the third, whose fate it would be to govern the city; and that this, too, was the twentieth year since the Capitol was burnt; a year which the augurs, from certain omens, had often said would be stained with the blood of civil war."

The letter then being read, the senate, when all had previously acknowledged their seals, decreed that Lentulus, being deprived of his office, should, as well as the rest, be placed in private custody. Lentulus, accordingly, was given in charge to Publius Lentulus Spinther, who was then aedile; Cethegus, to Quintus Cornificius; Statilius, to Caius Caesar; Gabinus, to Marcus Crassus; and Coeparius, who had just before been arrested in his flight, to Cneius Terentius, a senator.

48. The common people, meanwhile, who had at first, from a desire of change in the government, been too much inclined to war, having, on the discovery of the plot, altered their sentiments, began to execrate the projects of Catiline, to extol Cicero to the skies; and, as if rescued from slavery, to give proofs of joy and exultation. Other effects of war they expected as a gain rather than a loss; but the burning of the city they thought inhuman, outrageous, and fatal especially to themselves, whose whole property consisted in their daily necessaries and the clothes which they wore. On the following day, a certain Lucius Tarquinius was brought before the senate, who was said to have been arrested as he was setting out to join Catiline. This person, having offered to give information of the conspiracy, if the public faith were pledged to him, and being directed by the consul to state what he knew, gave the senate nearly the same account as Volturcius had given, concerning the intended conflagration, the massacre of respectable citizens, and the approach of the enemy,

nominavit, hominem nobilem, maximis divitiis, summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars tametsi verum existimabant, tamen quia in tali tempore²³³ tanta vis hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii conclamant indicem falsum esse, deque ea re postulant uti referatur.²³⁴ Itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit, Tarquinius indicium falsum videri, eumque in vinculis retinendum, neque amplius potestatem²³⁵ faciendam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem esset mentitus. Erant eo tempore, qui aestimarent, indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius appellato Crasso per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immissum ajebant, ne Crassus more suo suscepto malorum patrocini rem publicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem²³⁶ audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi a Cicerone impositam.

49. Sed iisdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso²³⁷ neque precibus neque gratia neque pretio Ciceronem impellere potuerunt, uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem C. Caesar falso nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo graves inimicitias exercebat: Piso oppugnatus in judicio pecuniarum repetundarum propter cujusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod extrema aetate, maximis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Caesare victus²³⁸ discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur, quod is privatim egregia liberalitate, publice maximis muneribus²³⁹ grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singulatim circumeundo atque ementiundo, quae se ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent,²⁴⁰ magnam illi invidiam conflaverant, usque adeo, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui praesidii causa eum telis erant circum aedem Concordiae, seu periculi magnitudine seu animi mobilitate²⁴¹ impulsus, quo studium suum in rem publicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Caesari gladio minitarentur.

50. Dum haec in senatu aguntur et dum legatis Allobrogum et T. Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, praemia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli diversis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum,²⁴² qui pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant. Cethegus autem per nuntios familiam atque libertos suos, lectos et exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, ut grege facto cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu refert, quid de his fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant. Sed eos paulo ante frequens senatus judicaverat contra rem publicam fecisse.²⁴³ Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus,²⁴⁴ quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de his, qui in custodiis tenebantur, praeterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat; isque postea, permotus oratione C. Caesaris, pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum²⁴⁵ se dixerat, quod de ea re praesidiis additis referendum censuerat.²⁴⁶ Sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sen-

adding that "he was sent by Marcus Crassus to assure Catiline that the apprehension of Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the conspirators, ought not to alarm him, but that he should hasten, with so much the more expedition, to the city, in order to revive the courage of the rest, and to facilitate the escape of those in custody." When Tarquinius named Crassus, a man of noble birth, of very great wealth, and of vast influence, some, thinking the statement incredible, others, though they supposed it true, yet, judging that at such a crisis a man of such power was rather to be soothed than irritated (most of them, too, from personal reasons, being under obligation to Crassus), exclaimed that he was "a false witness," and demanded that the matter should be put to the vote. Cicero, accordingly, taking their opinions, a full senate decreed, "that the testimony of Tarquinius appeared false; that he himself should be kept in prison; and that no further liberty of speaking should be granted him, unless he should name the person at whose instigation he had fabricated so shameful a calumny." There were some, at that time, who thought that this affair was contrived by Publius Autronius, in order that the interest of Crassus, if he were accused, might, from participation in the danger, more readily screen the rest. Others said that Tarquinius was suborned by Cicero, that Crassus might not disturb the state, by taking upon him, as was his custom, the defense of the criminals. That this attack on his character was made by Cicero, I afterwards heard Crassus himself assert.

49. Yet, at the same time, neither by interest, nor by solicitation, nor by bribes, could Quintus Catulus, and Caius Piso, prevail upon Cicero to have Caius Caesar falsely accused, either by means of the Allobroges, or any other evidence. Both of these men were at bitter enmity with Caesar; Piso, as having been attacked by him, when he was on his trial for extortion, on a charge of having illegally put to death a Transpadane Gaul; Catulus, as having hated him ever since he stood for the pontificate, because, at an advanced age, and after filling the highest offices, he had been defeated by Caesar, who was then comparatively a youth. The opportunity, too, seemed favorable for such an accusation; for Caesar, by extraordinary generosity in private, and by magnificent exhibitions in public, had fallen greatly into debt. But when they failed to persuade the consul to such injustice, they themselves, by going from one person to another, and spreading fictions of their own, which they pretended to have heard from Volturcius or the Allobroges, excited such violent odium against him, that certain Roman knights, who were stationed as an armed guard round the Temple of Concord, being prompted, either by the greatness of the danger, or by the impulse of a high spirit, to testify more openly their zeal for the republic, threatened Caesar with their swords as he went out of the senate-house.

50. While these occurrences were passing in the senate, and while rewards were being voted, on approbation of their evidence, to the Allobrogian deputies and to Titus Volturcius, the freedmen, and some of the other dependents of Lentulus, were urging the artisans and slaves, in various directions throughout the city, to attempt his rescue; some, too, applied to the ringleaders of the mob, who were always ready to disturb the state for pay. Cethegus, at the same time, was soliciting, through his agents, his slaves and freedmen, men trained to deeds of audacity, to collect themselves into an armed body, and force a way into his place of confinement.

The consul, when he heard that these things were in agitation, having distributed armed bodies of men, as the circumstances and occasion demanded, called a meeting of the senate, and desired to know "what they wished to be done concerning those who had been committed to custody." A full senate, however, had but a short time before declared them traitors to their country. On this occa-

tentiam a consule, hujusmodi verba locutus est:

51. Omnes homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officunt, neque quisquam omnium libidini simul et usui paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet; si libido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia est memorandi, P. C., quae reges atque populi ira aut misericordia impulsu male consuluerint;²⁴⁷ sed ea malo dicere, quae majores nostri contra libidinem animi sui recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse²⁴⁸ gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quae populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque adversa nobis fuit; sed postquam bello confecto de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis quam injuriae causa bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos eos dimisere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, quum saepe Karthaginenses et in pace et per inducias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, nunquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere; magis, quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illos jure fieri posset, quaerebant. Hoc item vobis providendum est, P. C., ne plus apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus quam vestra dignitas; ne magis irae vestrae quam famae consulatis. Nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium approbo; sin magnitudine sceleris omnium ingenia exuperat, his utendum censeo, quae legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententiam dixerunt, composite atque magnifice casum rei publicae miserati sunt; quae belli saevitia esset, quae victis acciderent, enumeravere; rapi virgines, pueros, divelli liberos a parentum complexu, matres familiarum pati, quae victoribus collibuissent, fana atque domos spoliari, caedem, incendia fieri, postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortales, quo illa oratio pertinuit? an²⁴⁹ uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? Scilicet²⁵⁰ quem res tanta et tam, atrox non permovet, eum oratio accendet. Non ita est; neque cuiquam mortalium injuriae suae²⁵¹ parvae videntur: multi eas gravius aequo habuere.²⁵² Sed alia aliis licentia est, P. C. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent,²⁵³ si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt: qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales noverere. Ita in maxima fortuna minima licentia est; neque studere, neque odisse, sed minime irasci decet; quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. Equidem ego²⁵⁴ sic existimo, P. C., omnes cruciatus minores quam facinora illorum esse; sed plerique mortales postrema meminere, et in hominibus impiis sceleris eorum obliti de poena disserunt, si ea paulo severior fuit. D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certo scio, quae dixerit, studio rei publicae dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias²⁵⁵ exercere; eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi.²⁵⁶ Verum sententia ejus mihi non crudelis,--quid enim in tales homines crudele fieri potest?--sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus aut injuria te subegit,²⁵⁷ Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenae novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, quum praesertim diligentia clarissimi viri, consulis, tanta praesidia sint in armis. De poena possumus equidem dicere id quod res habet;²⁵⁸ in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse, eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere, ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortales, quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteretur?²⁵⁹ An quia lex Porcia²⁶⁰ vetat? At aliae leges item condemnatis civibus non animam eripi, sed exilium permitti jubent.²⁶¹ An, quia

sion, Decimus Junius Silanus, who, as consul elect, was first asked his opinion, moved that capital punishment should be inflicted, not only on those who were in confinement, but also on Lucius Cassius, Publius Furius, Publius Umbrenus, and Quintus Annius, if they should be apprehended; but afterwards, being influenced by the speech of Caius Caesar, he said that he would go over to the opinion of Tiberius Nero, who had proposed that the guards should be increased, and that the senate should deliberate further on the matter. Caesar, when it came to his turn, being asked his opinion by the consul, spoke to the following effect:

51. "It becomes all men, Conscript Fathers, who deliberate on dubious matters, to be influenced neither by hatred, affection, anger, nor pity. The mind, when such feelings obstruct its view, cannot easily see what is right; nor has any human being consulted, at the same moment, his passions and his interest. When the mind is freely exerted, its reasoning is sound; but passion, if it gain possession of it, becomes its tyrant, and reason is powerless.

"I could easily mention, Conscript Fathers, numerous examples of kings and nations, who, swayed by resentment or compassion, have adopted injudicious courses of conduct; but I had rather speak of those instances in which our ancestors, in opposition to the impulse of passion, acted with wisdom and sound policy.

"In the Macedonian war, which we carried on against king Perses, the great and powerful state of Rhodes, which had risen by the aid of the Roman people, was faithless and hostile to us; yet, when the war was ended, and the conduct of the Rhodians was taken into consideration, our forefathers left them unmolested, lest any should say that war was made upon them for the sake of seizing their wealth, rather than of punishing their faithlessness. Throughout the Punic Wars, too, though the Carthaginians, both during peace, and in suspensions of arms, were guilty of many acts of injustice, yet our ancestors never took occasion to retaliate, but considered rather what was worthy of themselves, than what might justly be inflicted on their enemies.

"Similar caution, Conscript Fathers, is to be observed by yourselves, that the guilt of Lentulus, and the other conspirators, may not have greater weight with you than your own dignity, and that you may not regard your indignation more than your character. If, indeed, a punishment adequate to their crimes be discovered, I consent to extraordinary measures; but if the enormity of their crime exceeds, whatever can be devised, I think that we should inflict only such penalties as the laws have provided.

"Most of those, who have given their opinions before me, have deplored, in studied and impressive language, the sad fate that threatens the republic; they have recounted the barbarities of war, and the afflictions that would fall on the vanquished; they have told us that maidens would be dishonored, and youths abused; that children would be torn from the embraces of their parents; that matrons would be subjected to the pleasure of the conquerors; that temples and dwelling-houses would be plundered; that massacres and fires would follow; and that every place would be filled with arms, corpses, blood, and lamentation. But to what end, in the name of the eternal gods! was such eloquence directed? Was it intended to render you indignant at the conspiracy? A speech, no doubt, will inflame him whom so frightful and monstrous a reality has not provoked! Far from it: for to no man does evil, directed against himself, appear a light matter; many, on the contrary, have felt it more seriously than was right.

gravius est verberari quam necari? Quid autem acerbum aut nimis grave est in homines tanti facinoris convictos? Sin, quia levius est; qui convenit²⁶² in minore negotio legem timere, quum eam in majore neglexeris? At enim²⁶³ quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas rei publicae decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus libido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidet, quidquid venerit; ceterum vos, P. C., quid in alios statuatis, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex bonis orta sunt; sed ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur.²⁶⁴ Lacedaemonii devictis Atheniensibus triginta viros²⁶⁵ imposuere, qui rem publicam eorum tractarent. Hi primo coepere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare; ea²⁶⁶ populus laetari et merito dicere fieri. Post ubi paulatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos libidinosè interficere, ceteros metu terrere. Ita civitas servitute oppressa stultae laetitiae graves poenas dedit. Nostra memoria victor Sulla quum Damasippum²⁶⁷ et alios hujusmodi, qui malo rei publicae creverant, jugulare jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? Homines scelestos et factiosos, qui seditionibus rem publicam exagitaverant, merito necatos ajebant. Sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit. Nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, ut is in proscriptorum²⁶⁸ numero esset. Ita illi, quibus Damasippi mors laetitiae fuerat, paulo post ipsi trahebantur; neque prius finis jugulandi fuit quam Sulla omnes suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego haec non in M. Tullio neque his temporibus vereor, sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi; ubi hoc exemplo per senati decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem statuet aut quis moderabitur? Majores nostri, P. C., neque consilii neque audaciae unquam eguere, neque illis superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque²⁶⁹ sumpserunt: postremo quod ubique apud socios aut hostes idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exequabantur, imitari quam invidere bonis malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore, Graeciae morem imitati, verberibus animadvertabant in cives, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam res publica adolevit et multitudine civium factiones valere, circumvenire innocentes, alia hujuscemodi fieri coepere, tum lex Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, quibus legibus²⁷⁰ exilium damnatis permissum est. Ego hanc causam, P. C., quominus²⁷¹ novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur eos dimitti et augere exercitum Catilinae? Minime, sed ita censeo; publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia,²⁷² quae maxime opibus valent; neu quis de his postea ad senatum referat neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum existimare eum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium facturum.’

“But to different persons, Conscript Fathers, different degrees of license are allowed. If those who pass a life sunk in obscurity, commit any error, through excessive anger, few become aware of it, for their fame is as limited as their fortune; but of those who live invested with extensive power, and in an exalted station, the whole world knows the proceedings. Thus in the highest position there is the least liberty of action; and it becomes us to indulge neither partiality nor aversion, but least of all animosity; for what in others is called resentment, is in the powerful termed violence and cruelty.

“I am indeed of opinion, Conscript Fathers, that the utmost degree of torture is inadequate to punish their crime; but the generality of mankind dwell on that which happens last, and, in the case of malefactors, forget their guilt, and talk only of their punishment, should that punishment have been inordinately severe. I feel assured, too, that Decimus Silanus, a man of spirit and resolution, made the suggestions which he offered, from zeal for the state, and that he had no view, in so important a matter, to favor or to enmity; such I know to be his character, and such his discretion. Yet his proposal appears to me, I will not say cruel (for what can be cruel that is directed against such characters?), but foreign to our policy. For assuredly, Silanus, either your fears, or their treason, must have induced you, a consul elect, to propose this new kind of punishment. Of fear it is unnecessary to speak, when, by the prompt activity of that distinguished man our consul, such numerous forces are under arms, and as to the punishment, we may say, what is indeed the truth, that in trouble and distress, death is a relief from suffering, and not a torment; that it puts an end to all human woes; and that, beyond it, there is no place either for sorrow or joy.

“But why, in the name of the immortal gods, did you not add to your proposal, Silanus, that, before they were put to death, they should be punished with the scourge? Was it because the Porcian law forbids it? But other laws forbid condemned citizens to be deprived of life, and allow them to go into exile. Or was it because scourging is a severer penalty than death? Yet what can be too severe, or too harsh, towards men convicted of such an offence? But if scourging be a milder punishment than death, how is it consistent to observe the law as to the smaller point, when you disregard it as to the greater?

“But who, it may be asked, will blame any severity that shall be decreed against these parricides of their country? I answer that time, the course of events, and fortune, whose caprice governs nations, may blame it. Whatever shall fall on the traitors, will fall on them justly; but it is for you, Conscript Fathers, to consider well what you resolve to inflict on others. All precedents productive of evil effects, have had their origin from what was good; but when a government passes into the hands of the ignorant or unprincipled, any new example of severity, inflicted on deserving and suitable objects, is extended to those that are improper and undeserving of it. The Lacedaemonians, when they had conquered the Athenians, appointed thirty men to govern their state. These thirty began their administration by putting to death, even without a trial, all who were notoriously wicked, or publicly detestable; acts at which the people rejoiced, and extolled their justice. But afterwards, when their lawless power gradually increased, they proceeded, at their pleasure, to kill the good and bad indiscriminately, and to strike terror into all; and thus the state, overpowered and enslaved, paid a heavy penalty for its imprudent exultation.

“Within our own memory, too, when the victorious Sylla ordered Damasippus, and others of similar character, who had risen by distressing their country, to be put to death, who did not commend the proceeding? All exclaimed that wicked and factious men, who had troubled the state with their seditious practices, had justly forfeited their lives. Yet this proceeding was the commencement of great bloodshed. For whenever any one coveted the mansion or villa, or even the

52. Postquam Caesar dicendi finem fecit, ceteri verbo alius alii varie assentiebantur: at M. Porcius Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujuscemodi orationem habuit: 'Longe mihi alia mens est, P. C., quum res atque pericula nostra considero, et quum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo.²⁷³ Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriae, parentibus, aris atque focus suis bellum paravere; res autem monet cavere ab illis magis quam, quid in illos statuamus, consultare. Nam cetera maleficia tum persequere, ubi facta sunt; hoc nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores; capta urbe nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortales, vos ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras pluris quam rem publicam fecistis,²⁷⁴ si ista, cujuscunque modi sunt quae amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium praebere vultis, expergiscimini aliquando et capessite rem publicam.²⁷⁵ Non agitur de vectigalibus neque de sociorum injuriis: libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. Saepenumero, P. C., multa verba in hoc ordine feci,²⁷⁶ saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortales ea causa adversos habeo; qui mihi atque animo meo nullius unquam delicti gratiam fecissem,²⁷⁷ haud facile alterius libidini male facta condonabam. Sed ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen res publica

plate or apparel of another, he exerted his influence to have him numbered among the proscribed. Thus they, to whom the death of Damasippus had been a subject of joy, were soon after dragged to death themselves; nor was there any cessation of slaughter, until Sylla had glutted all his partisans with riches.

“Such excesses, indeed, I do not fear from Marcus Tullius, or in these times. But in a large state there arise many men of various dispositions. At some other period, and under another consul, who, like the present, may have an army at his command, some false accusation may be credited as true; and when, with our example for a precedent, the consul shall have drawn the sword on the authority of the senate, who shall stay its progress, or moderate its fury?

“Our ancestors, Conscript Fathers, were never deficient in conduct or courage; nor did pride prevent them from imitating the customs of other nations, if they appeared deserving of regard. Their armor, and weapons of war, they borrowed from the Samnites; their ensigns of authority, for the most part, from the Etrurians; and, in short, whatever appeared eligible to them, whether among allies or among enemies, they adopted at home with the greatest readiness, being more inclined to emulate merit than to be jealous of it. But at the same time, adopting a practice from Greece, they punished their citizens with the scourge, and inflicted capital punishment on such as were condemned. When the republic, however, became powerful, and faction grew strong from the vast number of citizens, men began to involve the innocent in condemnation, and other like abuses were practiced; and it was then that the Porcian and other laws were provided, by which condemned citizens were allowed to go into exile. This lenity of our ancestors, Conscript Fathers, I regard as a very strong reason why we should not adopt any new measures of severity. For assuredly there was greater merit and wisdom in those, who raised so mighty an empire from humble means, than in us, who can scarcely preserve what they so honorably acquired. Am I of opinion, then, you will ask, that the conspirators should be set free, and that the army of Catiline should thus be increased? Far from it; my recommendation is, that their property be confiscated, and that they themselves be kept in custody in such of the municipal towns as are best able to bear the expense; that no one hereafter bring their case before the senate, or speak on it to the people; and that the senate now give their opinion, that he who shall act contrary to this, will act against the republic and the general safety.”

52. When Caesar had ended his speech, the rest briefly expressed their assent, some to one speaker, and some to another, in support of their different proposals; but Marcus Porcius Cato, being asked his opinion, made a speech to the following purport:

“My feelings, Conscript Fathers, are extremely different, when I contemplate our circumstances and dangers, and when I revolve in my mind the sentiments of some who have spoken before me. Those speakers, as it seems to me, have considered only how to punish the traitors who have raised war against their country, their parents, their altars, and their homes; but the state of affairs warns us rather to secure ourselves against them, than to take counsel as to what sentence we should pass upon them. Other crimes you may punish after they have been committed; but as to this, unless you prevent its commission, you will, when it has once taken effect, in vain appeal to justice. When the city is taken, no power is left to the vanquished.

“But, in the name of the immortal gods, I call upon you who have always valued your mansions

firma erat; opulentia negligentiam tolerabat.²⁷⁸ Nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus vivamus, neque quantum aut quam magnificum imperium, populi Romani sit, sed haec cujuscunque modi videntur, nostra an nobiscum una hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat.²⁷⁹ Jampridem equidem²⁸⁰ nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus, quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur, eo²⁸¹ res publica in extremo sita est. Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus aerarii; ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et²⁸² dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnes perditum eant. Bene et composite G. Caesar paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existimans ea, quae de inferis memorantur, diverso itinere malos a bonis loca taetra, inculta, foeda atque formidolosa habere. Itaque censuit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos; videlicet timens, ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis aut a multitudine conducta per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe et non²⁸³ per totam Italiam sint, aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit; sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert²⁸⁴ me mihi atque vobis timere. Quare quum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuatis, pro certo habetote,²⁸⁵ vos simul de exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus conjuratis discernere. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit; si paululum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt.²⁸⁶ Nolite existimare, majores nostros armis rem publicam ex parva magnam fecisse.²⁸⁷ Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrimam eam nos haberemus; quippe sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum major nobis copia quam illis est. Sed alia fuere, quae illos magnos fecere, quae nobis nulla sunt, domi industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque libidini obnoxius.²⁸⁸ Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam, publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum est; omnia virtutis praemia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum: ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic²⁸⁹ pecuniae aut gratiae servitis, eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuum²⁹⁰ rem publicam. Sed ego haec omitto. Conjuravere nobilissimi cives patriam incendere,²⁹¹ Gallorum gentem infestissimam nomini Romano ad bellum accersunt; dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiam nunc, quid intra moenia deprensus hostibus faciatis?²⁹² Misereamini censeo²⁹³ --deliquere homines adolescentuli per ambitionem, --atque etiam armatos dimittatis. Nae ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint in miseriam onvertet.²⁹⁴ Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam.²⁹⁵ Immo vero²⁹⁶ maxime; sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium expectantes cunctamini, videlicet dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem publicam saepe in maximis periculis servavere. Non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prospera omnia cedunt; ubi socordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequidquam deos implores;²⁹⁷ irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros A. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostempugnaverit, necare jussit,²⁹⁸ atque ille egregius adolescens immoderatae fortitudinis morte poenas dedit: vos de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis cunctamini? Videlicet cetera vita eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dis aut hominibus unquam ullis pepercit; ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiae, nisi iterum jam patriae bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Caepario loquar? quibus si quidquam²⁹⁹ unquam pensuisset, non ea consilia de re publica habuissent. Postremo, P. C., si mehercule peccato locus esset,³⁰⁰ facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnit; sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget:³⁰¹ alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes: neque parari neque consuli quidquam potest occulte; quo magis properandum est. Quare ita ego censeo: quum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium res publica in maxima pericula venerit, iique indicio T. Volturcii et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint caedem, incendia aliaque se foeda atque crudelia facinora in cives patriamque paravisse, de confessis sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium more majorum supplicium sumen-

and villas, your statues and pictures, at a higher price than the welfare of your country; if you wish to preserve those possessions, of whatever kind they are, to which you are attached; if you wish to secure quiet for the enjoyment of your pleasures, arouse yourselves, and act in defense of your country. We are not now debating on the revenues, or on injuries done to our allies, but our liberty and our life is at stake.

“Often, Conscript Fathers, have I spoken at great length in this assembly; often have I complained of the luxury and avarice of our citizens, and, by that very means, have incurred the displeasure of many. I, who never excused to myself, or to my own conscience, the commission of any fault, could not easily pardon the misconduct, or indulge the licentiousness, of others. But though you little regarded my remonstrances, yet the republic remained secure; its own strength was proof against your remissness. The question, however, at present under discussion, is not whether we live in a good or bad state of morals; nor how great, or how splendid, the empire of the Roman people is; but whether these things around us, of whatever value they are, are to continue our own, or to fall, with ourselves, into the hands of the enemy.

“In such a case, does any one talk to me of gentleness and compassion? For some time past, it is true, we have lost the real names of things; for to lavish the property of others is called generosity, and audacity in wickedness is called heroism; and hence the state is reduced to the brink of ruin. But let those, who thus misname things, be liberal, since such is the practice, out of the property of our allies; let them be merciful to the robbers of the treasury; but let them not lavish our blood, and, while they spare a few criminals, bring destruction on all the guiltless.

“Caius Caesar, a short time ago, spoke in fair and elegant language, before this assembly, on the subject of life and death; considering as false, I suppose, what is told of the dead; that the bad, going a different way from the good, inhabit places gloomy, desolate, dreary, and full of horror. He accordingly proposed that the property of the conspirators should be confiscated, and themselves kept in custody in the municipal towns; fearing, it seems, that, if they remain at Rome, they may be rescued either by their accomplices in the conspiracy, or by a hired mob; as if, forsooth, the mischievous and profligate were to be found only in the city, and not through the whole of Italy, or as if desperate attempts would not be more likely to succeed where there is less power to resist them. His proposal therefore, if he fears any danger from them, is absurd; but if, amidst such universal terror, he alone is free from alarm, it the more concerns me to fear for you and myself.

“Be assured, then, that when you decide on the fate of Lentulus and the other prisoners, you at the same time determine that of the army of Catiline, and of all the conspirators. The more spirit you display in your decision, the more will their confidence be diminished; but if they shall perceive you in the smallest degree irresolute, they will advance upon you with fury. Do not suppose that our ancestors, from so small a commencement, raised the republic to greatness merely by force of arms. If such had been the case, we should enjoy it in a most excellent condition; for of allies and citizens, as well as arms and horses, we have a much greater abundance than they had. But there were other things which made them great, but which among us have no existence; such as industry at home, equitable government abroad, and minds impartial in council, uninfluenced by any immoral or improper feeling. Instead of such virtues, we have luxury and avarice, public distress, and private superfluity; we extol wealth, and yield to indolence; no distinction is made between good men and bad; and ambition usurps the honors due to virtue. Nor is this wonderful; since you study each his individual interest, and since at home you are slaves to pleasure, and here to money or favor; and hence it happens that an attack is made on the defenseless state.

dum.’

53. Postquam Cato assedit, consulares omnes itemque senatus magna pars sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad coelum ferunt, alii alios increpantes timidos vocant, Cato clarus atque magnus habetur, senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat. Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quae populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari atque terra praeclara facinora fecit, forte libuit attendere, quae res maxime tanta negotia sustinuisset.³⁰² Sciebam saepenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse; cognoveram parvis copiis bella gesta cumopulentis regibus, ad hoc saepe fortunae violentiam toleravisse, facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitanti constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse,³⁰³ eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus res publica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat, ac, sicuti effeta parentum,³⁰⁴ multis tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit. Sed memoria mea ingenti virtute, diversis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et G. Caesar; quos quoniam res obtulerat, silentio praeterire non fuit consilium, quin³⁰⁵ utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

are then indignant and threaten vengeance.

In the days of our forefathers, Titus Manlius Torquatus, during a war with the Gauls, ordered his own son to be put to death, because he had fought with an enemy contrary to orders. That noble youth suffered for excess of bravery; and do you hesitate what sentence to pass on the most inhuman of traitors? Perhaps their former life is at variance with their present crime. Spare, then, the dignity of Lentulus, if he has ever spared his own honor or character, or had any regard for gods or for men. Pardon the youth of Cethegus, unless this be the second time that he has made war upon his country. As to Gabinius, Statilius, Coeparius, why should I make any remark upon them? Had they ever possessed the smallest share of discretion, they would never have engaged in such a plot against their country.

“In conclusion, Conscript Fathers, if there were time to amend an error, I might easily suffer you, since you disregard words, to be corrected by experience of consequences. But we are beset by dangers on all sides; Catiline, with his army, is ready to devour us; while there are other enemies within the walls, and in the heart of the city; nor can any measures be taken, or any plans arranged, without their knowledge. The more necessary is it, therefore, to act with promptitude. What I advise, then, is this: that since the state, by a treasonable combination of abandoned citizens, has been brought into the greatest peril; and since the conspirators have been convicted on the evidence of Titus Volturcius, and the envoys of the Allobroges, and on their own confession, of having concerted massacres, conflagrations, and other horrible and cruel outrages, against their fellow-citizens and their country, punishment be inflicted, according to the usage of our ancestors, on the prisoners who have confessed their guilt, as on men convicted of capital crimes.”

53. When Cato had resumed his seat, all the senators of consular dignity, and a great part of the rest, applauded his opinion, and extolled his firmness of mind to the skies. With mutual reproaches, they accused one another of timidity, while Cato was regarded as the greatest and noblest of men; and a decree of the senate was made as he had advised.

After reading and hearing of the many glorious achievements which the Roman people had performed at home and in the field, by sea as well as by land, I happened to be led to consider what had been the great foundation of such illustrious deeds. I knew that the Romans had frequently, with small bodies of men, encountered vast armies of the enemy; I was aware that they had carried on wars with limited forces against powerful sovereigns; that they had often sustained, too, the violence of adverse fortune; yet that, while the Greeks excelled them in eloquence, the Gauls surpassed them in military glory. After much reflection, I felt convinced that the eminent virtue of a few citizens had been the cause of all these successes; and hence it had happened that poverty had triumphed over riches, and a few over a multitude. And even in later time, when the state had become corrupted by luxury and indolence, the republic still supported itself, by its own strength, under the misconduct of its generals and magistrates; when, as if the parent stock were exhausted, there was certainly not produced at Rome, for many years, a single citizen of eminent ability. Within my recollection, however, there arose two men of remarkable powers, though of very different character, Marcus Cato and Caius Caesar, whom, since the subject has brought them before me, it is not my intention to pass in silence, but to describe, to the best of my ability, the disposition and manners of each.

54. Igitur his genus, aetas, eloquentia prope aequalia fuere; magnitudo animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii.³⁰⁶ Caesar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vitae Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus, huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Caesar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo, Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus est. In altero miseris perfugium erat, in altero malis pernicies; illius facilitas, hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremo Caesar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus sua neglegere, nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiae, decoris, sed maxime severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso, sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinencia certabat, esse quam videri bonus malebat; ita quo minus petebat gloriam, eo magis ilium sequebatur.³⁰⁷

55. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit,³⁰⁸ consul optimum factu ratus, noctem, quae instabat, antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, III. viros³⁰⁹ quae supplicium postulabat parare jubet; ipse, praesidiis dispositis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit;³¹⁰ idem fit ceteris per praetores. Est in carcere locus, quod³¹¹ Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum descenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus.³¹² Eum muniunt undique parietes atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus vineta,³¹³ sed incultu,³¹⁴ tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus, viridices rerum capitalium,³¹⁵ quibus praecceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ila ille patricius ex gente clarissima Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat,³¹⁶ dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitae invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Caepario eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.³¹⁷

56. Dum ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia,³¹⁸ quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit, cohortes pro numero militum complet,³¹⁹ deinde, ut quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, aequaliter distribuerat, ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat, quum initio non amplius duobus milibus³²⁰ habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas,³²¹ alii praeacutas sudas portabant. Sed postquam Antonius³²² cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montes iter facere, modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam versus castra movere, hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare; sperabat propediem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cujus³²³ initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus, simul alienum suis rationibus existimans, videri³²⁴ causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

54. Their birth, age, and eloquence, were nearly on an equality; their greatness of mind similar, as was also their reputation, though attained by different means. Caesar grew eminent by generosity and munificence; Cato by the integrity of his life. Caesar was esteemed for his humanity and benevolence; austereness had given dignity to Cato. Caesar acquired renown by giving, relieving, and pardoning; Cato by bestowing nothing. In Caesar, there was a refuge for the unfortunate; in Cato, destruction for the bad. In Caesar, his easiness of temper was admired; in Cato, his firmness. Caesar, in fine, had applied himself to a life of energy and activity; intent upon the interests of his friends, he was neglectful of his own; he refused nothing to others that was worthy of acceptance, while for himself he desired great power, the command of an army, and a new war in which his talents might be displayed. But Cato's ambition was that of temperance, discretion, and, above all, of austerity; he did not contend in splendor with the rich, or in faction with the seditious, but with the brave in fortitude, with the modest in simplicity, with the temperate in abstinence, he was more desirous to be, than to appear, virtuous; and thus, the less he courted popularity, the more it pursued him.

55. When the senate, as I have stated, had gone over to the opinion of Cato, the consul, thinking it best not to wait till night, which was coming on, lest any new attempts should be made during the interval, ordered the triumvirs to make such preparations as the execution of the conspirators required. He himself, having posted the necessary guards conducted Lentulus to the prison; and the same office was performed for the rest by the praetors.

There is a place in the prison, which is called the Tullian dungeon, and which, after a slight ascent to the left, is sunk about twelve feet under ground. Walls secure it on every side, and over it is a vaulted roof connected with stone arches; but its appearance is disgusting and horrible, by reason of the filth, darkness, and stench. When Lentulus had been let down into this place, certain men, to whom orders had been given, strangled him with a cord. Thus this patrician, who was of the illustrious family of the Cornelii, and who had filled the office of consul at Rome, met with an end suited to his character and conduct. On Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Coeparius, punishment was inflicted in a similar manner.

56. During these proceedings at Rome, Catiline, out of the entire force which he himself had brought with him, and that which Manlius had previously collected, formed two legions, filling up the cohorts as far as his numbers would allow; and afterwards, as any volunteers, or recruits from his confederates, arrived in his camp, he distributed them equally throughout the cohorts, and thus filled up his legions, in a short time, with their regular number of men, though at first he had not had more than two thousand. But, of his whole army, only about a fourth part had the proper weapons of soldiers; the rest, as chance had equipped them, carried darts, spears, or sharpened stakes.

As Antonius approached with his army, Catiline directed his march over the hills, encamping, at one time, in the direction of Rome, at another in that of Gaul. He gave the enemy no opportunity of fighting, yet hoped himself shortly to find one, if his accomplices at Rome should succeed in their objects. Slaves, meanwhile, of whom vast numbers had at first flocked to him, he continued to reject, not only as depending on the strength of the conspiracy, but as thinking impolitic to appear to share the cause of citizens with runagates.

57. Sed postquam in castra nuntius pervenit Romae conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo et Cethego ceterisque, quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumptum; plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina per montes asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem³²⁵ abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte perfugeret in Galliam Transalpinam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existimans, quae supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movet ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat, utpote qui magno exercitu locis aequioribus expeditos in fuga sequeretur.³²⁶ Sed Catilina postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugae neque praesidii ullam spem, optimum factu ratus, in tali re fortunam belli temptare, statuit cum Antonio quam primum conflare. Itaque contione advocata hujusmodi orationem habuit:

58. 'Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet. Quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequidquam hortere; timor animi auribus officit.³²⁷ Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi; simul uti causam mei consilii aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque cladem attulerit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperier, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim.³²⁸ Nunc vero quo in loco³²⁹ res nostrae sint, juxta mecum omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia obstant; diutius in his locis esse, si maxime animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas³³⁰ prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiendum est. Quapropter vos moneo; uti forti atque parato animo sitis et, quum proelium inibitis, memineritis vos divitias, decus, gloriam, praeterea libertatem atque patriam in dexteris vestris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt, commeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniae patebunt; sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa adversa fient: neque locus neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. Praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet; nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus: illis supervacaneum est pro potentia paucorum pugnare. Quo audacius aggredimini, memores pristinae virtutis. Licuit vobis cum summa turpitudine in exilio aetatem agere; potuistis nonnulli Romae amissis bonis alienas opes expectare: quia illa foeda atque intoleranda vis videbantur, haec³³¹ sequi decrevistis. Si haec relinquere vultis, audacia opus est; nemo nisi victor pace bellum mutavit.³³² Nam in fuga salutem sperare, quum arma, quis³³³ corpus tegitur, ab hostibus averteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in proelio iis maximum est periculum, qui maxime timent; audacia pro muro habetur. Quum vos considero, milites, et quum facta vestra aestimo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. Animus, aetas, virtus vestra me hortantur;³³⁴ praeterea necessitudo, quae etiam timidos fortes facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae loci. Quodsi virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit, cavete,³³⁵ inulti animam amittatis, neu capti potius sicuti pecora trucidemini, quam virorum more pugnantem cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis.'

57. When it was reported in his camp, however, that the conspiracy had been discovered at Rome, and that Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest whom I have named, had been put to death, most of those whom the hope of plunder, or the love of change, had led to join in the war, fell away. The remainder Catiline conducted, over rugged mountains, and by forced marches, into the neighborhood of Pistoria, with a view to escape covertly, by cross roads, into Gaul.

But Quintus Metellus Celer, with a force of three legions, had, at that time, his station in Picenum, who suspected that Catiline, from the difficulties of his position, would adopt precisely the course which we have just described. When, therefore, he had learned his route from some deserters, he immediately broke up his camp, and took his post at the very foot of the hills, at the point where Catiline's descent would be, in his hurried march into Gaul. Nor was Antonius far distant, as he was pursuing, though with a large army, yet through plainer ground, and with fewer hindrances, the enemy in retreat.

Catiline, when he saw that he was surrounded by mountains and by hostile forces, that his schemes in the city had been unsuccessful, and that there was no hope either of escape or of succor, thinking it best, in such circumstances, to try the fortune of a battle, resolved upon engaging, as speedily as possible, with Antonius. Having, therefore, assembled his troops, he addressed them in the following manner:

58. "I am well aware, soldiers, that words cannot inspire courage; and that a spiritless army cannot be rendered active, or a timid army valiant, by the speech of its commander. Whatever courage is in the heart of a man, whether from nature or from habit, so much will be shown by him in the field; and on him whom neither glory nor danger can move, exhortation is bestowed in vain; for the terror in his breast stops his ears.

"I have called you together, however, to give you a few instructions, and to explain to you, at the same time, my reasons for the course which I have adopted. You all know, soldiers, how severe a penalty the inactivity and cowardice of Lentulus has brought upon himself and us; and how, while waiting for reinforcements from the city, I was unable to march into Gaul. In what situation our affairs now are, you all understand as well as myself. Two armies of the enemy, one on the side of Rome, and the other on that of Gaul, oppose our progress; while the want of grain, and of other necessaries, prevents us from remaining, however strongly we may desire to remain, in our present position. Whithersoever we would go, we must open a passage with our swords. I conjure you, therefore, to maintain a brave and resolute spirit; and to remember, when you advance to battle, that on your own right hands depend riches, honor, and glory, with the enjoyment of your liberty and of your country. If we conquer, all will be safe, we shall have provisions in abundance; and the colonies and corporate towns will open their gates to us. But if we lose the victory through want of courage, those same places will turn against us; for neither place nor friend will protect him whom his arms have not protected. Besides, soldiers, the same exigency does not press upon our adversaries, as presses upon us; we fight for our country, for our liberty, for our life; they contend for what but little concerns them, the power of a small party. Attack them, therefore, with so much the greater confidence, and call to mind your achievements of old.

"We might, with the utmost ignominy, have passed the rest of our days in exile. Some of you, after losing your property, might have waited at Rome for assistance from others. But because such a life, to men of spirit, was disgusting and unendurable, you resolved upon your present course. If

59. Haec ubi dixit, paululum commoratus, signa canere jubet,³³⁶ atque instructos ordines in locum aequum deducit. Dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus exaequato periculo animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montes et ab dextera rupe aspera,³³⁷ octo cohortes in fronte constituit, reliquarum signa³³⁸ in subsidio artius collocat. Ab his centuriones omnes, lectos et evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit.³³⁹ G. Manlium in dextera, Faesulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare³⁴⁰ jubet; ipse cum libertis et colonis propter aquilam assistit,³⁴¹ quam bello Cimbrico G. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex altera parte G. Antonius, pedibus aeger,³⁴² quod proelio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato³⁴³ exercitum permittit. Ille cohortes veteranas, quas tumulti³⁴⁴ causa conscripserat, in fronte post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circumiens, unum quemque nominans appellat, hortatur, rogat, ut meminerint, se contra latrones inermes, pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focus suis certare. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus aut praefectus aut legatus aut praetor cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat; ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

60. Sed ubi, omnibus rebus exploratis, Petreius tuba signum dat, cohortes paulatim incedere jubet, idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum est, unde a ferentariis³⁴⁵ proelium committi posset, maximo clamore cum infestis signis³⁴⁶ concurrunt; pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinae virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare; illi haud timidi resistunt; maxima vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari, laborantibus succurrere; integros pro sauciis accersere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare saepe, hostem ferire; strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem praetoriam³⁴⁷ in medios hostes inducit, eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus ceteros aggreditur. Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinae suae dignitatis, in confertissimos hostes incurrit ibique pugnans confoditur.

you wish to quit it, you must exert all your resolution for none but conquerors have exchanged war for peace. To hope for safety in flight, when you have turned away from the enemy the arms by which the body is defended, is indeed madness. In battle, those who are most afraid are always in most danger; but courage is equivalent to a rampart.

“When I contemplate you, soldiers, and when I consider your past exploits, a strong hope of victory animates me. Your spirit, your age, your valor, give me confidence; to say nothing of necessity, which makes even cowards brave. To prevent the numbers of the enemy from surrounding us, our confined situation is sufficient. But should Fortune be unjust to your valor, take care not to lose your lives unavenged; take care not to be taken and butchered like cattle, rather than, fighting like men, to leave to your enemies a bloody and mournful victory.”

59. When he had thus spoken, he ordered, after a short delay, the signal for battle to be sounded, and led down his troops, in regular order, to the level ground. Having then sent away the horses of all the cavalry, in order to increase the men's courage by making their danger equal, he himself on foot, drew up his troops suitably to their numbers and the nature of the ground. As a plain stretched between the mountains on the left, with a rugged rock on the right, he placed eight cohorts in front, and stationed the rest of his force, in close order, in the rear. From among these he removed all the ablest centurions, the veterans, and the stoutest of the common soldiers that were regularly armed, into the foremost ranks. He ordered Caius Manlius to take the command on the right, and a certain officer of Faesulae on the left; while he himself, with his freedmen and the colonists, took his station by the eagle, which Caius Marius was said to have had in his army in the Cimbrian war.

On the other side, Caius Antonius, who, being lame, was unable to be present in the engagement, gave the command of the army to Marcus Petreius, his lieutenant. Petreius ranged the cohorts of veterans, which he had raised to meet the present insurrection, in front, and behind them the rest of his force in lines. Then, riding round among his troops, and addressing his men by name, he encouraged them, and bade them remember that they were to fight against unarmed marauders, in defense of their country, their children, their temples, and their homes. Being a military man, and having served with great reputation, for more than thirty years, as tribune, praefect, lieutenant, or praetor, he knew most of the soldiers and their honorable actions, and, by calling these to their remembrance, roused the spirits of the men.

60. When he had made a complete survey, he gave the signal with the trumpet, and ordered the cohorts to advance slowly. The army of the enemy followed his example; and when they approached so near that the action could be commenced by the light-armed troops, both sides, with a loud shout, rushed together in a furious charge. They threw aside their missiles, and fought only with their swords. The veterans, calling to mind their deeds of old, engaged fiercely in the closest combat. The enemy made an obstinate resistance; and both sides contended with the utmost fury. Catiline, during this time, was exerting himself with his light troops in the front, sustaining such as were pressed, substituting fresh men for the wounded, attending to every exigency, charging in person, wounding many an enemy and performing at once the duties of a valiant soldier and a skillful general. When Petreius, contrary to his expectation, found Catiline attacking him with such impetuosity, he led his praetorian cohort against the centre of the enemy, amongst whom, being thus thrown into confusion, and offering but partial resistance, he made great slaughter, and

61. Sed confecto proelio, tum vero cerneret,³⁴⁸ quanta audacia quantaque vis animi fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. Nam fere, quem quisque vivus pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos medios³⁴⁹ cohors praetoria disjecerat, paulo diversius, sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus³⁵⁰ coniderant. Catilina vero longe a vis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens. Postremo ex omni copia neque in proelio neque in fuga quisquam³⁵¹ civis ingenuus captus est: ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae juxta³⁵² pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat; nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in proelio aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui de castris visundi aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicis alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiabant; fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum laetitia, moeror, luctus atque gaudia³⁵³ agitabantur.

ordered, at the same time, an assault on both flanks. Manlius and the Faesulan, sword in hand, were among the first that fell; and Catiline, when he saw his army routed, and himself left with but few supporters, remembering his birth and former dignity, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, where he was slain, fighting to the last.

61 When the battle was over, it was plainly seen what boldness, and what energy of spirit, had prevailed throughout the army of Catiline; for, almost everywhere, every soldier, after yielding up his breath, covered with his corpse the spot which he had occupied when alive. A few, indeed, whom the praetorian cohort had dispersed, had fallen somewhat differently, but all with wounds in front. Catiline himself was found, far in advance of his men, among the dead bodies of the enemy; he was not quite breathless, and still expressed in his countenance the fierceness of spirit which he had shown during his life. Of his whole army, neither in the battle, nor in flight, was any free-born citizen made prisoner, for they had spared their own lives no more than those of the enemy.

Nor did the army of the Roman people obtain a joyful or bloodless victory; for all their bravest men were either killed in the battle, or left the field severely wounded.

Of many who went from the camp to view the ground, or plunder the slain, some, in turning over the bodies of the enemy, discovered a friend, others an acquaintance, others a relative; some, too, recognized their enemies. Thus, gladness and sorrow, grief and joy, were variously felt throughout the whole army.

C. SALLUSTII CRISPI

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

1. Falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum quod imbecilla atque aevi brevis³⁵⁴ forte potius quam virtute regatur. Nam contra reputando neque majus aliud neque praestabilius invenias,³⁵⁵ magisque naturae industriam hominum quam vim aut tempus deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitae mortalium animus est, qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur,³⁵⁶ abunde pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortuna eget, quippe probitatem, industriam aliasque artes bonas neque dare neque eripere cuiquam potest. Sin captus pravis cupidinibus ad inertiam et voluptates corporis pessumdatum est, perniciose libidine paulisper³⁵⁷ usus, ubi per socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium diffluxere, naturae infirmitas accusatur; suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt.³⁵⁸ Quodsi³⁵⁹ hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura multumque etiam periculosa³⁶⁰ petunt; neque reagentur³⁶¹ magis quam reagentur casus, et eo magnitudinis³⁶² procederent, ubi pro mortalibus gloria aeterni fierent.

2. Nam uti genus hominum compositum ex corpore et anima est, ita res cunctae studiaque omnia nostra corporis alia, alia animi³⁶³ naturam sequuntur. Igitur praeclara facies, magnae divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis et alia hujusmodi omnia brevi dilabuntur; at ingenii egregia facinora sicuti anima immortalia sunt. Postremo corporis et fortunae bonorum ut initium sic finis est, omniaque orta occidunt et aucta senescunt: animus incorruptus³⁶⁴ aeternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta neque ipse habetur.³⁶⁵ Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est,³⁶⁶ qui dediti corporis gaudiis per luxum atque ignaviam aetatem agunt, ceterum³⁶⁷ ingenium, quo neque melius neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu atque socordia torpescere sinunt; quum praesertim tam multae variaeque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

3. Verum ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum minime mihi hac tempestate³⁶⁸ cupiunda videntur; quoniam neque virtuti honos datur, neque illi, quibus per fraudem is fuit,³⁶⁹ tuti aut eo magis honesti³⁷⁰ sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes, quamquam et possis et delicta corrigas,³⁷¹ tamen importunum est; quum praesertim omnes rerum mutationes caedem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant,³⁷² frustra autem niti,³⁷³ neque aliud se fatigando nisi odium quaerere, extremae dementiae est; nisi forte³⁷⁴ quem inhonesta et perniciose libido³⁷⁵ tenet, potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

C. SALLUSTII CRISPI

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

1. Mankind unreasonably complain of their nature, that, being weak and short-lived, it is governed by chance rather than intellectual power;1 for, on the contrary, you will find, upon reflection, that there is nothing more noble or excellent, and that to nature is wanting rather human industry than ability or time.

The ruler and director of the life of man is the mind, which, when it pursues glory in the path of true merit, is sufficiently powerful, efficient, and worthy of honor,2 and needs no assistance from fortune, who can neither bestow integrity, industry, or other good qualities, nor can take them away. But if the mind, ensnared by corrupt passions, abandons itself3 to indolence and sensuality, when it has indulged for a season in pernicious gratifications, and when bodily strength, time, and mental vigor, have been wasted in sloth, the infirmity of nature is accused, and those who are themselves in fault impute their delinquency to circumstances.4

If man, however, had as much regard for worthy objects, as he has spirit in the pursuit of what is useless,5 unprofitable, and even perilous, he would not be governed by circumstances more than he would govern them, and would attain to a point of greatness, at which, instead of being mortal,6 he would be immortalized by glory.

2. As man is composed of mind and body, so, of all our concerns and pursuits, some partake the nature of the body, and some that of the mind. Thus beauty of person, eminent wealth, corporeal strength, and all other things of this kind, speedily pass away; but the illustrious achievements of the mind are, like the mind itself, immortal.

Of the advantages of person and fortune, as there is a beginning, there is also an end; they all rise and fall,1 increase and decay. But the mind, incorruptible and eternal, the ruler of the human race, actuates and has power over all things,2 yet is itself free from control.

The depravity of those, therefore, is the more surprising, who, devoted to corporeal gratifications, spend their lives in luxury and indolence, but suffer the mind, than which nothing is better or greater in man, to languish in neglect and inactivity; especially when there are so many and various mental employments by which the highest renown may be attained.

3. Of these occupation us, however, civil and military offices,1 and all administration of public affairs, seem to me at the present time, by no means to be desired; for neither is honor conferred on merit, nor are those, who have gained power by unlawful means, the more secure or respected for it. To rule our country or subjects2 by force, though we may have the ability, and may correct what is wrong, is yet an ungrateful undertaking; especially as all changes in the state lead to3 bloodshed, exile, and other evils of discord; while to struggle in ineffectual attempts, and to gain nothing, by wearisome exertions, but public hatred, is the extreme of madness; unless when a base and pernicious spirit, perchance, may prompt a man to sacrifice his honor and liberty to the power of a party.

4. Ceterum ex aliis negotiis, quae ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum:³⁷⁶ cujus de virtute quia multi dixere, praetereundum puto, simul ne per insolentiam³⁷⁷ quis existimet memet studium meum laudando extollere. Atque ego credo fore, qui, quia decrevi procul a re publica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant: certe, quibus³⁷⁸ maxima industria videtur salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam quaerere. Qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratum adeptus sim, et quales viri idem assequi nequiverint,³⁷⁹ et postea quae genera hominum in senatum pervenerint, profecto existimabunt me magis merito quam ignavia iudicium animi meimutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo quam ex aliorum negotiis rei publicae venturum. Nam saepe ego audivi, Q. Maximum,³⁸⁰ P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere, quum majorum imagines³⁸¹ intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet³⁸² non ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit.³⁸³ At contra, quis est omnium his moribus,³⁸⁴ quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque³⁸⁵ industria cum majoribus suis contendat? Etiam homines novi,³⁸⁶ qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia et honores nituntur; proinde quasi³⁸⁷ praetura et consulatus atque alia omnia hujusmodi per se ipsa clara et magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum, qui ea sustinent, virtus est. Verum ego liberius altiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget taedetque; nunc ad inceptum redeo.

5. Bellum scripturus sum,³⁸⁸ quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha rege Numidarum gessit; primum quia magnum et atrox variaque victoria fuit, dein quia tunc primum superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est; quae contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit eoque vecordiae processit, uti studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem faceret. Sed priusquam hujusmodi rei initium expedio, pauca supra repetam, quo ad cognoscendum omnia illustria magis magisque in aperto sint.³⁸⁹ Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginensium Hannibal post magnitudinem nominis Romani³⁹⁰ Italiae opes maxime attriverat, Masinissa rex Numidarum, in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano³⁹¹ cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa ei praeclara³⁹² rei militaris facinora fecerat; ob quae victis Carthaginensibus et capto Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit,³⁹³ populus Romanus quascunque urbes et agros manu ceperat, regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit. Sed imperii vitaeque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa fratribus morbo absumptis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit, Jugurthamque, filium Mastanabalis fratris, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum dereliquerat,³⁹⁴ eodem cultu quo liberos suos domi habuit.

4. Among other employments which are pursued by the intellect, the recording of past events is of pre-eminent utility; but of its merits I may, I think, be silent, since many have spoken of them, and since, if I were to praise my own occupation, I might be considered as presumptuously praising myself. I believe, too, that there will be some, who, because I have resolved to live unconnected with political affairs, will apply to my arduous and useful labors the name of idleness; especially those who think it an important pursuit to court the people, and gain popularity by entertainments. But if such persons will consider at what periods I obtained office, what sort of men² were then unable to obtain it, and what description of persons have subsequently entered the senate,³ they will think, assuredly, that I have altered my sentiments rather from prudence than from indolence, and that more good will arise to the state from my retirement, than from the busy efforts of others.

I have often heard that Quintus Maximus,⁴ Publius Scipio,⁵ and many other illustrious men of our country, were accustomed to observe, that, when they looked on the images of their ancestors, they felt their minds irresistibly excited to the pursuit of honor.⁶ Not, certainly, that the wax,⁷ or the shape, had any such influence; but, as they called to mind their forefathers' achievements, such a flame was kindled in the breasts of those eminent persons, as could not be extinguished till their own merit had equaled the fame and glory of their ancestors.

But, in the present state of manners, who is there, on the contrary, that does not rather emulate his forefathers in riches and extravagance, than in virtue and labor? Even men of humble birth,⁸ who formerly used to surpass the nobility in merit, pursue power and honor rather by intrigue and dishonesty, than by honorable qualifications; as if the praetorship, consulate, and all other offices of the kind, were noble and dignified in themselves, and not to be estimated according to the worth of those who fill them.

But, in expressing my concern and regret at the manners of the state, I have proceeded with too great freedom, and at too great length. I now return to my subject.

5. I am about to relate the war which the Roman people carried on with Jugurtha, King of the Numidians; first, because it was great, sanguinary, and of varied fortune; and secondly, because then, for the first time, opposition was offered to the power of the nobility; a contest which threw every thing, religious and civil, into confusion,¹ and was carried to such a height of madness, that nothing but war, and the devastation of Italy, could put an end to civil dissensions.² But before I fairly commence my narrative, I will take a review of a few preceding particulars, in order that the whole subject may be more clearly and distinctly understood.

In the second Punic war, in which Hannibal, the leader of the Carthaginians, had weakened the power of Italy more than any other enemy³ since the Roman name became great,⁴ Masinissa, King of the Numidians, being received into alliance by Publius Scipio, who, from his merits was afterward surnamed Africanus, had performed for us many eminent exploits in the field. In return for which services, after the Carthaginians were subdued, and after Syphax,⁵ whose power in Italy was great and extensive, was taken prisoner, the Roman people presented to Masinissa, as a free gift, all the cities and lands that they had captured. Masinissa's friendship for us, accordingly, remained faithful and inviolate; his reign⁶ and his life ended together. His son, Micipsa, alone succeeded to his kingdom; Mastanabal and Gulussa, his two brothers, having been carried off by disease. Micipsa had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and had brought up in his house, with the same care as

6. Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio validus, non se luxu³⁹⁵ neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare, et quum omnes gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire, plurimum facere, minimum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existimans virtutem Jugurthae regno suo gloriae fore, tamen, postquam hominem adolescentem exacta sua aetate et parvis liberis magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer eo negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperii et praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem, praeterea opportunitas suae liberorumque aetatis,³⁹⁶ quae etiam mediocres viros spe praedae transversos agit;³⁹⁷ ad hoc studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa, ex quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

7. His difficultatibus circumventus ubi videt neque per vim neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus, quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et appetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis et eo modo fortunam temptare. Igitur bellum Numantino³⁹⁸ Micipsa, quum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxiliamitteret, sperans vel ostentando virtutem vel hostium saevitia facile eum occasurum, praefecit Numidis, quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acro ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperatorerat,³⁹⁹ et morem hostium cognovit, multo labore multaque cura, praeterea modestissime parendo et saepe obviam eundo periculis in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillimum in primis⁴⁰⁰ est, et proelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio; quorum alterum⁴⁰¹ ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem affere plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnes fere res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque eum in dies amplecti; quippe cujus neque consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra erat.⁴⁰² Huc accedebat munificentia animi et ingenii sollertia, quis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

8. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiae bono honestoque potiores erant,⁴⁰³ factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam honesti, qui Jugurthae non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore, uti solus imperio Numidiae potiretur, in ipso maximam virtutem, Romae omnia venalia esse. Sed postquam Numantia deleta P. Scipio dimittere auxilia et ipse reverti domum decrevit, donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro contione⁴⁰⁴ Jugurtham in praetorium abduxit ibique secreto

his own children, a son of his brother Mastanabal, named Jugurtha, whom Masinissa, as being the son of a concubine, had left in a private station

6. Jugurtha, as he grew up, being strong in frame, graceful in person, but, above all, vigorous in understanding, did not allow himself to be enervated by pleasure and indolence, but, as is the usage of his country, exercised himself in riding, throwing the javelin, and contending in the race with his equals in age; and, though he excelled them all in reputation, he was yet beloved by all. He also passed much of his time in hunting; he was first, or among the first, to wound the lion and other beasts; he performed very much, but spoke very little of himself.

Micipsa, though he was at first gratified with these circumstances, considering that the merit of Jugurtha would be an honor to his kingdom, yet, when he reflected that the youth was daily increasing in popularity, while he himself was advanced in age, and his children but young, he was extremely disturbed at the state of things, and revolved it frequently in his mind. The very nature of man, ambitious of power, and eager to gratify its desires, gave him reason for apprehension, as well as the opportunity afforded by his own age and that of his children, which was sufficient, from the prospect of such a prize, to lead astray even men of moderate desires. The affection of the Numidians, too, which was strong toward Jugurtha, was another cause for alarm; among whom, if he should cut off such a man, he feared that some insurrection or war might arise.

7. Surrounded by such difficulties, and seeing that a man, so popular among his countrymen, was not to be destroyed either by force or by fraud, he resolved, as Jugurtha was of an active disposition, and eager for military reputation, to expose him to dangers in the field, and thus make trial of fortune. During the Numantine war, I therefore, when he was sending supplies of horse and foot to the Romans, he gave him the command of the Numidians, whom he dispatched into Spain, hoping that he would certainly perish, either by an ostentatious display of his bravery, or by the merciless hand of the enemy. But this project had a very different result from that which he had expected. For when Jugurtha, who was of an active and penetrating intellect, had learned the disposition of Publius Scipio, the Roman general, and the character of the enemy, he quickly rose, by great exertion and vigilance, by modestly submitting to orders, and frequently exposing himself to dangers, to such a degree of reputation, that he was greatly beloved by our men, and extremely dreaded by the Numantines. He was indeed, what is peculiarly difficult, both brave in action, and wise in counsel; qualities, of which the one, from forethought, generally produces fear, and the other, from confidence, rashness. The general, accordingly, managed almost every difficult matter by the aid of Jugurtha, numbered him among his friends, and grew daily more and more attached to him, as a man whose advice and whose efforts were never useless. With such merits were joined generosity of disposition, and readiness of wit, by which he united to himself many of the Romans in intimate friendship.

8. There were at that time, in our army, a number of officers, some of low, and some of high birth, to whom wealth was more attractive than virtue or honor; men who were attached to certain parties, and of consequence in their own country; but, among the allies, rather distinguished than respected. These persons inflamed the mind of Jugurtha, of itself sufficiently aspiring, by assuring him, "that if Micipsa should die, he might have the kingdom of Numidia to himself; for that he was possessed of eminent merit, and that any thing might be purchased at Rome."

monuit, uti potius publice quam privatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret neu quibus⁴⁰⁵ largiri insuesceret; periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset: si permanere vellet in suis artibus,⁴⁰⁶ ultro illi et gloriam et regnum venturum, sin properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia praecipitem casurum

9. Sic locutus cum litteris eum, quas Micipsae redderet, dimisit. Earum sententia haec erat: 'Jugurthae tui bello Numantino longe maxima virtus fuit, quam rem tibi certo⁴⁰⁷ scio gaudio esse. Nobis ob merita sua carus est; ut idem senatui et populo Romano sit, summa ope nitentur. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. En habes virum dignum te atque avo suo Masinissa.' Igitur rex, ubi ea, quae fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, cum virtute tum gratia viri permotus flexit animum suum et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere aggressus est, statimque eum adoptavit et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos morbo atque aetate confectus quum sibi finem vitae adesse intellexeret, coram amicis et cognatis itemque Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurthahabuisse.⁴⁰⁸

10. 'Parvum ego te, Jugurtha, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, in meum regnum accepi, existimans non minus me tibi, quam si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore; neque ea res falsum me habuit.⁴⁰⁹ Nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua omittam, novissime rediens Numantia meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti tuaque virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos⁴¹⁰ fecisti; in Hispania nomen familiae renovatum est, postremo, quod difficillimum inter mortales est, gloria invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura finem vitae facit, per hanc dexteram, per regni fidem⁴¹¹ moneo obtestorque, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas, neu malis alienos adjungere⁴¹² quam sanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere neque auro parare queas; officio et fide pariuntur.⁴¹³ Quis autem amicior quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis; sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur. Ceterum ante hos⁴¹⁴ te, Jugurtha, qui aetate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. Nam in omni certamine qui opulentior est, etiamsi accipit injuriam, tamen quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate⁴¹⁵ talem hunc virum, imitami virtutem et enitimi, ne ego meliores liberos sumpsisse videar quam genuisse.'

When Numantia, however, was destroyed, and Scipio had determined to dismiss the auxiliary troops, and to return to Rome, he led Jugurtha, after having honored him, in a public assembly, with the noblest presents and applauses, into his own tent; where he privately admonished him "to court the friendship of the Romans rather by attention to them as a body, than by practicing on individuals;1 to bribe no one, as what belonged to many could not without danger be bought from a few; and adding that, if he would but trust to his own merits, glory and regal power would spontaneously fall to his lot; but, should he proceed too rashly, he would only, by the influence of his money, hasten his own ruin."

9. Having thus spoken, he took leave of him, giving him a letter, which he was to present to Micipsa, and of which the following was the purport: "The merit of your nephew Jugurtha, in the war against Numantia, has been eminently distinguished; a fact which I am sure will afford you pleasure. He is dear to us for his services, and we shall strive, with our utmost efforts, to make him equally dear to the senate and people of Rome. As a friend, I sincerely congratulate you; you have a kinsman worthy of yourself, and of his grandfather Masinissa."

Micipsa, when he found, from the letter of the general, that what he had already heard reported was true, being moved, both by the merit of the youth and by the interest felt for him by Scipio, altered his purpose, and endeavored to win Jugurtha by kindness. He accordingly, in a short time,1 adopted him as his son, and made him, by his will, joint-heir with his own children.

A few years afterward, when, being debilitated by age and disease, he perceived that the end of his life was at hand, he is said, in the presence of his friends and relations, and of Adherbal and Hiempsal his sons, to have spoken with Jugurtha in the following manner:

10. "I received you, Jugurtha, at a very early age, into my kingdom,1 at a time when you had lost your father, and were without prospects or resources, expecting that, in return for my kindness, I should not be less loved by you than by my own children, if I should have any. Nor have my anticipations deceived me; for, to say nothing of your other great and noble deeds, you have lately, on your return from Numantia, brought honor and glory both to me and my kingdom; by your bravery, you have rendered the Romans, from being previously our friends, more friendly to us than ever; the name of our family is revived in Spain; and, finally, what is most difficult among mankind, you have suppressed envy by preeminent merit.2

"And now, since nature is putting a period to my life, I exhort and conjure you, by this right hand, and by the fidelity which you owe to my kingdom,3 to regard these princes, who are your cousins by birth, and your brothers by my generosity, with sincere affection; and not to be more anxious to attach to yourself strangers, than to retain the love of those connected with you by blood. It is not armies, or treasures,4 that form the defenses of a kingdom, but friends, whom you can neither command by force nor purchase with gold; for they are acquired only by good offices and integrity. And who can be a greater friend than one brother to another?5 Or what stranger will you find faithful, if you are at enmity with your own family? I leave you a kingdom, which will be strong if you act honorably, but weak, if you are ill-affected to each other; for by concord even small states are increased, but by discord, even the greatest fall to nothing.

"But on you, Jugurtha, who are superior in age and wisdom, it is incumbent, more than on your

11. Ad ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum intellegebat et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. Postquam illi more regio justa magnifice fecerant, reguli⁴¹⁶ in unum convenerunt, ut inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minimus ex illis erat, natura ferox et jam ante ignobilitatem Jugurthae, quia materno genere impar erat, despiciens, dextera Adherbalem assedit,⁴¹⁷ ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen ut aetati concederet fatigatus⁴¹⁸ a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi quum nulla de administrando imperio dissenserent, Jugurtha inter alias res jactavit oportere quinquennii consulta et decreta omnia rescindi; nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse. Tum idem Hiempsal placere sibi respondit; nam ipsum illum tribus proximis annis⁴¹⁹ adoptione in regnum pervenisse. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthae altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit. Itaque ex eo tempore ira et metu anxius moliri, parare atque ea modo cum animo habere,⁴²⁰ quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quae ubi tardius procedunt neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

12. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros finesque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio⁴²¹ concessere. Sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmida forte ejus domo utebatur, qui proximus licitor⁴²² Jugurthae carus acceptusque ei semper fuerat; quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat impellitque, uti tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum claves adulterinas⁴²³ parat (nam verae ad Hiempsalem referebantur); ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi conficit atque, uti doctus erat, noctu Jugurthae milites introducit. Qui postquam in aedes irrupere, diversi regem quaerere, dormientes alios, alios occurrentes interficere, scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere, strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere; quum⁴²⁴ interim Hiempsal reperitur occultans sese tugurio mulieris ancillae, quo initio pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidae caput ejus, uti jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

brothers, to be cautious that nothing of a contrary tendency may arise; for, in all disputes, he that is the stronger, even though he receive the injury, appears, because his power is greater, to have inflicted it. And do you, Adherbal and Hiempsal, respect and regard a kinsman of such a character; imitate his virtues, and make it your endeavor to show that I have not adopted a better son than those whom I have begotten."

11. To this address, Jugurtha, though he knew that the king had spoken insincerely,¹ and though he was himself revolving thoughts of a far different nature, yet replied with good feeling, suitable to the occasion. A few days afterward Micipsa died. When the princes had performed his funeral with due magnificence, they met together to hold a discussion on the general condition of their affairs. Hiempsal, the youngest, who was naturally violent, and who had previously shown contempt for the mean birth of Jugurtha, as being inferior on his mother's side, sat down on the right hand of Adherbal, in order to prevent Jugurtha from being the middle one of the three, which is regarded by the Numidians as the seat of honor.² Being urged by his brother, however, to yield to superior age, he at length removed, but with reluctance, to the other seat.³

In the course of this conference, after a long debate about the administration of the kingdom, Jugurtha suggested, among other measures, "that all the acts and decrees made in the last five years should be annulled, as Micipsa, during that period, had been enfeebled by age, and scarcely sound in intellect." Hiempsal replied, "that he was exceedingly pleased with the proposal, since Jugurtha himself, within the last three years, had been adopted as joint-heir to the throne." This repartee sunk deeper into the mind of Jugurtha than any one imagined. From that very time, accordingly, being agitated with resentment and jealousy, he began to meditate and concert schemes, and to think of nothing but projects for secretly cutting off Hiempsal. But his plans proving slow in operation, and his angry feelings remaining unabated, he resolved to execute his purpose by any means whatsoever.

12. At the first meeting of the princes, of which I have just spoken, it had been resolved, in consequence of their disagreement, that the treasures should be divided among them, and that limits should be set to the jurisdiction of each. Days were accordingly appointed for both these purposes, but the earlier of the two for the division of the money. The princes, in the mean time, retired into separate places of abode in the neighborhood of the treasury. Hiempsal, residing in the town of Thirmida, happened to occupy the house of a man, who, being Jugurtha's chief licitor,¹ had always been liked and favored by his master. This man, thus opportunely presented as an instrument, Jugurtha loaded with promises, and induced him to go to his house, as if for the purpose of looking over it, and provide himself with false keys to the gates; for the true ones used to be given to Hiempsal; adding, that he himself, when circumstances should call for his presence, would be at the place with a large body of men. This commission the Numidian speedily executed, and, according to his instructions, admitted Jugurtha's men in the night, who, as soon as they had entered the house, went different ways in quest of the prince; some of his attendants they killed while asleep, and others as they met them; they searched into secret places, broke open those that were shut, and filled the whole premises with uproar and tumult. Hiempsal, after a time, was found concealed in the hut of a maid-servant,² where, in his alarm and ignorance of the locality, he had at first taken refuge. The Numidians, as they had been ordered, brought his head to Jugurtha.

13. Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgatur; Adherbalem omnesque, qui sub imperio Micipsae fuerant, metus invadit; in duas partes discedunt Numidae; plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maximas potest copias armat, urbes partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adjungit, omni Numidiae imperare parat.⁴²⁵ Adherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de caede fratris et fortunis suis, tamen fretus multitudine militum, parabat armis contendere. Sed ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex proelio profugit in provinciam⁴²⁶ ac deinde Romam contendit. Tum Jugurtha patris consiliis, postquam omnis Numidiae potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum neque adversus iram ejus usquam nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus⁴²⁷ cum auro et argento multo legatos Romam mittit, quis praecepit, primum uti veteres amicos muneribus expleant, deinde novos acquirant, postremo quaecunque possint largiundo parere non cunctentur. Sed ubi Romam legati venere et ex praecepto regis hospitibus aliisque, quorum ea tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere, tanta commutatio incessit, uti ex maxima invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret; quorum pars spe, alii praemio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiundo⁴²⁸ nitentur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur.⁴²⁹ Igitur ubi legati satis confidunt, die constituto senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus:

14. 'Patres conscripti, Micipsa pater meus moriens mihi praecepit, uti regni Numidiae tantummodo procurationem⁴³⁰ existimarem meam, ceterum jus et imperium ejus penes vos esse; simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam maximo usui esse populo Romano; vos mihi cognatorum, vos affinium⁴³¹ loco ducerem: si ea fecissem, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni me habiturum. Quae quum praecepta parentis mei agitarem, Jugurtha, homo omnium, quos terra sustinet,⁴³² sceleratissimus contempto imperio vestro, Masinissae me nepotem et jam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi Romani regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram,⁴³³ vellem potius ob mea quam ob majorum meorum beneficia posse a vobis auxilium petere, ac maxime deberi mihi beneficia a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer.⁴³⁴ Sed quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi in manu fuit,⁴³⁵ Jugurtha qualis foret, ad vos confugi, patres conscripti, quibus, quod mihi miserrimum est, cogor prius oneri quam usui esse. Ceteri reges aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram appetiverunt; familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit, quo tempore magis fides ejus quam fortuna petenda erat.⁴³⁶ Quorum progeniem vos, patres conscripti, nolite pati me nepotem Masinissae⁴³⁷ frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil causae haberem praeter miserandam fortunam, quod paulo ante rex genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus aerumnis, inops, alienas opes expecto, tamen erat majestatis Romani populi⁴³⁸ prohibere injuriam neque pati cujusquam regnum per scelus crescere. Verum ego iis finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit, unde pater et avus meus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, patres conscripti, vos in

13. The report of so atrocious an outrage was soon spread through Africa. Fear seized on Adherbal, and on all who had been subject to Micipsa. The Numidians divided into two parties, the greater number following Adherbal, but the more warlike, Jugurtha; who, accordingly, armed as large a force as he could, brought several cities, partly by force and partly by their own consent, under his power, and prepared to make himself sovereign of the whole of Numidia. Adherbal, though he had sent ambassadors to Rome, to inform the senate of his brother's murder and his own circumstances, yet, relying on the number of his troops, prepared for an armed resistance. When the matter, however, came to a contest, he was defeated, and fled from the field of battle into our province,¹ and from thence hastened to Rome.

Jugurtha, having thus accomplished his purposes,² and reflecting, at leisure, on the crime which he had committed, began to feel a dread of the Roman people, against whose resentment he had no hopes of security but in the avarice of the nobility, and in his own wealth. A few days afterward, therefore, he dispatched ambassadors to Rome, with a profusion of gold and silver, whom he directed, in the first place, to make abundance of presents to his old friends, and then to procure him new ones; and not to hesitate, in short, to effect whatever could be done by bribery.

When these deputies had arrived at Rome, and had sent large presents, according to the prince's direction, to his intimate friends,³ and to others whose influence was at that time powerful, so remarkable a change ensued, that Jugurtha, from being an object of the greatest odium, grew into great regard and favor with the nobility; who, partly allured with hope, and partly with actual largesses, endeavored, by soliciting the members of the senate individually, to prevent any severe measures from being adopted against him. When the ambassadors, accordingly, felt sure of success, the senate, on a fixed day, gave audience to both parties.⁴ On that occasion, Adherbal, as I have understood, spoke to the following effect:

14, "My father Micipsa, Conscript Fathers, enjoined me, on his death-bed, to look upon the kingdom of Numidia as mine only by deputation;¹ to consider the right and authority as belonging to you; to endeavor, at home and in the field, to be as serviceable to the Roman people as possible; and to regard you as my kindred and relatives:² saying that, if I observed these injunctions, I should find, in your friendship, armies, riches, and all necessary defenses of my realm. By these precepts I was proceeding to regulate my conduct, when Jugurtha, the most abandoned of all men whom the earth contains, setting at naught your authority, expelled me, the grandson of Masinissa, and the hereditary³ ally and friend of the Roman people, from my kingdom and all my possessions.

"Since I was thus to be reduced to such an extremity of wretchedness, I could wish that I were able to implore your aid, Conscript Fathers, rather for the sake of my own services than those of my ancestors; I could wish, indeed, above all, that acts of kindness were due to me from the Romans, of which I should not stand in need; and, next to this,⁴ that, if I required your services, I might receive them as my due. But as integrity is no defense in itself, and as I had no power to form the character of Jugurtha,⁵ I have fled to you, Conscript Fathers, to whom, what is the most grievous of all things, I am compelled to become a burden before I have been an assistance.

"Other princes have been received into your friendship after having been conquered in war, or have solicited an alliance with you in circumstances of distress; but our family commenced its league with the Romans in the war with Carthage, at a time when their faith was a greater object of

mea injuria despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! Hucine, Micipsa pater, beneficia tua evasere,⁴³⁹ ut quem tu parem cum liberis tuis regnique participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tuae extincor sit? Nunquam ergo familia nostra quieta erit!⁴⁴⁰ semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure omnia saeva patiebamur; hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa pestis ex Africa ejecta est, laeti pacem agitabamus, quippe quis hostis nullus erat, nisi forte quem vos jussissetis.⁴⁴¹ Ecce autem ex improvise Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese efferens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo suo⁴⁴² interfecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui praedam fecit, post, ubi me iisdem dolis non quit⁴⁴³ capere, nihil minus quam vim aut bellum expectantem in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, extorrem patria,⁴⁴⁴ domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis effecit, ut ubivis tutius⁴⁴⁵ quam in meo regno essem. Ego sic existimabam, patres conscripti, uti praedicantem audiveram patrem meum, qui vestram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum ex omnibus maxime tutos⁴⁴⁶ esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit,⁴⁴⁷ praestitit, uti in omnibus bellis adesset vobis; nos uti per otium tuti simus, in vestra manu est, patres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; tertium, Jugurtham, beneficiis suis ratus est conjunctum nobis fore. Alter eorum necatus est, alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam? aut quo potissimum infelix accedam? Generis praesidia omnia extincta sunt; pater, ut necesse erat, naturae concessit; fratri, quem minime decuit,⁴⁴⁸ propinquus per scelus vitam eripuit; affines, amicos, propinquos ceteros alium alia clades oppressit; capti ab Jugurtha pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti sunt;⁴⁴⁹ pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi tenebris cum maerore et luctu morte graviolem vitam exigunt.⁴⁵⁰ Si omnia, quae aut amisi aut ex necessariis adversa facta sunt,⁴⁵¹ incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex improvise mali accidisset, vos implorarem, patres conscripti, quibus pro magnitudine imperii jus et injurias omnes curae esse decet. Nunc vero exul patria, domo, solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quo accedam aut quos appellem?⁴⁵² nationesne an reges, qui omnes familiae nostrae ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt?⁴⁵³ An quoquam mihi adire licet, ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima sint? aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremo Masinissa nos ita instituit, patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne foedera nova acciperemus; abunde magna praesidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore; si huic imperio⁴⁵⁴ fortuna mutaretur, una occidendum nobis esse. Virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et opulenti; omnia secunda⁴⁵⁵ et obedientia sunt; quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthae parum cognita transversos agat, quos ego audio maxima ope niti, ambire, fatigare⁴⁵⁶ vos singulos, ne quid de absente incognita causa statuat, fingere me verba et fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. Quod utinam⁴⁵⁷ illum cujus impio facinore in has miseras projectus sum, eadem haec simulantem videam, et aliquando aut apud vos aut apud deos immortales rerum humanarum cura oritur; nae ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatu impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis mearumque miseriarum graves poenas reddat.⁴⁵⁸ Jamjam frater, animo meo carissime, quamquam tibi immaturo et unde minime decuit vita erepta est,⁴⁵⁹ tamen laetandum magis quam dolendum puto casum tuum;⁴⁶⁰ non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem et omnes has, quae me premunt, aerumnas cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala praecipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam, tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens, an regno consulam, cujus vitae necisque potestas ex opibus alienis⁴⁶¹ pendet. Utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset! neu vivere contemptus viderer, si defessus malis injuriae concessissem.⁴⁶² Nunc neque vivere libet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres conscripti, per vos liberos⁴⁶³ atque parentes vestros, per majestatem populi Romani subvenite misero mihi, ite obviam injuriae, nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae tabescere.⁴⁶⁴

attraction than their fortune. Suffer not, then, O Conscript Fathers, a descendent of that family to implore aid from you in vain. If I had no other plea for obtaining your assistance but my wretched fortune; nothing to urge, but that, having been recently a king, powerful by birth, by character, and by resources, I am now dishonored, afflicted,⁶ destitute, and dependent on the aid of others, it would yet become the dignity of Rome to protect me from injury, and to allow no man's dominions to be increased by crime. But I am driven from those very territories which the Roman people gave to my ancestors, and from which my father and grandfather, in conjunction with yourselves, expelled Syphax and the Carthaginians. It is what you bestowed that has been wrested from me; in my wrongs you are insulted.

" Unhappy man that I am! Has your kindness, O my father Micipsa, come to this, that he whom you made equal with your children, and a sharer of your kingdom, should become, above all others,⁷ the destroyers of your race? Shall our family, then, never be at peace? Shall we always be harassed with war, bloodshed, and exile? While the Carthaginians continued in power, we were necessarily exposed to all manner of troubles; for the enemy were on our frontiers; you, our friends, were at a distance; and all our dependence was on our arms. But after that pest was extirpated, we were happy in the enjoyment of tranquillity, as having no enemies but such as you should happen to appoint us. But lo! on a sudden, Jugurtha, stalking forth with intolerable audacity, wickedness, and arrogance, and having put to death my brother, his own cousin, made his territory, in the first place, the prize of his guilt; and next, being unable to ensnare me with similar stratagems, he rendered me, when under your rule I expected any thing rather than violence or war, an exile, as you see, from my country and my home, the prey of poverty and misery, and safer any where than in my own kingdom.

I was always of opinion, Conscript Fathers, as I had often heard my father observe, that those who cultivated your friendship might indeed have an arduous service to perform, but would be of all people the most secure. What our family could do for you, it has done; it has supported you in all your wars; and it is for you to provide for our safety in time of peace. Our father left two of us, brothers; a third, Jugurtha, he thought would be attached to us by the benefits conferred upon him; but one of us has been murdered, and I, the other, have scarcely escaped the hand of lawlessness.⁸ What course can I now take? Unhappy that I am, to what place, rather than another, shall I betake myself? All the props of our family are extinct; my father, of necessity, has paid the debt of nature; a kinsman, whom least of all men it became, has wickedly taken the life of my brother; and as for my other relatives, and friends, and connections, various forms of destruction have overtaken them. Seized by Jugurtha, some have been crucified, and some thrown to wild beasts, while a few, whose lives have been spared, are shut up in the darkness of the dungeon, and drag on, amid suffering and sorrow, an existence more grievous than death itself.

"If all that I have lost, or all that, from being friendly, has become hostile to me,⁹ remained unchanged, yet, in case of any sudden calamity, it is of you that I should still have to implore assistance, to whom, from the greatness of your empire, justice and injustice in general should be objects of regard. And at the present time, when I am exiled from my country and my home, when I am left alone, and destitute of all that is suitable to my dignity, to whom can I go, or to whom shall I appeal, but to you? Shall I go to nations and kings, who, from our friendship with Rome, are all hostile to my family? Could I go, indeed, to any place where there are not abundance of hostile monuments of my ancestors? Will any one, who has ever been at enmity with you, take pity upon me?

"Masinissa, moreover, instructed us, Conscript Fathers, to cultivate no friendship but that of

15. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthae, largitione magis quam causa freti, paucis respondent: 'Hiempsalem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum; Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquara superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequivisset: Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne se alium putarent, ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent.'⁴⁶⁵ Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: fautores legatorum, praetereamagna pars gratia depravata,⁴⁶⁶ Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio sua quasi pro gloria nitentur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequum divitiis carius erat, subveniendum Adherbali et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant; sed ex omnibus maxime Aemilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum, ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia⁴⁶⁷ invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta libidine continuit.

Rome, to adopt no new leagues or alliances, as we should find, in your good-will, abundance of efficient support; while, if the fortune of your empire should change, we must sink together with it. But, by your own merits, and the favor of the gods, you are great and powerful; the whole world regards you with favor and yields to your power; and you are the better able, in consequence, to attend to the grievances of your allies. My only fear is, that private friendship for Jugurtha, too little understood, may lead any of you astray; for his partisans, I hear, are doing their utmost in his behalf, soliciting and importuning you individually, to pass no decision against one who is absent, and whose cause is yet untried; and saying that I state what is false, and only pretend to be an exile, when I might, if I pleased, have remained still in my kingdom. But would that I could see him,¹⁰ by whose unnatural crime I am thus reduced to misery, pretending as I now pretend; and would that, either with you or with the immortal gods, there may at length arise some regard for human interests; for then assuredly will he, who is now audacious and triumphant in guilt, be tortured by every kind of suffering, and pay a heavy penalty for his ingratitude to my father, for the murder of my brother, and for the distress which he has brought upon myself.

"And now, O my brother, dearest object of my affection, though thy life has been prematurely taken from thee, and by a hand that should have been the last to touch it, yet I think thy fate a subject for rejoicing rather than lamentation, for, in losing life, thou hast not been cut off from a throne, but from flight, expatriation, poverty, and all those afflictions which now press upon me. But I, unfortunate that I am, cast from the throne of my father into the depths of calamity, afford an example of human vicissitudes, undecided what course to adopt, whether to avenge thy wrongs, while I myself stand in need of assistance, or to attempt the recovery of my kingdom, while my life or death depends on the aid of others.¹¹

"Would that death could be thought an honorable termination to my misfortunes, that I might not seem to live an object of contempt, if, sinking under my afflictions, I tamely submit to injustice. But now I can neither live with pleasure, nor can die without disgrace.¹² I implore you, therefore, Conscript Fathers, by your regard for yourselves,¹³ for your children, and for your parents, and by the majesty of the Roman people, to grant me succor in my distress, to arrest the progress of injustice, and not to suffer the kingdom of Numidia, which is your own property, to sink into ruin through villainy and the slaughter of our family."

15. When the prince had concluded his speech, the ambassadors of Jugurtha, depending more on their money than their cause, replied, in a few words, " that Hiempsal had been put to death by the Numidians for his cruelty; that Adherbal, commencing war of his own accord, complained, after he was defeated, of being unable to do injury; and that Jugurtha entreated the senate not to consider him a different person from what he had been known to be at Numantia, nor to set the assertions of his enemy above his own conduct."

Both parties then withdrew from the senate-house, and the senate immediately proceeded to deliberate. The partisans of the ambassadors, with a great many others, corrupted by their influence, expressed contempt for the statements of Adherbal, extolled with the highest encomiums the merits of Jugurtha, and exerted themselves as strenuously, with their interest and eloquence, in defense of the guilt and infamy of another, as they would have striven for their own honor. A few, however, on the other hand, to whom right and justice were of more estimation than wealth, gave their opinion that Adherbal should be assisted, and the murder of Hiempsal severely avenged. Of all these the most forward was Æmilius Scaurus,¹ a man of noble birth and great energy, but factious, and ambitious of power, honor, and wealth; yet an artful concealer of his own vices. He,

16. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quae vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit, uti decem legati regnum, quod Micipsa obtinuerat, inter Jugurtham et Adherbalem dividerent. Cujus legationi princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens, quia consul, G. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis, acerrime victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat.⁴⁶⁸ Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romae in inimicis habuerat, tamen accuratissime recepit, dando et pollicitando multa perfecit, uti famae, fide,⁴⁶⁹ postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferet. Reliquos legates eadem via aggressus, plerosque capit; paucis carior fides quam pecunia fuit. In divisione, quae pars Numidiae Mauretanium attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Jugurthae traditur: illam alteram specie quam usu potiore, quaeportuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.⁴⁷⁰

17. Res postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere et eas gentes, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, attingere. Sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem aut asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata⁴⁷¹ sunt, de iis haud facile compertum narraverim; cetera quam paucissimis absolvam. In divisione orbis terrae plerique in parte tertia⁴⁷² Africam posuere, pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse, sed Africam in Europa.⁴⁷³ Ea fines habet ab occidente fretum nostri maris et Oceani,⁴⁷⁴ ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem,⁴⁷⁵ quem locum Katabathmon incolae appellant. Mare saevum, importuosum, ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbore infecundus, coelo terraque penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum; plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiit; nam morbus haud saepe quemquam superat; ad hoc malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se permixti sint, quamquam ab ea fama, quae plerosque obtinet, diversum est, tamen uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejustrae putant, quam paucissimis dicam.⁴⁷⁶ Ceterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

18. Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi incultique, quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus neque lege aut imperio cujusquam regebantur; vagi, palantes, qua nox coegerat, sedes habebant. Sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri

seeing that the bribery of Jugurtha was notorious and shameless, and fearing that, as in such cases often happens, its scandalous profusion might excite public odium, restrained himself from the indulgence of his ruling passion.²

16. Yet that party gained the superiority in the senate, which preferred money and interest to justice. A decree was made, "that ten commissioners should divide the kingdom, which Micipsa had possessed, between Jugurtha and Adherbal." Of this commission the leading person was Lucius Opimius, a man of distinction, and of great influence at that time in the senate, from having in his consulship, on the death of Caius Gracchus and Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, prosecuted the victory of the nobility over the plebeians with great severity.

Jugurtha, though he had already counted Scaurus among his friends at Rome, yet received him with the most studied ceremony, and, by presents and promises, wrought on him so effectually, that he preferred the prince's interest to his own character, honor, and all other considerations. The rest of the commissioners he assailed in a similar way, and gained over most of them; by a few only integrity was more regarded than lucre. In the division of the kingdom, that part of Numidia which borders on Mauretania, and which is superior in fertility and population, was allotted to Jugurtha; of the other part, which, though better furnished with harbors and buildings, was more valuable in appearance than in reality, Adherbal became the possessor.

17. My subject seems to require of me, in this place, a brief account of the situation of Africa, and of those nations in it with whom we have had war or alliances. But of those tracts and countries, which, from their heat, or difficulty of access, or extent of desert, have been but little visited, I can not possibly give any exact description. Of the rest I shall speak with all possible brevity.

In the division of the earth, most writers consider Africa as a third part; a few admit only two divisions, Asia and Europe,¹ and include Africa in Europe. It is bounded, on the west, by the strait connecting our sea with the ocean;² on the east, by a vast sloping tract, which the natives call the Katabathmos.³ The sea is boisterous, and deficient in harbors; the soil is fertile in corn, and good for pasturage, but unproductive of trees. There is a scarcity of water both from rain and from land-springs. The natives are healthy, swift of foot, and able to endure fatigue. Most of them die by the gradual decay of age,⁴ except such as perish by the sword or beasts of prey; for disease finds but few victims. Animals of a venomous nature they have in great numbers.

Concerning the original inhabitants of Africa, the settlers that afterward joined them, and the manner in which they intermingled, I shall offer the following brief account, which, though it differs from the general opinion, is that which was interpreted to me from the Punic volumes said to have belonged to King Hiempsal,⁵ and which the inhabitants of that country believe to be consistent with fact. For the truth of the statement, however, the writers themselves must be responsible.

18. Africa, then, was originally occupied by the Getulians and Libyans,¹ rude and uncivilized tribes, who subsisted on the flesh of wild animals, or, like cattle, on the herbage of the soil. They were controlled neither by customs, laws, nor the authority of any ruler; they wandered about,

putant, interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus,⁴⁷⁷ brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persae et Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari⁴⁷⁸ locos occupavere. Sed Persae intra Oceanum magis; hique alveos navium inverses pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris neque ab Hispanis emundi aut mutandi copia erat; mare magnum et ignara⁴⁷⁹ lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paulatim per connubia Gaetulos secum miscuere, et quia saepe temptantes agros⁴⁸⁰ alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Nomadas appellavere. Ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinae sunt. Medi autem et Armenii accessere Libyes⁴⁸¹ (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant, Gaetuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus) hique mature oppida habuere; nam freto divisi ab Hispania mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paulatim Libyes corrumpere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis⁴⁸² appellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit; ac postea nomine Numidae, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possidere ea loca, quae proxime Carthaginem Numidia appellatur. Deinde utrique⁴⁸³ alteris freti finitimos armis aut metu sub imperium suum coegere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere; magis ii, qui ad nostrum mare processerant, quia Libyes quam Gaetuli minus bellicosi. Denique Africae pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est; victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

19. Postea Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia, pars imperii cupidine, sollicitata plebe et aliis novarum rerum avidis,⁴⁸⁴ Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim⁴⁸⁵ aliasque urbes in ora maritima condidere, eaeque brevi multum auctae, pars originibus suis⁴⁸⁶ praesidio, aliae decori fuere. Nam⁴⁸⁷ de Carthagine silere melius puto quam parum dicere, quoniam alio properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Katabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari⁴⁸⁸ prima Cyrene est, colonia Theræon, ac deinceps duae Syrtes,⁴⁸⁹ interque eas Leptis; deinde Philaenon arae,⁴⁹⁰ quem locum Aegyptum versus finem imperii habuere Carthaginenses, post aliae Punicarum urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Mauretanium Numidae tenent; proxime Hispaniam Mauri sunt. Super Numidiam⁴⁹¹ Gaetulos accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare, post eos Aethiops esse, dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida et fines Carthaginensium, quos novissime⁴⁹² habuerant, populus Romanus permagistratus administrabat, Gaetulorum magna pars et Numidae usque ad flumen Mulucham sub Jugurtha erant, Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, praeter nomen cetera ignarus⁴⁹³ populi Romani, itemque nobis neque bello neque pace antea cognitus. De Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

without fixed habitations, and slept in the abodes to which night drove them. But after Hercules, as the Africans think, perished in Spain, his army, which was composed of various nations,² having lost its leader, and many candidates severally claiming the command of it, was speedily dispersed. Of its constituent troops, the Medes, Persians, and Armenians,³ having sailed over into Africa, occupied the parts nearest to our sea.⁴ The Persians, however, settled more toward the ocean,⁵ and used the inverted keels of their vessels for huts, there being no wood in the country, and no opportunity of obtaining it, either by purchase or barter, from the Spaniards; for a wide sea, and an unknown tongue, were barriers to all intercourse. These, by degrees, formed intermarriages with the Getulians; and because, from constantly trying different soils, they were perpetually shifting their abodes, they called themselves NUMIDIANS.⁶ And to this day the huts of the Numidian boors, which they call mapalia, are of an oblong shape, with curved roofs; resembling the hulls of ships.

The Medes and Armenians connected themselves with the Libyans, who dwelled near the African sea; while the Getulians lay more to the sun,⁷ not far from the torrid heats; and these soon built themselves towns,⁸ as, being separated from Spain only by a strait, they proceeded to open an intercourse with its inhabitants. The name of Medes the Libyans gradually corrupted, changing it, in their barbarous tongue, into Moors.⁹

Of the Persians¹⁰ the power rapidly increased; and at length, the children, through excess of population, separating from the parents, they took possession, under the name of Numidians, of those regions bordering on Carthage which are now called Numidia. In process of time, the two parties,¹¹ each assisting the other, reduced the neighboring tribes, by force or fear, under their sway; but those who had spread toward our sea, made the greater conquests: for the Lybians are less warlike than the Getulians.¹² At last nearly all lower Africa/13 was occupied by the Numidians; and all the conquered tribes were merged in the nation and name of their conquerors..

19. At a later period, the Phœnicians, some of whom wished to lessen their numbers at home, and others, ambitious of empire, engaged the populace, and such as were eager for change, to follow them, founded Hippo,¹ Adrumetum, Leptis,² and other cities, on the sea-coast; which, soon growing powerful, became partly a support, and partly an honor, to their parent state. Of Carthage I think it better to be silent, than to say but little; especially as time bids me hasten to other matters.

Next to the Catabathmos,³ then, which divides Egypt from Africa, the first city along the sea-coast⁴ is Cyrene, a colony of Theræans;⁵ after which are the two Syrtes,⁶ with Leptis⁷ between them; then the Altars of the Philæni,⁸ which the Carthaginians considered the boundary of their dominion on the side of Egypt; beyond these are the other Punic towns. The other regions, as far as Mauretania, the Numidians occupy; the Moors are nearest to Spain. To the south of Numidia,⁹ as we are informed, are the Getulians, of whom some live in huts, and others lead a vagrant and less civilized life; beyond these are the Ethiopians; and further on, regions parched by the heat of the sun.

At the time of the Jugurthine war, most of the Punic towns, and the territories which Carthage had lately possessed,¹⁰ were under the government of Roman prætors; a great part of the Getulians, and Numidia as far as the river Mulucha, were subject to Jugurtha; while the whole of the Moors were governed by Bocchus, a king who knew nothing of the Romans but their name, and who, before this period, was as little known to us, either in war or peace. Of Africa and its inhabitants I have now said all that my narrative requires.

20. Postquam, diviso regno, legati Africa decessere, et Jugurtha contra timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum sese videt, certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paulo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus; at is, quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus injuriae, metuens magis quam metuendus. Igitur ex improvise ejus cum magna manu invadit; multos mortales cum pecore atque alia praeda capit, aedificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit, deinde cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit, existimans dolore permotum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli causam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existimabat et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum⁴⁹⁴ misit; qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit quam bellum sumere, quia temptatum antea secus⁴⁹⁵ cesserat. Neque eo magis cupido Jugurthae minuebatur, quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat. Itaque non uti antea cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato bellum gerere coepit et aperte totius Numidiae imperium petere. Ceterum qua pergebat urbes, agros vastare, praedas agere, suis animum, hostibus terrorem augere.

21. Adherbal ubi intellegit eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat et Jugurthae obvius procedit. Interim haud longe a mari prope Cirtam oppidum⁴⁹⁶ utriusque exercitus consedit, et quia diei extremum erat, proelium non inceptum. Sed ubi plerumque⁴⁹⁷ noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini signo dato castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos partim,⁴⁹⁸ alios arma sumentes fugant funduntque; Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et ni multitudo togatorum⁴⁹⁹ fuisset, quae Numidas insequentes moenibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumscedit, vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare aggreditur, maxime festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos ante proelium factum ab Adherbale Romam missos audiverat. Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adolescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambos reges adeant senatus populique Romani verbis nuntient: 'Velle et censere eos ab armis discedere, de controversiis suis jure potius quam bello disceptare; ita seque illisque⁵⁰⁰ dignum esse.

22. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis, quod Romae, dum proficisci parant, de proelio facto et oppugnatione Cirtae audiebatur; sed is rumor clemens erat.⁵⁰¹ Quorum Jugurtha accepta oratione respondit: 'Sibi neque majus quiequam neque carius auctoritate senatus esse; ab adolescentia ita se enisum, ut ab optimo quoque probaretur; virtute, non malitia P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse; ob easdem artes ab Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum esse. Ceterum quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare:

20. When the commissioners, after dividing the kingdom, had left Africa, and Jugurtha saw that, contrary to his apprehensions, he had obtained the object of his crimes; he then being convinced of the truth of what he had heard from his friends at Numantia, "that all things were purchasable at Rome," and being also encouraged by the promises of those whom he had recently loaded with presents, directed his views to the domain of Adherbal. He was himself bold and warlike, while the other, at whose destruction he aimed, was quiet, unfit for arms, of a mild temper, a fit subject for injustice, and a prey to fear rather than an object of it. Jugurtha, accordingly, with a powerful force, made a sudden irruption into his dominions, took several prisoners, with cattle and other booty, set fire to the buildings, and made hostile demonstrations against several places with his cavalry. He then retreated, with all his followers, into his own kingdom, expecting that Adherbal, roused by such provocation, would avenge his wrongs by force, and thus furnish a pretext for war. But Adherbal, thinking himself unable to meet Jugurtha in the field, and relying on the friendship of the Romans more than on the Numidians, merely sent ambassadors to Jugurtha to complain of the outrage; and, although they brought back but an insolent reply, yet he resolved to endure any thing rather than have recourse to war, which, when he attempted it before, had ended in his defeat. By such conduct the eagerness of Jugurtha was not at all allayed; for he had now, indeed, in imagination, possessed himself of all Adherbal's dominions. He therefore renewed hostilities, not, as before, with a predatory band, but at the head of a large army which he had collected, and openly aspired to the sovereignty of all Numidia. Wherever he marched, he ravaged the towns and the fields, drove off booty, and raised confidence in his own men and dismay among the enemy.

21. Adherbal, when he found that matters had arrived at such a point, that he must either abandon his dominions, or defend them by force of arms, collected an army from necessity, and advanced to meet Jugurtha. Both armies took up their position near the town of Cirta, at no great distance from the sea; but, as evening was approaching, encamped without coming to an engagement. But when the night was far advanced, and twilight was beginning to appear, the troops of Jugurtha, at a given signal, rushed into the camp of the enemy, whom they routed and put to flight, some half asleep and others resuming their arms. Adherbal, with a few of his cavalry, fled to Cirta; and, had there not been a number of Romans in the town, who repulsed his Numidian pursuers from the walls, the war between the two princes would have been begun and ended on the same day.

Jugurtha proceeded to invest the town, and attempted to storm it with the aid of mantelets, towers, and every kind of machines; being anxious above all things, to take it before the ambassadors could arrive at Rome, who, he was informed, had been dispatched thither by Adherbal before the battle was fought. But as soon as the senate heard of their contention, three young men were sent as deputies into Africa, with directions to go to both of the princes, and to announce to them, in the words of the senate and people of Rome, " that it was their will and resolution that they should lay down their arms, and settle their disputes rather by arbitration than by the sword; since to act thus would be to the honor both of the Romans and themselves.

22. These deputies soon arrived in Africa, using the greater dispatch, because, while they were preparing for their journey, a report was spread at Rome of the battle which had been fought, and of the siege of Cirta; but this report told much less than the truth. Jugurtha, having given them an audience, replied, "that nothing was of greater weight with him, nothing more respected, than the authority of the senate; that it had been his endeavor, from his youth, to deserve the esteem of all men of worth; that he had gained the favor of Publius Scipio, a man of the highest eminence,

Adherbalem dolis vitae suae insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri ejus obviam isse; populum Romanum neque recte neque pro bono facturum,⁵⁰² si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerit; postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum.' Ita utrique⁵⁰³ digrediuntur. Adherbalis appellandi copia non fuit.

23. Jugurtha ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa moenia circumdat, turres extruit easque praesidiis firmat, praeterea dies noctesque aut per vim aut dolis temptare, defensoribus moenium praemia modo, modo formidinem ostentare, suos hortando ad virtutem arrigere,⁵⁰⁴ prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal, ubi intellegit omnes suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariorum bellum trahi non posse, ex iis, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxime impigros delegit; eos multa pollicendo ac miserando casum suum confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent. Numidae paucis diebus jussa efficiunt; litterae Adherbalis in senatu recitatae, quarum sententia haec fuit:

24. 'Non mea culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthae subigit, quem tanta libido extinguendi me invasit, ut neque vos neque deos immortales in animo habeat, sanguinem meum quam omnia malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem socius et amicus populi Romani armis obsessus teneor, neque mihi Micipsae patris mei beneficia neque vestra decreta auxiliantur; ferro an fame acrius urgear incertus sum. Plura de Jugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea; et jam antea expertus sum parum fidei miseris esse. Nisi tamen intellego⁵⁰⁵ illum supra quam ego sum petere, neque simul amicitiam vestram et regnum meum sperare. Utrum gravius existimet, nemini occultum est. Nam, initio occidit Hiempsalem, fratrem meum, dein patrio regno me expulit; quae sane fuerint nostrae injuriae, nihil ad vos.⁵⁰⁶ Verum nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet, me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. Quid reliquum nisi vestra vis, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem et haec, quae scribo, et illa, quae antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed quoniam eo natus sum, ut Jugurthae scelerum ostentui essem,⁵⁰⁷ non jam mortem neque aerumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor.⁵⁰⁸ Regno Numidiae, quod vestrum est, uti libet consulite; me ex manibus impiis eripite per majestatem imperii, per amicitiae fidem, si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissae.

not by dishonorable practices, but by merit; that, for the same good qualities, and not from want of heirs to the throne, he had been adopted by Micipsa; but that, the more honorable and spirited his conduct had been, the less could his feelings endure injustice; that Adherbal had formed designs against his life, on discovering which, he had counteracted his malice; that the Romans would act neither justly nor reasonably, if they withheld from him the common right of nations;2 and, in conclusion, that he would soon send ambassadors to Rome to explain the whole of his proceedings." On this understanding, both parties separated. Of addressing Adherbal the deputies had no opportunity.

23. Jugurtha, as soon as he thought that they had quitted Africa, surrounded the walls of Cirta, which, from the nature of its situation, he was unable to take by assault, with a rampart and a trench; he also erected towers, and manned them with soldiers; he made attempts on the place, by force or by stratagem, day and night; he held out bribes, and some times menaces, to the besieged; he roused his men, by exhortations, to efforts of valor, and resorted, with the utmost perseverance, to every possible expedient.

Adherbal, on the other hand, seeing that his affairs were in a desperate condition, that his enemy was determined on his ruin, that there was no hope of succor, and that the siege, from want of provisions, could not long be protracted, selected from among those who had fled with him to Cirta, two of his most resolute supporters, whom he induced, by numerous promises, and an affecting representation of his distress, to make their way in the night, through the enemy's lines, to the nearest point of the coast, and from thence to Rome.

24. . The Numidians, in a few days executed their commission; and a letter from Adherbal was read in the senate, of which the following was the purport:

"It is not through my own fault, Conscript Fathers, that I so often send requests to you; but the violence of Jugurtha compels me; whom so strong a desire for my destruction has seized, that he pays no regard1 either to you or to the immortal gods; my blood he covets beyond every thing. Five months, in consequence, have I, the ally and friend of the Roman people, been besieged with an armed force; neither the remembrance of my father Micipsa's benefits, nor your decrees, are of any avail for my relief; and whether I am more closely pressed by the sword, or by famine, I am unable to say.

"From writing further concerning Jugurtha, my present condition deters me; for I have experienced, even before,2 that little credit is given to the unfortunate. Yet I can perceive that his views extend further than to myself, and that he does not expect to possess, at the same time, your friendship and my kingdom; which of the two he thinks the more desirable, must be manifest to every one. For, in the first place, he murdered my brother Hiempsal; and, in the next, expelled me from my dominions; which, however, may be regarded as our own wrongs, and as having no reference to you. But now he occupies your kingdom with an army; he keeps me, whom you appointed a king over the Numidians, in a state of blockade; and in what estimation he holds the words of your ambassadors, my perils may serve to show. What then is left, except your arms, that can make an impression upon him ?

"I could wish, indeed, that what I now write, as well as the complaints which I lately made before the senate, were false, rather than that my present distresses should confirm the truth of my state-

25. His litteris recitatis fuere, qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent et quam prae Adherbali subveniendum; de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur,⁵⁰⁹ quoniam legatis non paruisset. Sed ab iisdem illis regis fautoribus summa ope enisum,⁵¹⁰ ne tale decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu, nobiles, amplis honoribus usi; in quis fuit M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis et tum in senatu princeps. Hi, quod res in invidia erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim ascendere, dein brevi Uticam appulsi litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, quam ocissime⁵¹¹ ad provinciam accedat, seque ad eum ab senatu missos. Ille ubi accepit homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse, primo commotus, metu atque libidine diversus agitabatur. Timebat iram senatus, ni paruisset legatis; porro animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur exercita circumdato summa vi Cirtam irrumpere⁵¹² nititur, maxime sperans, diducta manu hostium⁵¹³ aut vi aut dolis sese casum victoriae inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit neque quod intenderat efficere potest, ut prius quam legates conveniret, Adherbali potiretur; ne amplius morando Scaurum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac tametsi senati verbis graves minaenuntiabantur, quod ab oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumpta legati frustra discessere.

26. Ea postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute moenia defensabantur, confisi deditioe facta propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, uti seque et oppidum Jugurthae tradat, tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur, de ceteris senatui curae fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Jugurthae rebatur,⁵¹⁴ tamen quia penes eosdem, si adversaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditioem facit. Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat, deinde omnes puberes Numidas atque negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatis obvis fuerat, interficit.

ments. But since I am born to be an example of Jugurtha's villainy, I do not now beg a release from death or distress, but only from the tyranny of an enemy, and from bodily torture. Respecting the kingdom of Numidia, which is your own property, determine as you please, but if the memory of my grandfather Masinissa is still cherished by you, deliver me, I entreat you, by the majesty of your empire, and by the sacred ties of friendship, from the inhuman hands of Jugurtha.

25, When this letter was read, there were some who thought that an army should be dispatched into Africa, and relief afforded to Adherbal, as soon as possible; and that the senate, in the mean time, should give judgment on the conduct of Jugurtha, in not having obeyed the ambassadors. But by the partisans of Jugurtha, the same that had before supported his cause, effectual exertions were made to prevent any decree from being passed; and thus the public interest, as is too frequently the case, was defeated by private influence.

An embassy was, however, dispatched into Africa, consisting of men of advanced years, and of noble birth, and who had filled the highest offices of the state; among whom was Marcus Scaurus, already mentioned, a man who had held the consulship, and who was at that time chief of the senate.¹ These ambassadors, as their business was an affair of public odium, and as they were urged by the entreaties of the Numidians, embarked in three days; and having soon arrived at Utica, sent a letter from thence to Jugurtha, desiring him " to come to the province as quickly as possible, as they were deputed by the senate to meet him."

Jugurtha, when he found that men of eminence, whose influence at Rome he knew to be powerful, were come to put a stop to his proceedings, was at first perplexed, and distracted between fear and cupidity. He dreaded the displeasure of the senate, if he should disobey the ambassadors; while his eager spirit, blinded by the lust of power, hurried him on to complete the injustice which he had begun. At length the evil incitements of ambition prevailed.² He accordingly drew his army round the city of Cirta, and endeavored, with his utmost efforts, to force an entrance; having the strongest hopes, that, by dividing the attention of the enemy's troops, he should be able, by force or artifice, to secure an opportunity of success. When his attempts, however, were unavailing, and he found himself unable, as he had designed, to get Adherbal into his power before he met the ambassadors, fearing that, by further delay, he might irritate Scaurus, of whom he stood in great dread, he proceeded with a small body of cavalry into the Province. Yet, though serious menaces were repeated to him in the name of the senate, because he had not desisted from the siege, nevertheless, after spending a long time in conference, the ambassadors departed without making any impression upon him.

26. When news of this result was brought to Cirta, the Italians,¹ by whose exertions the city had been defended, and who trusted that, if a surrender were made, they would be able, from respect to the greatness of the Roman power, to escape without personal injury, advised Adherbal to deliver himself and the city to Jugurtha, stipulating only that his life should be spared, and leaving all other matters to the care of the senate. Adherbal, though he thought nothing less trustworthy than the honor of Jugurtha, yet, knowing that those who advised could also compel him if he resisted, surrendered the place according to their desire. Jugurtha immediately proceeded to put Adherbal to death with torture, and massacred all the inhabitants that were of age, whether Numidians or Italians, as each fell in the way of his troops.

27. Quod postquam Romae cognitum est, et res in senatu agitari coepta, iidem illi ministri regis interpellando⁵¹⁵ ac saepe gratia, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac ni G. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset id agi, ut per paucos factiosos Jugurthae scelus condonaretur, profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa foret: tanta vis gratiae atque pecuniae regis erat. Sed ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, lege Sempronia⁵¹⁶ provinciae futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretae; consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius; Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit;⁵¹⁷ deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur; stipendium aliaque, quae bello usui forent, decernuntur.

28. At Jugurtha, contra spem nuntio accepto, quippe cui Romae omnia venum ire⁵¹⁸ in animo haeserat, filium et cum eo duos familiares ad senatum legatos mittit, hisque ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, praecipit, omnes mortales pecunia aggrediantur. Qui postquam Romam adventabant,⁵¹⁹ senatus a Bestia consultus est, placeretne legatos Jugurthae recipi moenibus; iique decrevere, nisi regnum ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus proximis decem⁵²⁰ Italia decederent. Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nuntiari jubet; ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat⁵²¹ sibi homines nobiles, factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quae deliquisset, munita fore sperabat; in quis fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu supra⁵²² memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multae bonaeque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia praepediebat; patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium atque inde Siciliam,⁵²³ porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvectae. Igitur Calpurnius initio, paratis comitatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est, multosque mortales et urbes aliquot pugnando cepit.

29. Sed ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia temptare bellique quod administrabat asperitatem ostendere coepit, animus aeger avaritia⁵²⁴ facile conversus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum assumitur Scaurus, qui tametsi a principio,⁵²⁵ plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrime regem impugnaverat, tamen magnitudine pecuniae a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primo tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existimans sese aliquid interim Romae pretio aut gratia effecturum; postea vero quam participem negotii Scaurum accepit, in maximam spem adductus recuperandae pacis, statuit cum eis de omnibus pactionibus praesens agere. Ceterum interea fidei causa mittitur a consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum Jugurthae Vagam,⁵²⁶ cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat, quoniam deditiois mora induciae agitabantur.⁵²⁷ Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit, ac pauca praesenti consilio locutus de invidia facti sui atque uti in deditioem acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta⁵²⁸ transigit, dein postero die, quasi per saturam sententiis exquisitis,⁵²⁹ in

27. When this outrage was reported at Rome, and became a matter of discussion in the senate, the former partisans of Jugurtha applied themselves, by interrupting the debates and protracting the time, sometimes exerting their interest, and sometimes quarreling with particular members, to palliate the atrocity of the deed. And had not Caius Memmius, one of the tribunes of the people elect, a man of energy, and hostile to the power of the nobility, convinced the people of Rome that an attempt was being made, by the agency of a small faction, to have the crimes of Jugurtha pardoned, it is certain that the public indignation against him would have passed off under the protraction of the debates; so powerful was party interest, and the influence of Jugurtha's money. When the senate, however, from consciousness of misconduct, became afraid of the people, Numidia and Italy, by the Sempronian law,¹ were appointed as provinces to the succeeding consuls, who were declared to be Publius Scipio Nasica,² and Lucius Bestia Calpurnius.³ Numidia fell to Calpurnius, and Italy to Scipio. An army was then raised to be sent into Africa; and pay, and all other necessaries of war, were decreed for its use.

28. When Jugurtha received this news, which was utterly at variance with his expectations, as he had felt convinced that all things were purchasable at Rome, he sent his son, with two of his friends, as deputies to the senate, and directed them, like those whom he had sent on the murder of Hiempsal, to attack every body with bribes. Upon the approach of these deputies to Rome, the senate was consulted by Bestia, whether they would allow them to be admitted within the gates; and the senate decreed, " that, unless they came to surrender Jugurtha's kingdom and himself, they must quit Italy within the ten following days." The consul directed this decree to be communicated to the Numidians, who consequently returned home without effecting their object.

Calpurnius, in the mean time, having raised an army, chose for his officers men of family and intrigue, hoping that whatever faults he might commit, would be screened by their influence; and among these was Scaurus, of whose disposition and character we have already spoken. There were, indeed, in our consul Calpurnius, many excellent qualities, both mental and personal, though avarice interfered with the exercise of them; he was patient of labor, of a penetrating intellect, of great foresight, not inexperienced in war, and extremely vigilant against danger and surprise.

The troops were conducted through Italy to Rhegium, from thence to Sicily, and from Sicily into Africa; and Calpurnius's first step, after collecting provisions, was to invade Numidia with spirit, where he took many prisoners, and several towns, by force of arms.

29. But when Jugurtha began, through his emissaries, to tempt him with bribes, and to show the difficulties of the war which he had undertaken to conduct, his mind, corrupted with avarice, was easily altered. His accomplice, however, and manager in all his schemes, was Scaurus; who, though he had at first, when most of his party were corrupted, displayed violent hostility to Jugurtha, yet was afterward seduced, by a vast sum of money, from integrity and honor to injustice and perfidy-Jugurtha, however, at first sought only to purchase a suspension of hostilities, expecting to be able, during the interval, to make some favorable impression, either by bribery or by interest, at Rome; but when he heard that Scaurus was co-operating with Calpurnius, he was elated with great hopes of regaining peace, and resolved upon a conference with them in person respecting the terms of it. In the mean time, for the sake of giving confidence¹ to Jugurtha, Sextus the quaestor was dispatched by the consul to Vaga, one of the prince's towns; the pretext for his journey being the receiving of corn, which Calpurnius had openly demanded from Jugurtha's emissaries, on

deditionem accipitur. Sed uti pro consilio⁵³⁰ imperatum erat, elephantum triginta, pecus atque equi multi cum parvo argenti pondere quaestori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos⁵³¹ proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

30. Postquam res in Africa gestas quoque modo actae forent fama divulgavit, Romae per omnes locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari. Apud plebem gravis invidia, patres solliciti erant; probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subverterent, parum constabat.⁵³² Ac maxime eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiae ferebatur, a vero bonoque impediabat. At G. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingenii et odio potentiae nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senatus contionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari, monere, ne rem publicam, ne libertatem suam desererent, multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere; prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed quoniam ea tempestate Romae Memmii faciundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existimavi unam ex tam multis orationem ejus perscribere, ac potissimum ea dicam, quae in contione post reditum Bestiae hujuscemodi verbis disseruit.

31. 'Multa me dehortantur a vobis,⁵³³ Quirites, ni studium rei publicae omnia superet, opes factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum, ac maxime, quod innocentiae plus periculi quam honoris est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis XV.⁵³⁴ quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum, quam foede quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores, ut vobis animus ab ignavia⁵³⁵ atque socordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxii inimicis,⁵³⁶ exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus dece terrori esse. Sed quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit.⁵³⁷ Certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente meo tradita est, experiar; verum id frustra an ob rem⁵³⁸ faciam, in vestra manu situm est, Quirites. Neque ego vos hortor, quod saepe majores vestri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil secessione opus est: necesse est suomet ipsi more praecipites eant.⁵³⁹ Occisso Ti. Graccho, quem regnum parare ajebant, in plebem Romanam quaestiones habitae sunt. Post G. Gracchi et M. Fulvi caedem item vestri ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati sunt; utriusque cladis non lex, verum libido eorum finem fecit. Sed sane fuerit regni paratio plebi sua restituere; quicquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit.⁵⁴⁰ Superioribus annis taciti indignabimini aerarium expilari, reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere, penes eosdem et summam gloriam et maximas divitias esse; tamen haec talia facinora impune suscepisse parum habuere.⁵⁴¹ Itaque postremo leges, majestas vestra, divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui ea fecere, pudet aut poenitet, sed incedunt per ora vestra⁵⁴² magnifici, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes, perinde quasi ea honori non praedae habeant. Servi aera parati injusta imperia dominorum non perferunt; vos, Quirites, imperio nati, aequo animo servitutem toleratis? At qui sunt hi qui rem publicam occupavere? Homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissimi iidemque superbissimi, quibus fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt. Pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quaestiones injustas, plerique

the ground that a truce was observed through their delay to make a surrender. Jugurtha then, as he had determined, paid a visit to the consul's camp, where, having made a short address to the council, respecting the odium cast upon his conduct, and his desire for a capitulation, he arranged other matters with Bestia and Scaurus in secret; and the next day, as if by an evident majority of voices,² he was formally allowed to surrender. But, as was demanded in the hearing of the council, thirty elephants, a considerable number of cattle and horses, and a small sum of money, were delivered into the hands of the quaestor. Calpurnius then returned to Rome to preside at the election of magistrates,³ and peace was observed throughout Numidia and the Roman army.

30. When rumor had made known the affairs transacted in Africa, and the mode in which they had been brought to pass, the conduct of the consul became a subject of discussion in every place and company at Rome. Among the people there was violent indignation; as to the senators, whether they would ratify so flagitious a proceeding, or annul the act of the consul, was a matter of doubt. The influence of Scaurus, as he was said to be the supporter and accomplice of Bestia, was what chiefly restrained the senate from acting with justice and honor. But Caius Memmius, of whose boldness of spirit, and hatred to the power of the nobility, I have already spoken, excited the people by his harangues, during the perplexity and delay of the senators, to take vengeance on the authors of the treaty; he exhorted them not to abandon the public interest or their own liberty; he set before them the many tyrannical and violent proceedings of the nobles, and omitted no art to inflame the popular passions. But as the eloquence of Memmius, at that period, had great reputation and influence I have thought proper to give in full¹ one out of many of his speeches; and I take, in preference to others, that which he delivered in the assembly of the people, after the return of Bestia, in words to the following effect

31. " Were not my zeal for the good of the state, my fellow-citizens, superior to every other feeling, there are many considerations which would deter me from appearing in your cause; I allude to the power of the opposite party, your own tameness of spirit, the absence of all justice, and, above all, the fact that integrity is attended with more danger than honor. Indeed, it grieves me to relate, how, during the last fifteen years,¹ you have been a sport to the arrogance of an oligarchy; how dishonorably, and how utterly unavenged, your defenders have perished;² and how your spirit has become degenerate by sloth and indolence; for not even now, when your enemies are in your power, will you rouse yourselves to action, but continue still to stand in awe of those to whom you should be a terror.

" Yet, notwithstanding this state of things, I feel prompted to make an attack on the power of that faction. That liberty of speech,³ therefore, which has been left me by my father, I shall assuredly exert against them; but whether I shall use it in vain, or for your advantage, must, my fellow-citizens, depend upon yourselves. I do not, however, exhort you, as your ancestors have often done, to rise in arms against injustice. There is at present no need of violence, no need of secession; for your tyrants must work their fall by their own misconduct.

"After the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, whom they accused of aspiring to be king, persecutions were instituted against the common people of Rome; and after the slaughter of Caius Gracchus and Marcus Fulvius, many of your order were put to death in prison. But let us leave these proceedings out of the question; let us admit that to restore their rights to the people, was to aspire to

caedem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent.⁵⁴³ Ita quam quisque pessime fecit, tam maxime⁵⁴⁴ tutus est: metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere;⁵⁴⁵ quos omnes eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coegit.⁵⁴⁶ Sed haec inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est. Quodsi tam vos libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt, profecto neque res publica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et beneficia vestra⁵⁴⁷ penes optimos, non audacissimos, forent. Majores vestri parandi juris et majestatis constituendae gratia bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere,⁵⁴⁸ vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, non summa ope nitimini?⁵⁴⁹ atque eo vehementius, quo majus dedecus est parta amittere quam omnino non paravisse. Dicit aliquis: Quid igitur censes? Vindicandum in eos,⁵⁵⁰ qui hosti prodidere rem publicam? Non manu neque vi, quod magis vos fecisse quam illis accidisse indignum est, verum quaestionibus⁵⁵¹ et indicio ipsius Jugurthae, qui si dediticius est, profecto jussis vestris obediens erit; sin ea contemnit, scilicet existimabitis, qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentes maximae divitiae, in rem publicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint. Nisi forte⁵⁵² nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa quam haec tempora magis placent, quum regna, provinciae, leges, jura, judicia, bella atque paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere; nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum recusare audebat? Atque ego, tametsi viro flagitiosissimum existimo impune injuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo paterer, ni misericordia in perniciem casura esset. Nam et illis, quantum importunitatis habent,⁵⁵³ parum est impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur, et vobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, quum intelletis aut serviundum esse aut permanus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes est? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse, facere illi injurias, vos prohibere; postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam diversis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque vos, ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non peculatus aerarii factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae, quae quamquam gravia sunt, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur: hosti acerrimo prodita senatus auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum, domi militiaeque res publica venalis fuit. Quae nisi quaesita erunt, nisi vindicatum in noxios, quid erit reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obedientes vivamus? Nam impune quaelibet facere, id est regem⁵⁵⁴ esse. Neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis cives vestros perperam quam recte fecisse, sed ne ignoscendo malis bonos perditum eatis.⁵⁵⁵ Ad hoc in re publica multo praestat beneficii quam maleficii immemorem esse;⁵⁵⁶ bonus tantummodo signior fit, ubi negligas, at malus improbior. Ad hoc si injuriae non sint, haud saepe auxilii egeas.'

sovereignty; let us allow that what can not be avenged without shedding the blood of citizens, was done with justice. You have seen with silent indignation, however, in past years, the treasury pillaged; you have seen kings, and free people, paying tribute to a small party of Patricians, in whose hands were both the highest honors and the greatest wealth; but to have carried on such proceedings with impunity, they now deem but a small matter; and, at last, your laws and your honor, with every civil and religious obligation,⁴ have been sacrificed for the benefit of your enemies. Nor do they, who have done these things, show either shame or contrition, but parade proudly before your faces, displaying their sacerdotal dignities, their consulships, and some of them their triumphs, as if they regarded them as marks of honor, and not as fruits of their dishonesty. Slaves, purchased with money,⁵ will not submit to unjust commands from their masters; yet you, my fellow-citizens, who are born to empire, tamely endure oppression.

"But who are these that have thus taken the government into their hands? Men of the most abandoned character, of blood-stained hands, of insatiable avarice, of enormous guilt, and of matchless pride; men by whom integrity, reputation, public spirit,⁶ and indeed every thing, whether honorable or dishonorable, is converted to a means of gain. Some of them make it their defense that they have killed tribunes of the people; others, that they have instituted unjust prosecutions; others, that they have shed your blood; and thus, the more atrocities each has committed, the greater is his security; while your oppressors, whom the same desires, the same aversions, and the same fears, combine in strict union (a union which among good men is friendship, but among the bad confederacy in guilt), have excited in you, through your want of spirit, that terror which they ought to feel for their own crimes.

"But if your concern to preserve your liberty were as great as their ardor to increase their power of oppression, the state would not be distracted as it is at present; and the marks of favor which proceed from you,⁷ would be conferred, not on the most shameless, but on the most deserving. Your forefathers, in order to assert their rights and establish their authority, twice seceded in arms to Mount Aventine; and will not you exert yourselves, to the utmost of your power, in defense of that liberty which you received from them? Will you not display so much the more spirit in the cause, from the reflection that it is a greater disgrace to lose⁸ what has been gained, than not to have gained it at all?

"But some will ask me, 'What course of conduct, then, would you advise us to pursue?' I would advise you to inflict punishment on those who have sacrificed the interests of their country to the enemy; not, indeed, by arms, or any violence (which would be more unbecoming, however, for you to inflict than for them to suffer), but by prosecutions, and by the evidence of Jugurtha himself, who, if he has really surrendered, will doubtless obey your summons; whereas, if he shows contempt for it, you will at once judge what sort of a peace or surrender it is, from which springs impunity to Jugurtha for his crimes, immense wealth to a few men in power, and loss and infamy to the republic.

"But perhaps you are not yet weary of the tyranny of these men; perhaps these times please you less than those⁹ when kingdoms, provinces, laws, rights, the administration of justice, war and peace, and indeed every thing civil and religious, was in the hands of an oligarchy; while you, that is, the people of Rome, though unconquered by foreign enemies, and rulers of all nations around, were content with being alloyed to live; for which of you had spirit to throw off your slavery? For myself, indeed, though I think it most disgraceful to receive an injury without resenting it, yet I could easily allow you to pardon these basest of traitors, because they are your fellow-citizens, were it not certain that your indulgence would end in your destruction. For such is their presump-

32. Haec atque alia hujuscemodi saepe dicundo Memmius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum praetor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur eumque interposita fide publica Romam duceret, quo facilius indicio regis Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniae captae arcessebant,⁵⁵⁷ delicta patefierent. Dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relictis a Bestia exercitui praeerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui plurima et flagitiosissima facinora fecere. Fuere, qui auro corrupti elephantos Jugurthae traderent; alii perfugas vendere, pars ex pacatis praedas agebant; tanta vis avaritiae in animos eorum veluti tabes invaserat. At Cassius, perlata rogatione⁵⁵⁸ a G. Memmio ac percussa omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur eique timido et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis persuadet, quoniam se populo Romano dedisset, ne vim quam misericordiam ejus experiri mallet. Privatim praeterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris quam publicam ducebat; talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

33. Igitur Jugurtha contra decus regium cultu quam maxime miserabili cum Cassio Romam venit. Ac tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quae supra diximus, G. Baebium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentia contra jus et injurias omnes munitus foret. At G. Memmius, advocata contione, qua-

tion, that to escape punishment for their misdeeds will have but little effect upon them, unless they be deprived, at the same time, of the power of doing mischief; and endless anxiety will remain for you, if you shall have to reflect that you must either be slaves or preserve your liberty by force of arms.

"Of mutual trust, or concord, what hope is there? They wish to be lords, you desire to be free; they seek to inflict injury, you to repel it; they treat your allies as enemies, your enemies as allies. With feelings so opposite, can peace or friendship subsist between you? I warn, therefore, and exhort you, not to allow such enormous dishonesty to go unpunished. It is not an embezzlement of the public money¹⁰ that has been committed; nor is it a forcible extortion of money from your allies; offenses which, though great, are now, from their frequency, considered as nothing; but the authority of the senate, and your own power, have been sacrificed to the bitterest of enemies, and the public interest has been betrayed for money, both at home and abroad; and unless these misdeeds be investigated, and punishment be inflicted on the guilty, what remains for us but to live the slaves of those who committed them For those who do what they will with impunity are undoubtedly kings.¹¹

"I do not, however, wish to encourage you, O Romans, to be better satisfied at finding your fellow-citizens guilty than innocent, but merely to warn you not to bring ruin on the good, by suffering the bad to escape. It is far better, in any government, to be unmindful of a service than of an injury; for a good man, if neglected, only becomes less active; but a bad man, more daring. Besides, if the crimes of the wicked are suppressed,¹² the state will seldom need extraordinary support from the virtuous.":

32. By repeating these and similar sentiments, Memmius prevailed on the people to send Lucius Cassius,¹ who was then praetor, to Jugurtha, and to bring him, under guarantee of the public faith,² to Rome, in order that, by the prince's evidence, the misconduct of Scaurus and the rest, whom they charged with having taken bribes, might more easily be made manifest.

During the course of these proceedings at Rome, those whom Bestia had left in Numidia in command of the army, following the example of their general, had been guilty of many scandalous transactions. Some, seduced by gold, had restored Jugurtha his elephants; others had sold him his deserters; others had ravaged the lands of those at peace with us; so strong a spirit of rapacity, like the contagion of a pestilence, had pervaded the breasts of all.

Cassius, when the measure proposed by Memmius had been carried, and while all the nobility were in consternation, set out on his mission to Jugurtha, whom, alarmed as he was, and despairing of his fortune, from a sense of guilt, he admonished "that since he had surrendered himself to the Romans, he had better make trial of their mercy than their power." He also pledged his own word, which Jugurtha valued not less than that of the public, for his safety. Such, at that period, was the reputation of Cassius.

33. Jugurtha, accordingly, accompanied Cassius to Rome, but without any mark of royalty, and in the garb, as much as possible, of a suppliant;¹ and, though he felt great confidence on his own part, and was supported by all those through whose power or villainy he had accomplished his projects, he purchased, by a vast bribe, the aid of Caius Baebius, a tribune of the people, by whose audacity

mquam regi infesta plebes erat, et pars in vincula duci jubebat, pars, ni socios sceleris sui aperiret, more majorum de hoste supplicium sumi; dignitati quam irae magis consulens, sedare motus et animos eorum mollire, postremo confirmare, fidem publicam per sese⁵⁵⁹ inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium coepit, producto Jugurtha, verba facit; Romae Numidiaeque⁵⁶⁰ facinora ejus memorat, scelera in patrem fratresque ostendit. Quibus juvantibus quibusque ministris ea egerit, quamquam intellegat populus Romanus, tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere. Si verum aperiat, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam; sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore,⁵⁶¹ sed se suasque spes corrupturum.

34. Deinde, ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, G. Baebius, tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere jubet, ac tametsi multitudo, quae in contione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, saepe impetu atque aliis omnibus, quae ira fieri amat,⁵⁶² vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex contione discedit: Jugurthae Bestiaeque et ceteris, quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi augescunt.⁵⁶³

35. Erat ea tempestate Romae Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussae filius, Masinissae nepos; qui, quia in dissensione regum Jugurthae adversus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat,⁵⁶⁴ persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissae sit, Jugurthamque ob scelera invidia cum metu urgeat,⁵⁶⁵ regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. Avidus consul belli gerundi moveri quam senescere omnia malebat; ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quae postquam Massiva agitare coepit, neque Jugurthae in amicis satis praesidii est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor impediabat, Bomilcari, proximo ac maxime fido sibi, imperat, pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivae paret, ac maxime⁵⁶⁶ occulte, sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat. Bomilcar mature regis mandata exequitur, et per homines talis negotii artifices itinera egressusque ejus, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat, deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad caedem parati erant, paulo inconsultius Massivam aggreditur; illum obruncat, sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus et in primis Albino consule, indicium profitetur.⁵⁶⁷ Fit reus magis ex aequo bonoque quam ex jure gentium Bomilcar, comes ejus, qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha manifestus⁵⁶⁸ tanti sceleris non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animum advertit,⁵⁶⁹ supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat,⁵⁷⁰ regno magis quam vadibus consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus ne reliquos populares metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumptum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus⁵⁷¹ eodem profectus est, jussus a senatu Italia decedere. Sed postquam Roma egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse: 'urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit.'

he hoped to be protected against the law, and against all harm.

An assembly of the people being convoked, Memmius although they were violently exasperated against Jugurtha, (some demanding that he should be cast into prison, others that, unless he should name his accomplices in guilt, he should be put to death, according to the usage of their ancestors, as a public enemy), yet, regarding rather their character than their resentment, endeavored to calm their turbulence and mitigate their rage; and assured them that, as far as depended on him, the public faith should not be broken. At length, when silence was obtained, he brought forward Jugurtha, and addressed them. He detailed the misdeeds of Jugurtha at Rome and in Numidia, and set forth his crimes toward his father and brothers; and admonished the prince, "that the Roman people, though they were well aware by whose support and agency he had acted, yet desired further testimony from himself; that, if he disclosed the truth, there was great hope for him in the honor and clemency of the Romans; but if he concealed it, he would certainly not save his accomplices, but ruin himself and his hopes forever."

34. But when Memmius had concluded his speech, and Jugurtha was expected to give his answer, Caius Bæbius, the tribune of the people, whom I have just noticed as having been bribed, enjoined the prince to hold his peace;1 and though the multitude, who formed the assembly, were desperately enraged, and endeavored to terrify the tribune by outcries, by angry looks, by violent gestures, and by every other act to which anger prompts,2 his audacity was at last triumphant. The people, mocked and set at naught, withdrew from the place of assembly; and the confidence of Jugurtha, Bestia, and the others, whom this investigation had alarmed, was greatly augmented.

35. There was at this period in Rome a certain Numidian named Massiva, a son of Gulussa and grandson of Masinissa, who, from having been, in the dissensions among the princes, opposed to Jugurtha, had been obliged, after the surrender of Cirta and the murder of Adherbal, to make his escape out of Africa. Spurius Albinus, who was consul with Quintus Minucius Rufus the year after Bestia, prevailed upon this man, as he was of the family of Masinissa, and as odium and terror hung over Jugurtha for his crimes, to petition the senate for the kingdom of Numidia. Albinus, being eager for the conduct of a war, was desirous that affairs should be disturbed,1 rather than sink into tranquillity; especially as, in the division of the provinces, Numidia had fallen to himself, and Macedonia to Minucius.

When Massiva proceeded to carry these suggestions into execution, Jugurtha, finding that he had no sufficient support in his friends, as a sense of guilt deterred some, and evil report or timidity others, from coming forward in his behalf, directed Bomilcar, his most attached and faithful adherent, to procure by the aid of money, by which he had already effected so much, assassins to kill Massiva; and to do it secretly if he could; but, if secrecy should be impossible, to cut him off' in any way whatsoever. This commission Bomilcar soon found means to execute; and, by the agency of men versed in such service, ascertained the direction of his journeys, his hours of leaving home, and the times at which he resorted to particular places,2 and, when all was ready, placed his assassins in ambush. One of their number sprung upon Massiva, though with too little caution, and killed him; but being himself caught, he made, at the instigation of many, and especially of Albinus the consul, a full confession. Bomilcar was accordingly committed for trial, though rather on the principles of reason and justice than in accordance with the law of nations,3 as he was in the retinue of one who had come to Rome on a pledge of the public faith for his safety. But

36. Interim Albinus renovato bello comeatum, stipendium aliaque, quae militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus⁵⁷² haud longe aberat, armis aut deditione aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia et alias deinde alias morae causas facere, polliceri deditionem, ac deinde metum simulare, cedere instanti et paulo post, ne sui diffident, instare; ita belli modo, modo pacis mora consulem ludificare.⁵⁷³ Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii regis existimarent, neque ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum socordia magis quam dolo crederent.⁵⁷⁴ Sed postquam dilapso tempore comitorum dies adventabat, Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris pro praetore relicto Romam decessit.

37. Ea tempestate Romae seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter res publica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistentibus collegis, continuare magistratum⁵⁷⁵ nitebantur, quae dissensio totius anni comitia impediabat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro praetore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiendi belli aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniae capiundae, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat, magnisque itineribus, hieme aspera, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam et saevitia temporis et oportunitate loci neque capi neque obsideri poterat (nam circum murum situm in praerupti montis extremo planities limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat⁵⁷⁶), tamen aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem jacere, aliaque, quae incepto usui forent, properare.

38. At Jugurtha, cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati, subdolus ejus augere amentiam, mistare⁵⁷⁷ supplicantes legatos, ipse quasi vitabundus per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti relicto Suthule in abditas regiones sese veluti cedentem insequeretur; 'ita delicta occultiora fore.' Interea per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum temptabat; centuriones ducesque turmarum partim uti transfugerent corrumpere, alii signo dato locum uti desererent.⁵⁷⁸ Quae postquam ex sententia instruit, intempesta nocte deimproviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, percussi tumultu insolito, arma

Jugurtha, though clearly guilty of the crime, did not cease to struggle against the truth, until he perceived that the infamy of the deed was too strong for his interest or his money. For which reason, although, at the commencement of the proceedings,⁴ he had given fifty of his friends as bail for Bomilcar, yet, thinking more of his kingdom than of the sureties, he sent him off privately into Numidia; for he feared that if such a man should be executed, his other subjects would be deterred from obeying him.⁵ A few days after, he himself departed, having been ordered by the senate to quit Italy. But, as he was going from Rome, he is said, after frequently looking back on it in silence, to have at last exclaimed, "That it was a venal city, and would soon perish, if it could but find a purchaser!"⁶

36. The war being now renewed, Albinus hastened to transport provisions, money, and other things necessary for the army, into Africa, whither he himself soon followed, with the hope that, before the time of the comitia, which was not far distant, he might be able, by an engagement, by capitulation, or by some other method, to bring the contest to a conclusion. Jugurtha, on the other hand, tried every means of protracting the war, continually inventing new causes for delay; at one time he promised to surrender, at another he feigned distrust; he retreated when Albinus attacked him, and then, lest his men should lose courage, attacked in return, and thus amused the consul with alternate procrastinations of war and of peace.

There were some, at that time, who thought that Albinus understood Jugurtha's object, and who believed that so ready a protraction of the war, after so much haste at the commencement, was to be attributed less to tardiness than to treachery. However this might be, Albinus, when time passed on, and the day of the comitia approached, left his brother Aulus in the camp as proprætor,¹ and returned to Rome.

37. The republic, at this time was grievously distracted by the contentions of the tribunes. Two of them, Publius Lucullus and Lucius Annius, were struggling against the will of their colleagues, to prolong their term of office; and this dispute put off the comitia throughout the year.¹ In consequence of this delay, Aulus, who, as I have just said, was left as proprætor in the camp, conceiving hopes either of finishing the war, or of extorting money from Jugurtha by the terror of his army, drew out his troops in the month of January, from their winter-quarters into the field, and by forced marches, during severe weather, made his way to the town of Suthul, where Jugurtha's treasures were deposited. And though this place, both from the inclemency of the season, and from its advantageous situation, could neither be taken nor besieged; for around its walls, which were built on the edge of a steep hill,² a marshy plain, flooded by the rains of winter, had been converted into a lake; yet Aulus, either as a feint to strike terror into Jugurtha, or blinded by avarice, began to move forward his vineæ,³ to cast up a rampart, and to hasten all necessary preparations for a siege.

38. Jugurtha, seeing the proprætor's vanity and ignorance, artfully strengthened his infatuation; he sent him, from time to time, deputies with submissive messages, while he himself, as if desirous to escape, led his army away through woody defiles and cross-roads. At length he succeeded in alluring Aulus, by the prospect of a surrender on conditions, to leave Suthul, and pursue him, as if in full retreat, into the remoter parts of the country. Meanwhile, by means of skillful emissaries, he tampered night and day with our men, and prevailed on some of the officers, both of infantry and cavalry, to desert to him at once, and upon others to quit their posts at a given signal, that their de-

capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare, trepidare⁵⁷⁹ omnibus locis; vis magna hostium, coelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum, periculum anceps,⁵⁸⁰ postremo fugere an manere tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paulo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum et paucis gregariis militibus transiere ad regem,⁵⁸¹ et centurio primi pili[230] tertiae legionis per munitionem, quam uti defenderet acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit, eaque Numidae cuncti irrupere. Nostri foeda fuga, plerique abjectis armis, proximum collem occupavere. Nox atque praeda castrorum hostes, quo minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. Deinde Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: 'tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame et ferro clausum tenet,⁵⁸² tamen se memorem humanarum rerum, si secum foedus faceret, incolumes omnes sub jugum missurum,⁵⁸³ praeterea uti diebus decem Numidia decederet.' Quae quamquam gravia et flagitii plena erant, tamen, quia mortis metu mutabantur,⁵⁸⁴ sicuti regi libuerat, pax convenit.

39. Sed ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, metus atque maeror civitatem invasere. Pars dolere pro gloria imperii, pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati,⁵⁸⁵ Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxime, qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de foedere consulebat, et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere, ab sociis et nomine Latino⁵⁸⁶ auxilia accersere, denique omnibus modis festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, suo atque populi injussu nullum potuisse foedus fieri. Consul impeditus a tribunis plebis, ne, quas paraverat copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur; nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus, in provincia hiemabat. Postquam eo venit, quamquam persequi Jugurtham et mederi fraternae invidiae animo ardebat, cognitis militibus, quos praeter fugam, soluto imperio, licentia atque lascivia corruerat, ex copia rerum⁵⁸⁷ statuit sibi nihil agitandum.

40. Interim Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat, uti quaereretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglexisset,⁵⁸⁸ quique ab eo in legationibus aut imperiis pecunias acceperant, qui elephantos quique perfugas tradidissent, item qui de pace aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent. Huic rogationi partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur,⁵⁸⁹ occulte per amicos ac maxime per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes incredibile memoratu est, quam intenta fuerit quantaque vi rogationem jusserit, decreverit, voluerit: magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura rei publicae; tanta libido in partibus erat. Igitur ceteris metu percussis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae fuisse supra docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis et suorum fugam, trepida etiam tum civitate quum ex Mamili rogatione tres quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo numero

fection might thus be less observed.¹ Having prepared matters according to his wishes, he suddenly surrounded the camp of Aulus, in the dead of night, with a vast body of Numidians. The Roman soldiers were alarmed with an unusual disturbance; some of them seized their arms, others hid themselves, others encouraged those that were afraid; but consternation prevailed every where; for the number of the enemy was great, the sky was thick with clouds and darkness, the danger was indiscernible, and it was uncertain whether it were safer to flee or to remain. Of those whom I have just mentioned as being bribed, one cohort of Ligurians, with two troops of Thracian horse, and a few common soldiers, went over to Jugurtha; and the chief centurion² of the third legion allowed the enemy an entrance at the very post which he had been appointed to defend, and at which all the Numidians poured into the camp. Our men fled disgracefully, the greater part having thrown away their arms, and took possession of a neighboring hill. Night, and the spoils of the camp, prevented the enemy from making full use of this victory. On the following day, Jugurtha, coming to a conference with Aulus, told him, "that though he held him hemmed in by famine and the sword, yet that, being mindful of human vicissitudes, he would, if they would make a treaty with him, allow them to depart uninjured; only that they must pass under the yoke, and quit Numidia within ten days." These terms were severe and ignominious; but, as death was the alternative,³ peace was concluded as Jugurtha desired.

39. When this affair was made known at Rome, consternation and dismay pervaded the city; some were concerned for the glory of the republic; others, ignorant of war, trembled for their liberty. But all were indignant at Aulus, and especially those who had been distinguished in the field, because, with arms in his hands, he had sought safety in disgrace rather than in resistance. The consul Albinus, apprehending, from the delinquency of his brother, odium and danger to himself, consulted the senate on the treaty which had been made, but, at the same time, raised recruits for the army, sent for auxiliaries to the allies and Latins, and made general preparations for war. The senate, as was just, decreed, "that no treaty could be made without their own consent and that of the people."

The consul, though he was hindered by the influence of the tribunes from taking with him the force which he had raised, set out in a few days for the province of Africa, where the whole army, being withdrawn, according to the agreement, from Numidia, had gone into winter-quarters. When he arrived there, although he longed to pursue Jugurtha, and diminish the odium that had fallen on his brother, yet, when he saw the state of the troops, whom, besides the flight and relaxation of discipline, licentiousness, and debauchery had corrupted, he determined, under all the circumstances of the case,¹ to attempt nothing.

40. At Rome, in the mean time, Caius Mamilius Limetanus, one of the tribunes, proposed that the people should pass a bill for instituting an inquiry into the conduct of those by whose influence Jugurtha had set at naught the decrees of the senate, as well as of those who, whether as ambassadors or commanders, had received money from him, or who had restored to him his elephants and deserters, or had made any compacts with the enemy relative to peace or war. To this bill some, who were conscious of guilt, and, others, who apprehended danger from the jealousy of parties, secretly raised obstructions through the agency of friends, and especially of men among the Latins and Italian allies,¹ since they could not openly resist it, without admitting that these and similar practices met their approbation. But as to the people, it is incredible what eagerness they displayed, and with what spirit they approved, voted, and passed the bill, though rather from hatred to the nobility, against whom these severe measures were directed, than from concern for the republic; so

crearetur.[2⁵⁹⁰ Sed quaestio exercita aspere violenterque ex⁵⁹¹ rumore et libidine plebis; ut saepe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

41. Ceterum mos partium popularium et senatus factionum,⁵⁹² ac deinde omnium malarum artium paucis ante annis Romae ortus est otio atque abundantia earum rerum, quae prima mortales ducunt.⁵⁹³ Nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rem publicam tractabant, neque gloriae neque dominationis certamen inter cives erat; metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, scilicet⁵⁹⁴ ea, quae res secundae amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Ita, quod in adversis rebus optaverant otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbisque fuit. Namque coepere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in libidinem vertere, sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partes abstracta sunt, res publica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat, plebis vis soluta atque dispersa in multitudine minus poterat. Paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur, penes eosdem aerarium, provinciae, magistratus, gloriae triumphique erant; populus militia atque inopia urguebatur; praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant; interea parentes aut parvi liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur.⁵⁹⁵ Ita cum potentia avaritia sine modo modestiaque invadere, polluere et vastare omnia, nihil pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praecipitavit. Nam ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustae potentiae anteponebant, moveri civitas et dissensio civilis quasi permixtio terrae⁵⁹⁶ oriri coepit.

42. Nam postquam Tiberius et G. Gracchus, quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum rei publicae addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem et paucorum scelera patefacere coepere, nobilitas noxia atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat, et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Gaium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverat.⁵⁹⁷ Et sane Gracchus cupidine victoriae haud satis moderatus animus fuit: sed bono vinci satius est quam malo more injuriam vincere.⁵⁹⁸ Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex libidine sua usa multos mortales ferro aut fuga extinxit, plusque in reliquum sibi timoris quam potentiae addidit. Quae res plerumque magnas civitates pessumdedit, dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo et victos acerbius⁵⁹⁹ ulcisci volunt. Sed de studiis partium et omnis civitatis moribus si singulatim aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus quam res maturius me deseret.⁶⁰⁰ Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

violent was the fury of party.

While the rest of the delinquents were in trepidation, Marcus Scaurus,² whom I have previously noticed as Bestia's lieutenant, contrived, amid the exultation of the populace, the dismay of his own party, and the continued agitation in the city, to have himself elected one of the three commissioners who were appointed by the bill of Mamilius to carry it into execution. But the investigation, notwithstanding, was conducted³ with great rigor and violence, under the influence of common rumor and popular caprice; for the insolence of success, which had often distinguished the nobility, on this occasion characterized the people.

41. The prevalence of parties among the people, and of factions in the senate, and of all evil practices attendant on them, had its origin at Rome, a few years before, during a period of tranquillity, and amid the abundance of all that mankind regarded as desirable. For, before the destruction of Carthage, the senate and people managed the affairs of the republic with mutual moderation and forbearance; there were no contests among the citizens for honor or ascendancy; but the dread of an enemy kept the state in order. When that fear, however, was removed from their minds, licentiousness and pride, evils which prosperity loves to foster, immediately began to prevail; and thus peace, which they had so eagerly desired in adversity, proved, when they had obtained it, more grievous and fatal than adversity itself. The patricians carried their authority, and the people their liberty, to excess; every man took, snatched, and seized¹ what he could. There was a complete division into two factions, and the republic was torn in pieces between them. Yet the nobility still maintained an ascendancy by conspiring together; for the strength of the people, being disunited and dispersed among a multitude, was less able to exert itself. Things were accordingly directed, both at home and in the field, by the will of a small number of men, at whose disposal were the treasury, the provinces, offices, honors, and triumphs; while the people were oppressed with military service and with poverty, and the generals divided the spoils of war with a few of their friends. The parents and children of the soldiers,² meantime, if they chanced to dwell near a powerful neighbor, were driven from their homes. Thus avarice, leagued with power, disturbed, violated, and wasted every thing, without moderation or restraint; disregarding alike reason and religion, and rushing headlong, as it were, to its own destruction. For whenever any arose among the nobility,³ who preferred true glory to unjust power, the state was immediately in a tumult, and civil discord spread with as much disturbance as attends a convulsion of the earth.

42. Thus when Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, whose forefathers had done much to increase the power of the state in the Punic and other wars, began to vindicate the liberty of the people, and to expose the misconduct of the few, the nobility, conscious of guilt, and seized with alarm, endeavored, sometimes by means of the allies and Latins,¹ and sometimes by means of the equestrian order, whom the hope of coalition with the patricians had detached from the people, to put a stop to the proceedings of the Gracchi; and first they killed Tiberius, and a few years after Caius, who pursued the same measures as his brother, the one when he was tribune, and the other when he was one of a triumvirate for settling colonies; and with them they cut off Marcus Fulvius Flaccus. In the Gracchi, indeed, it must be allowed that, from their ardor for victory, there was not sufficient prudence. But to a reasonable man it is more agreeable to submit² to injustice than to triumph over it by improper means. The nobility, however, using their victory with wanton extravagance, exterminated numbers of men by the sword or by exile, yet rather increased, for the time to come, the dread with which they were regarded, than their real power. Such proceedings have

43. Post Auli foedus exercitusque nostri foedam fugam, Metellus et Silanus consules designati,⁶⁰¹ provincias inter se partiverant, Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro et quamquam adverso populi partium,⁶⁰² fama tamen aequabili et inviolata. Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit.⁶⁰³ Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, praesidia⁶⁰⁴ undique accersere, arma, tela, equos et cetera instrumenta militiae parare, ad hoc commeatum affatim, denique omnia, quae in bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent. Ceteram ad ea patranda senatus auctoritate, socii nomenque Latinum et reges ultro auxilia mittendo, postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, quum propter artes bonas, tum maxime, quod adversum divitias invictum animum gerebat, et avaritia magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidia nostrae opes contusae⁶⁰⁵ hostiumque auctae erant.

44. Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur a Sp. Albino pro consule iners, imbellis, neque periculi neque laboris patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, praedator⁶⁰⁶ ex sociis et ipse praeda hostium, sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis quam ex copia militum auxilii aut spei bonae accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et aestivorum tempus⁶⁰⁷ comitiorum mora imminuerat, et expectatione eventus civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum attingere quam majorum disciplina milites laborare coegisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque claden percussus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit,⁶⁰⁸ plerumque milites stativis castris habebat, nisi quum odos⁶⁰⁹ aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque muniebantur ea, neque more militari vigiliae deducebantur; uti cuique libebat, ab signis aberat: lixae permixti cum militibus die noctuque vagabantur; palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere, eaque mutare cum mercatoribus⁶¹⁰ vino advectitio et aliis talibus; praeterea frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari; postremo, quaecunque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaequae probra, ea in illo exercitu cuncta fuere et alia amplius.

often ruined powerful states; for of two parties, each strives to suppress the other by any means whatever, and take vengeance with undue severity on the vanquished.

But were I to attempt to treat of the animosities of parties, and of the morals of the state, with minuteness of detail, and suitably to the vastness of the subject, time would fail me sooner than matter. I therefore return to my subject.

43. After the treaty of Aulus, and the disgraceful flight of our army, Quintus Metellus and Marcus Silanus, the consuls elect, divided the provinces between them; and Numidia fell to Metellus, a man of energy, and, though an opponent of the popular party, yet of a character uniformly irreproachable.¹ He, as soon as he entered on his office, regarded all other things as common to himself and his colleague,² but directed his chief attention to the war which he was to conduct. Distrusting, therefore, the old army, he began to raise new troops, to procure auxiliaries from all parts, and to provide arms, horses, and other military requisites, besides provisions in abundance, and every thing else which was likely to be of use in a war varied in its character, and demanding great resources. To assist in accomplishing these objects, the allies and Latins, by the appointment of the senate, and different princes³ of their own accord, sent supplies; and the whole state exerted itself in the cause with the greatest zeal. Having at length prepared and arranged every thing according to his wishes, Metellus set out for Numidia, attended with sanguine expectations on the part of his fellow-citizens, not only because of his other excellent qualities, but especially because his mind was proof against gold; for it was through the avarice of our commanders, that, down to this period, our affairs in Numidia had been ruined, and those of the enemy rendered prosperous.

44. When he arrived in Africa, the command of the army was resigned to him by Albinus, the proconsul;¹ but it was an army spiritless and unwarlike; incapable of encountering either danger or fatigue; more ready with the tongue than with the sword; accustomed to plunder our allies, while itself was the prey of the enemy; unchecked by discipline, and void of all regard to its character. The new general, accordingly, felt more anxiety from the corrupt morals of the men, than confidence or hope from their numbers. He determined, however, though the delay of the comitia had shortened his summer campaign, and though he knew his countrymen to be anxious for the result of his proceedings, not to commence operations, until, by a revival of the old discipline, he had brought the soldiers to bear fatigue. For Albinus, dispirited by the disaster of his brother Aulus and his army, and having resolved not to leave the province during the portion of the summer that he was to command, had kept the soldiers, for the most part, in a stationary camp,² except when stench, or want of forage, obliged them to remove. But neither had the camp been fortified,³ nor the watches kept, according to military usage; every one had been allowed to leave his post when he pleased. The camp-followers, mingled with the soldiers, wandered about day and night, ravaging the country, robbing the houses, and vying with each other in carrying off cattle and slaves, which they exchanged with traders for foreign wine⁴ and other luxuries; they even sold the corn, which was given them from the public store, and bought bread from day to day; and, in a word, whatever abominations, arising from idleness and licentiousness, can be expressed or imagined, and even more, were to be seen in that army.

45. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus quam in rebus hostilibus magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior; tanta temperantia inter ambitionem⁶¹¹ saevitiamque moderatum: namque edicto primum adjumenta ignaviae sustulisse, ne quisquam in castris panem aut quem alium coc-tumcibum venderet, ne lixae exercitum sequerentur, ne miles gregarius in castris neve in agmine servum aut jumentum haberet; ceteris arte modum statuisset.⁶¹² Praeterea transversis itineribus cotidie castra movere, juxta ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire, vigiliis crebras ponere et eas ipse cum legatis circumire, item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egrederetur, uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis quam vindicando exercitum brevi confirmavit.

46. Interea Jugurtha, ubi quae Metellus agebat ex nuntiis accepit, simul de innocentia ejus certior Romae factus, diffidere suis rebus ac tum demum veram deditioem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis⁶¹³ mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse. Itaque legatos alium ab alio diversos aggreditur,⁶¹⁴ ac paulatim temptando, postquam opportunos sibi cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, uti Jugurtham maxime⁶¹⁵ vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent; ceterum palam, quae ex voluntate forent,⁶¹⁶ regi nuntiari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit, ubi contra belli faciem tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant; ex oppidis et mapalibus praefecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremo omnia, quae imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditioem signa ostentui credere et insidiis locum temptari. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat, in postremo G. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat, in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium dispertiverat, ut cum his permixti velites, quocunque accederent equitatus⁶¹⁷ hostium, propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus tantaque peritia locorum et militiae erat, ut absens an praesens, pacem an bellum gerens perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

47. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum,⁶¹⁸ ubi et incolere et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc consul simul temptandi gratia, et si paterentur, opportunitate loci, praesidium imposuit;⁶¹⁹ praeterea imperavit frumentum et alia, quae bello usui forent, com-

45. But I am assured that Metellus, in these difficult circumstances, no less than in his operations against the enemy, proved himself a great and wise man; so just a medium did he observe between an affectation of popularity and an excessive enforcement of discipline. His first measure was to remove incentives to idleness, by a general order that no one should sell bread, or any other dressed provisions, in the camp; that no sutlers should follow the army; and that no common soldier should have a servant, or beast of burden, either in a camp or on a march. He made the strictest regulations, too, with regard to other things.1 He moved his camp daily, exercising the soldiers by marches across the country; he fortified it with a rampart and a trench, exactly as if the enemy had been at hand; he placed numerous sentinels2 by night, and went the rounds with his officers; and, when the army was on the march, he would be at one time in the front, at another in the rear, and at another in the center, to see that none quitted their ranks, that the men kept close to their standards, and that every soldier carried his provisions and his arms. Thus by preventing rather than punishing irregularities, he in a short time rendered his army effective.

46. Jugurtha, meantime, having learned from his emissaries how Metellus was proceeding, and having heard, when he was in Rome, of the integrity of the consul's character, began to despair of his plans, and at length actually endeavored to effect a capitulation. He therefore sent deputies to the consul with proposals of submission, stipulating only for his own life and that of his children, and offering to surrender every thing else to the Romans. But Metellus had already learned by experience, that the Numidians were a faithless race, of unsettled disposition, and fond of change; and he accordingly applied himself to each of the deputies separately, and after gradually sounding them, and finding them proper instruments for his purpose, prevailed on them, by large promises, to deliver Jugurtha into his hands; bringing him alive, if they could, or dead, if to take him alive was impracticable. In public, however, he directed that such an answer should be given to the king as would be agreeable to his wishes.

A few days afterward, he led the army, which was now vigorous and resolute, into Numidia, where, instead of any appearance of war, he found the cottages full of people, and the cattle and laborers in the fields, while the officers of Jugurtha came from the towns and villages1 to meet him, offering to supply him with corn, to convey provisions for him, and to do whatever might be required of them. Metellus, notwithstanding, made no diminution in the caution with which he marched, but kept as much upon the defensive as if an enemy had been at hand; and he dispatched scouts to explore the country, thinking that these signs of submission were but pretense, and that the Numidians were watching an opportunity for treachery. He himself, with some light-armed cohorts, and a select body of slingers and archers, advanced always in the front; while Caius Marius, his lieutenant-general, at the head of the cavalry, had charge of the rear. The auxiliary horse, distributed among the tribunes of the legions and prefects of the cohorts, he placed on the flanks, so that, with the aid of the light troops mixed with them, they might repel the enemy whenever an approach should be made. For such was the subtlety of Jugurtha, and such his knowledge of the country and the art of war, that it was doubtful whether he was more formidable absent or present, offering peace or threatening hostilities.

47. There lay, not far from the route which Metellus was pursuing, a city of the Numidians named Vaga, the most celebrated place for trade in the whole kingdom, in which many Italian merchants were accustomed to reside and traffic. Here the consul, to try the disposition of the inhabitants, and, should they allow him, to take advantage of the situation of the place,1 established a garrison,

portare,⁶²⁰ ratus id quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatum iuvaturum exercitum et jam paratis rebus munimento fore. Inter haec negotia Jugurtha impensius modo⁶²¹ legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, praeter suam liberorumque vitam omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat, regi pacem quam postulabat neque abnuere neque polliceri et inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

48. Jugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit ac se suis artibus temptari animadvertit, quippe cui verbis pax nuntiabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrimum erat, urbs maxima alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium temptati, coactus rerum necessitudine statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriae adductus ex opportunitate loci, quam maximas potest copias omnium generum parat ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit.⁶²² Erat in ea part Numidiae, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul; a quo aberat mons ferme milia passuum viginti tractu pari,⁶²³ vastus ab natura et humano cultu. Sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertingens,⁶²⁴ vestitus oleastro ac murtetis aliisque generibus arborum, quae humi arido atque arenoso⁶²⁵ gignuntur. Media autem planities deserta penuria aquae, praeter flumini propinqua loca; ea consita arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

49. Igitur in eo colle, quem transverso itinere porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha, extenuata suorum acie,⁶²⁶ consedit, elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit eumque edocet, quae ageret; ipse propior montem⁶²⁷ cum omni equitatu et peditibus delectis suos collocat. Dein singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, uti memores pristinae virtutis et victoriae sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant; cum iis certamen fore, quos anteavictos sub jugum miserint; ducem illis, non animum mutatum; quae ab imperatore decuerint,⁶²⁸ omnia suis provisa, locum superiorem, ut prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent; proinde parati intentique essent signo dato Romanos invadere; illum diem aut omnes labores et victorias confirmaturum, aut maximarum aerumnarum initium fore. Ad hoc viritum, uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui et eum ipsum aliis ostentare; postremo pro cuiusque ingenio pollicendo, minitendo, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare; quum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicitur,⁶²⁹ primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet (nam inter virgulta equi Numidaeque consederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen incerti,⁶³⁰ quidnam esset, cum natura loci tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati); dein, brevi cognitis insidiis paulisper agmen constituit. Ibi commutatis ordinibus,⁶³¹ in dextero latere, quod proximum hostes erat, triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit, inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit, equitatum omnem in cornibus locat, ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transversis principiis⁶³² in planum deducit.

and ordered the people to furnish him with corn, and other necessaries for war; thinking, as circumstances indeed suggested, that the concourse of merchants, and frequent arrival of supplies,² would add strength to his army, and further the plans which he had already formed.

In the midst of these proceedings, Jugurtha, with extraordinary earnestness,³ sent deputies to sue for peace, offering to resign every thing to Metellus, except his own life and that of his children. These, like the former, the consul first seduced to treachery, and then sent back; the peace which Jugurtha asked, he neither granted nor refused, but waited, during these delays, the performance of the deputies' promises.

48. Jugurtha, on comparing the words of Metellus with his actions, perceived that he was assailed with his own artifices; for though peace was offered him in words, a most vigorous war was in reality pursued against him; one of his strongest cities was wrested from him; his country was explored by the enemy, and the affections of his subjects alienated. Being compelled, therefore, by the necessity of circumstances, he resolved to try the fortune of a battle. Having, with this view, informed himself of the exact route of the enemy, and hoping for success from the advantage of the ground, he collected as large a force of every kind as he could, and, marching by cross-roads, got in advance of Metellus' army.

There was, in that part of Numidia, of which, on the division of the kingdom, Adherbal had become possessor, a river named Muthul, flowing from the south; and, about twenty miles from it, was a range of mountains running parallel with the stream,¹ wild and uncultivated; but from the center of it stretched a kind of hill, reaching to a vast distance, covered with wild olives, myrtles, and other trees, such as grow in a dry and sandy soil. The plain, which lay between the mountains and the Muthul, was uninhabited from want of water, except the parts bordering on the river, which were planted with trees, and full of cattle and inhabitants.

49. On this hill, which I have just mentioned, stretching in a transverse direction,¹ Jugurtha took post with his line drawn out to a great length. The command of the elephants, and of part of the infantry, he committed to Bomilcar, and gave him instructions how to act. He himself, with the whole of the cavalry and the choicest of the foot, took his station nearer to the range of mountains. Then, riding round among the several squadrons and battalions, he exhorted and conjured them to call to mind their former prowess and triumphs, and to defend themselves and their country from Roman rapacity; saying that they would have to engage with those whom they had already conquered and sent under the yoke, and that, though their commander was changed, there was no alteration in their spirit. He added, that he had provided for his men every thing becoming a general; that he had chosen the higher ground, where they, being well acquainted with the country,² would contend with adversaries ignorant of it; nor would they engage, inferior in numbers and skill, with a larger or more experienced force; and that they should, therefore, be ready, when the signal should be given, to fall vigorously on the Romans, as that day would either crown³ all their labors and victories, or be a prelude to the most grievous calamities. He also addressed himself, individually, to any one whom he had rewarded with money or honors for military desert, reminding him of his favors, and pointing him out as an example to the rest; and finally he excited all his men, some in one way and some in another, by threats or entreaties, according to the different dispositions of each.

50. Sed ubi Numidas quietos neque colle degredi animadvertit, veritus ex anni tempore et inopia aquae, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum praemisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet, existimans hostes crebro impetu et transversis proeliis⁶³³ iter suum remoratorios, et quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum temptatorios.⁶³⁴ Deinde ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paulatim procedere, Marium post principia habere, ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant.⁶³⁵ At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos praetergressum videt, praesidio quasi duum milium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat, ne forte cedentibus adversariis receptui ac post munimento foret; dein repente signo dato hostes invadit. Numidae alii postremos caedere, pars a sinistra ac dextera temptare, infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare, quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto proelio, ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriundi aut conserendi manum copia erat; ante jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicunque Romanorum turma insequi coeperat, non confertim neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxime diversi. Ita numero priores,⁶³⁶ si ab persequendo hostes deterrere nequiverant, disiectos ab tergo aut lateribus circumveniebant; sin opportunior fugae collis quam campi fuerat, ea⁶³⁷ vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

51. Ceterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, foeda atque miserabilis; dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi, neque signa neque ordines observare, ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare, arma tela,⁶³⁸ equi viri, hostes atque cives permixti, nihil consilio neque imperio agi, fors omnia regere: itaque multum diei processerat, quum etiamtum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore et aestu languidis, Metellus ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paulatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit et cohortes legionarias quatuor adversum pedites hostium collocat. Eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostes fugientes vincere; neque illis⁶³⁹ castra esse neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes tenderent, in armis omnia sita. Sed ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus erat; circumire, hortari, renovare proelium et ipse cum delectis temptare omnia, subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

50. But when he observed that the Numidians remained quiet, and did not offer to descend from the hill, he became apprehensive that his army, from the season of the year and the scarcity of water, might be overcome with thirst, and therefore sent Rutilius, one of his lieutenant-generals, with the light-armed cohorts and a detachment of cavalry, toward the river, to secure ground for an encampment, expecting that the enemy, by frequent charges and attacks on his flank, would endeavor to impede his march, and, as they despaired of success in arms, would try the effect of fatigue and thirst on his troops. He then continued to advance by degrees, as his circumstances and the ground permitted, in the same order in which he had descended from the range of mountains. He assigned Marius his post behind the front line,¹ and took on himself the command of the cavalry on the left wing, which, on the march, had become the van.²

When Jugurtha perceived that the rear of the Roman army had passed his first line, he took possession of that part of the mountain from which Metellus had descended, with a body of about two thousand infantry, that it might not serve the enemy, if they were driven back, as a place of retreat, and afterward as a post of defense; and then, ordering the signal to be given, suddenly commenced his attack. Some of his Numidians made havoc in the rear of the Romans, while others assailed them on the right and left wings; they all advanced and charged furiously, and every where threw the consul's troops into confusion. Even those of our men who made the stoutest resistance, were baffled by the enemy's versatile method of fighting, and wounded from a distance, without having the power of wounding in return, or of coming to close combat; for the Numidian cavalry, as they had been previously instructed by Jugurtha, retreated whenever a troop of Romans attempted to pursue them, but did not keep in a body, or collect themselves into one place, but dispersed as widely as possible. Thus, being superior in numbers, if they could not deter the Romans from pursuing, they surrounded them, when disordered, on the rear or flank, or, if the hill seemed more convenient for retreat than the plain, the Numidian horses, being accustomed to the brushwood, easily made their way among it, while the difficulty of the ascent, and want of acquaintance with the ground, impeded those of the Romans.

51. The aspect of the whole struggle¹ was indeed various, perplexing, direful, and lamentable; the men, separated from their comrades, were partly fleeing, partly pursuing; neither standards nor ranks were regarded, but wherever danger pressed, there they made a stand and defended themselves; arms and weapons, horses and men, enemies, and fellow-countrymen, were all mingled in confusion; nothing was done by direction or command, but chance ordered every thing. Though the day, therefore, was now far advanced, the event of the contest was still uncertain. At last, however, when all were faint with exertion and the heat of the day, Metellus, observing that the Numidians were less vigorous in their charges, drew his troops together by degrees, restored order among them, and led four cohorts of the legions against the enemy's infantry, of whom a great number, overcome with fatigue, had seated themselves on the high ground. He at the same time entreated and exhorted his men not to lose courage, nor to suffer a flying enemy to be victorious; adding that they had neither camp nor citadel to which they could flee, but that their only dependence was on their arms. Nor was Jugurtha, in the mean time, inactive; he rode round among his troops, cheered them, renewed the contest, and, at the head of a select body, made every possible effort for victory; supporting his own men, charging such of the enemy as wavered, and repressing with missiles such as he saw remaining unshaken.

52. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri certabant, ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus adversus, Jugurthae alia omnia praeter milites opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intelligunt neque sibi perfugium esse neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri (et jam diei⁶⁴⁰ vespere erat) adverse colle, sicuti praeceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco Numidae fusi fugatique; pauci interiire, plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt.⁶⁴¹ Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium praefectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi cum Rutilius praetergressus est, paulatim suos in aequum locum deducit ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo praemissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat, neque remittit, quid ubique hostis ageret,⁶⁴² explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedissee jam et animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthae proelio clamorem augeri, veritus, ne legatus cognita re laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum arte statuerat,⁶⁴³ quo hostium itineri officeret, latius porrigit, eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

53. Romani ex improvise pulveris vim magnam animadvertunt; nam prospectum ager arbutis consitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari, post ubi aequabilem manere et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque appropinquare vident, cognita re properantes arma capiunt ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore concurrunt. Numidae tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant,⁶⁴⁴ postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum atque ita disiectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt ac plerique abjectis armis collis aut noctis quae jam aderat auxilio integri abeunt. Elephantum quatuor capti, reliqui omnes numero quadraginta interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et proelio fessi lassique⁶⁴⁵ erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo, obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, velut hostes adventarent,⁶⁴⁶ alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere, et paene imprudentia admissum⁶⁴⁷ facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur pro metu repente gaudium exortum, milites alius alium laeti appellant, acta edocent atque audiunt, sua quisque fortia facta ad coelum fert. Quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet, adversae res etiam bonos detractant.⁶⁴⁸

52. Thus did these two commanders, both eminent men, maintain the contest against each other. In personal ability they were equal, but in circumstances unequal. Metellus had. resolute troops, but a disadvantageous position; Jugurtha had every thing in his favor except men. At last the Romans, seeing that they had no place of refuge, that the enemy allowed no opportunity for a regular engagement, and that the evening was fast approaching, forced their way, according to the orders which were given, up the hill. The Numidians were thus driven from their position, routed, and put to flight; a few of them were slain, but their speed, and the enemy's ignorance of the country, saved the greater number of them.

Meanwhile Bomilcar, who, as I have said before, was appointed by Jugurtha over the elephants and a part of the infantry, having seen Rutilius pass by him, led down his men gradually into the plain, and while Rutilius hastened to the river, to which he had been dispatched, quietly drew them up in such order as circumstances required; not omitting, at the same time, to watch every movement of the enemy. When he learned that Rutilius had taken his position, and seemed free from apprehension of danger, and heard, at the same time, an increasing noise where Jugurtha was engaged, fearing lest the lieutenant-general, taking the alarm, should go to the support of his countrymen in difficulties, he, in order to intercept his march, increased the extent of his lines, which, from distrust of the bravery of his men, he had previously condensed, and advanced in this order toward Rutilius' camp

53. The Romans, on a sudden, observed a vast cloud of dust, which, as the ground, thickly covered with bushes, obstructed their view, they at first supposed to be only sand raised by the wind; but at length, when they saw that it continued uniform, and approached nearer and nearer as the line advanced, they understood the real cause of it, and, hastily seizing their arms, drew up, as their commander directed, before the camp. When the enemy came up, both sides rushed to the encounter with loud shouts. But the Numidians maintained the contest only as long as they trusted for support to their elephants; for, when they saw the animals entangled in the boughs of the trees, and dispersed or surrounded by the enemy, they betook themselves to flight, and most of them, having thrown away their arms, escaped, by favor of the hill, or of the night, which was now coming on, without injury. Of the elephants, four were taken, and the rest, to the number of forty, were killed.

The Romans, though fatigued and exhausted with their march, the construction of their camp, and the engagement, yet, as Metellus was longer in coming than they expected, advanced to meet him in regular and steady order. The subtlety of the Numidians, indeed, allowed them neither rest nor relaxation. But as the two parties drew together, in the obscurity of the night, each occasioned, by a noise like that of enemies approaching, alarm and trepidation in the other; and, had not parties of horse, sent forward from both sides, ascertained the truth, a fatal disaster was on the point of happening from the mistake. However, in place of fear, joy quickly succeeded; the soldiers met with mutual congratulations, relating their adventures, or listening to those of others, and each extolling his own achievements to the skies. For thus it is with human affairs; in success, even cowards may boast; while defeat lowers the character even of heroes.

54. Metellus in iisdem castris quadriduo⁶⁴⁹ moratus, saucios cum cura reficit, meritos in proeliis more militiae donat, universos in contione laudat atque agit gratias; hortatur ad cetera, quae levia sunt,⁶⁵⁰ parem animum gerant; pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda fore. Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium⁶⁵¹ aut quid ageret, cum paucisne esset, an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat, ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis quam belli cultorem.⁶⁵² Id ea gratia⁶⁵³ eveniebat, quod praeter regios equites nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequitur; quo cujusque animus fert, eo discedunt, neque id flagitium militiae ducitur; ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi videt etiamtum regis animum ferocem esse, bellum renovari, quod nisi ex illius libidine geri non posset,⁶⁵⁴ praeterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci quam suos vincere, statuit non proeliis neque in acie, sed alio more bellum gerendum. Itaque in Numidiae loca opulentissima pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida temere⁶⁵⁵ munita aut sine praesidio capit incenditque; puberes interfici jubet, alia omnia militum praedam esse. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum et alia, quae usui forent, affatim praebita, ubicunque res postulabat, praesidium impositum. Quae negotia multo magis quam proelium male pugnatum ab suis, regem terrebant; quippe cui spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogeatur, et qui sua loca⁶⁵⁶ defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex copia⁶⁵⁷ quod optimum videbatur consilium capit, exercitum plerumque in iisdem locis opperiri jubet, ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantes repente aggreditur. Eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur, nemo omnium intactus profugit, et Numidae, priusquam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proximos colles discedunt.

55. Interim Romae gaudium ingens ortum cognitis Metelli rebus, ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret, in adverso loco victor tamen virtute fuisset hostium agro potiretur, Jugurtham magnificentum⁶⁵⁸ ex Auli socordia spem salutis in solitudine aut fuga coegisset habere. Itaque senatus ob ea felicitur acta dis immortalibus supplicium⁶⁵⁹ decernere, civitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu laeta agere, fama de Metello praeclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare, cavere tamen, necubi⁶⁶⁰ hosti opportunus fieret, meminisse post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita quo clarior, eo magis anxius erat, neque post insidias Jugurthae⁶⁶¹ effuso exercitu praedari; ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu praesidium agitabant; exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis quam praeda ager vastabatur. Duobus locis haud longe inter se castra faciebant; ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant; ceterum, quo fuga atque formido latius cresceret, diversi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per colles sequi, tempus aut locum pugnae quaerere; qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontes, quorum penuria

54. Metellus remained four days in the same camp. He carefully provided for the recovery of the wounded, rewarded, in military fashion, such as had distinguished themselves in the engagements, and praised and thanked them all in a public address; exhorting them to maintain equal resolution in their future labors, which would be less arduous, as they had fought sufficiently for victory, and would now have to contend only for spoil. In the mean time he dispatched deserters, and other eligible persons, to ascertain where Jugurtha was, or what he was doing; whether he had but few followers, or a large army; and how he conducted himself under his defeat. The prince, he found, had retreated to places full of wood, well defended by nature, and was there collecting an army, which would be more numerous indeed than the former, but inactive and inefficient, as being composed of men better acquainted with husbandry and cattle than with war. This had happened from the circumstance, that, in case of flight, none of the Numidian troops, except the royal cavalry, follow their king; the rest disperse, wherever inclination leads them; nor is this thought any disgrace to them as soldiers, such being the custom of the people.

Metellus, therefore, seeing that Jugurtha's spirit was still unsubdued; that a war was being renewed, which could only be conducted according to the prince's pleasure; and that he was struggling with the enemy on unequal terms, as the Numidians suffered a defeat with less loss than his own men gained a victory, he resolved to manage the contest, not by pitched battles or regular warfare, but in another method. He accordingly marched into the richest parts of Numidia, captured and burned many fortresses and towns, which were insufficiently or wholly undefended, put the youth to the sword, and gave up every thing else as plunder to his soldiers. From the terror caused by these proceedings, many persons were given up as hostages to the Romans; corn, and other necessaries, were supplied in abundance; and garrisons were admitted wherever Metellus thought fit.

These measures alarmed Jugurtha much more than the loss of the late battle; for he, whose whole security lay in flight, was compelled to pursue; and he who could not defend his own part of the kingdom, was obliged to make war in that which was occupied by others. Under these circumstances, however,² he adopted what seemed the most eligible plan. He ordered the main body of his army to continue stationary; while he himself, with a select troop of cavalry, went in pursuit of Metellus, and coming upon him unperceived, by means of night marches and by-roads, he fell upon such of the Roman as were straggling about, of whom the greater number, being unarmed, were slain, and several others made prisoners; not one of them, indeed, escaped unharmed; and the Numidians, before assistance could arrive from the camp, fled, as they had been ordered, to the nearest hills.

55. In the mean time great joy appeared at Rome when the proceedings of Metellus were reported, and when it was known how he was conducting himself and his army conformably to the ancient discipline; how, on adverse ground, he had gained a victory by his valor; how he was securing possession of the enemy's territory; and how he had driven Jugurtha, when elated by the weakness of Aulus, to depend for safety on the desert or on flight. For these successes, accordingly, the senate decreed a thanksgiving¹ to the immortal gods; the city, which had been full of anxiety, and apprehensive as to the event of the war, was now filled with joy; and the fame of Metellus was raised to the utmost height.

The consul's eagerness to gain a complete victory was thus increased; he exerted himself in every possible way, taking care, at the same time, to give the enemy no opportunity of attacking him to advantage. He remembered that envy is the concomitant of glory, and thus, the more renowned he

erat, corrumpere; modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere, postremo in agmine temptare ac statim in colles regredi, rursus aliis, post aliis minitari, neque proelium facere neque otium pati, tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

56. Romanus imperator ubi se dolis fatigari videt neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam et in ea parte qua sita erat arcem regni, nomine Zamam,⁶⁶² statuit oppugnare, ratus id quod negotium poscebat Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum ibique proelium fore. At ille, quae parabantur a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit, oppidanos hortatur, moenia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmissimum erat. Praeterea pollicetur in tempore⁶⁶³ semet cum exercitu affore. Ita compositis rebus in loca quam maxime occulta discedit ac post paulo cognoscit Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum, quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergat et jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit; simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, uti cohortes ab tergo circumveniant; fortunam illis praeclari facinoris casum dare; si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu aetatem acturos. Ac ni Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent; tanta mobilitate sese Numidae agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini paulisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis profugi discedunt.

57. Marius ad Zamam pervenit; id oppidum in campo situm, magis opere quam natura munitum erat, nullius idoneae rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus cuncta moenia exercitu circumvenit, legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret. Deinde signo dato undique simul clamor ingens oritur; neque ea res Numidas terret, infensi intente sine tumultu manent; proelium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare; alii succedere ac murum modo suffodere, modo scalis aggredi, cupere proelium in manibus facere.⁶⁶⁴ Contra ea oppidani in proximos saxa volvere, sudes, pila, praeterea pice et sulfure taedam mixtam ardenti⁶⁶⁵ mittere. Sed ne illos quidem, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat; nam plerosque jacula tormentis aut manu emissa vulnerabant, parique periculo, sed fama impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

became, the greater was his caution and circumspection. He never went out to plunder, after the sudden attack of Jugurtha, with his troops in scattered parties; when corn or forage was sought, a body of cohorts, with the whole of the cavalry, were stationed as a guard. He himself conducted part of the army, and Marius the rest. The country was wasted, however, more by fire than by spoliation. They had separate camps, not far from each other; whenever there was occasion for force, they formed a union; but, that desolation and terror might spread the further, they acted separately. Jugurtha, meanwhile, continued to follow them along the hills, watching for a favorable opportunity or situation for an attack. He destroyed the forage, and spoiled the water, which was scarce, wherever he found that the enemy were coming. He presented himself sometimes to Metellus, and sometimes to Marius; he would attack their rear upon a march, and instantly retreat to the hills; he would threaten sometimes one point, and sometimes another, neither giving battle nor allowing rest, but making it his great object to retard the progress of the enemy.

56. The Roman commander, finding himself thus harassed by artifices, and allowed no opportunity of coming to a general engagement, resolved on laying siege to a large city, named Zama, which was the bulwark of that part of the kingdom in which it was situated; expecting that Jugurtha, as a necessary consequence, would come to the relief of his subjects in distress, and that a battle would then follow. But the king, being apprised by some deserters of the consul's design, reached the place, by rapid marches, before him, and exhorted the inhabitants to defend their walls, giving them, as a reinforcement, a body of deserters; a class of men, who, of all the royal forces, were the most to be trusted, inasmuch as they dared not be guilty of treachery.¹ He also promised to support them, whenever it should be necessary, with his whole army.

Having taken these precautions, he retired into the deserts of the interior; where he soon after learned that Marius, with a few cohorts, had been dispatched from the line of march to bring provisions from Sicca,² a town which had been the first to revolt from him after his defeat. To this place he hastened by night, accompanied by a select body of cavalry, and attacked the Romans at the gate, just as they were leaving the city; calling to the inhabitants, at the same time, with a loud voice, to surround the cohorts in the rear; adding, that Fortune had given them an opportunity for a glorious exploit; and that, if they took advantage of it, he would henceforth enjoy his kingdom, and they their liberty, without fear. And had not Marius hastened to advance the standards, and to escape from the town, it is certain that all, or the greater part of the inhabitants, would have changed their allegiance; so great is the fickleness which the Numidians exhibit in their conduct. The soldiers of Jugurtha, animated for a time by their king, but finding the enemy pressing them with superior force, betook themselves, after losing a few of their number, to flight.

57. Marius arrived at Zama. This town, built on a plain, was better fortified by art than by nature. It was well supplied with necessaries, and contained plenty of arms and men. Metellus, having made arrangements suitable for the time and the place, encompassed the whole city with his army, assigning to each of his officers his post of command. At a given signal, a loud shout was raised on every side, but without exciting the least alarm in the Numidians, who awaited the attack full of spirit and resolution. The assault was consequently commenced; the Romans were allowed to act each according to his inclination; some annoyed the enemy with slings and stones from a distance; others came close up to the walls, and attempted to undermine or scale them, desiring to engage in close combat with the besieged. The Zamians, on the other hand, rolled down stones, and hurled burning stakes, javelins,¹ and wood smeared with pitch and sulphur, on the nearest assailants. Nor

58. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improvise castra hostium cum magna manu invadit, remissis, qui in praesidio erant,⁶⁶⁶ et omnia magis quam proelium expectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu percussi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt; alii fugere, alii arma capere, magna pars vulnerati aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta memores nominis Romani grege facto locum cepere paulo quam alii editiorem, neque inde maxima vi depelli quiverunt, sed tela minus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrari;⁶⁶⁷ sin Numidae propius accessissent, ibi vero⁶⁶⁸ virtutem ostendere et eos maxima vi caedere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus quum accerrime rem gereret, clamorem hostilem a tergo accepit, dein converso equo animadvertit fugam ad se versum fieri, quae res indicabat populares esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere mittit, ac statim G. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum, eumque lacrimans per amicitiam perque rem publicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore neve hostes inultos abire sinat. Ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, quum alii super vallum praecipitentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent, multis amissis in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revertitur.

59. Igitur postero die, prius quam ad oppugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet, portas et proxima loca tribunis dispertit, deinde ipse pergat ad oppidum atque uti superiore die murum aggreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit; qui in proximo locati fuerant, paulisper territi perturbantur, reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidae resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent;⁶⁶⁹ quibus illi freti, non uti equestri proelio solet, sequi, dein cedere, sed adversis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem; ita expeditis pedibus suis hostes paene victos dare

60. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrime niti,⁶⁷⁰ neque alius in alio magis quam in sese⁶⁷¹ spem habere: pariterque oppidani agere; oppugnare aut parare omnibus locis, avidius alteri alteros sauciare quam semet tegere, clamor permixtus hortatione, laetitia, gemitu, item strepitus armorum ad coelum ferri, tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paulum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti proelium equestre prospectabant, eos, uti quaeque Jugurthae res erant, laetos modo, modo pavidos animadvertere,⁶⁷² ac, sicuti audiri a suis aut cerni possent,⁶⁷³ monere alii, alii hortari aut manu

was caution a sufficient protection to those who kept aloof; for darts, discharged from engines or by the hand, inflicted wounds on most of them; and thus the brave and the timid, though of unequal merit, were exposed to equal danger.

58. While the struggle was thus continued at Zama, Jugurtha, at the head of a large force, suddenly attacked the camp of the Romans, and, through the remissness of those left to guard it, who expected any thing rather than an attack, effected an entrance at one of the gates. Our men, struck with sudden consternation, acted each on his own impulse; some fled, others seized their arms; and many of them were wounded or slain. About forty, however, out of the whole number, mindful of the honor of Rome, formed themselves into a body, and took possession of a slight eminence, from which they could not be dislodged by the utmost efforts of the enemy, but hurled back the darts discharged at them, and, as they were few against many, not without execution. If the Numidians came near them, they displayed their courage, and slaughtered, repulsed, and dispersed them, with the greatest fury. Metellus, meanwhile, who was vigorously pursuing the siege, heard a noise, as of enemies, in his rear, and, turning round his horse, perceived a party of soldiers in flight toward him; a certain proof that they were his own men. He instantly, therefore, dispatched the whole of the cavalry to the camp, and immediately afterwards Caius Marius, with the cohorts of the allies, entreating him with tears, by their mutual friendship, and by his regard for the public welfare, to allow no stain to rest on a victorious army, and not to let the enemy escape with impunity. Marius soon executed his orders. Jugurtha, in consequence, after being embarrassed in the intrenchments of the camp, while some of his men threw themselves over the ramparts, and others, in their haste, obstructed each other at the gates, fled, with considerable loss, to his strongholds, Metellus, not succeeding in his attempt on the town, retired with his forces, at the approach of night, into his camp.

59. On the following day, before he marched out to resume the siege, he ordered the whole of his cavalry to take their station before the camp, on the side where the approach of Jugurtha was to be apprehended; assigning the gates, and adjoining posts, to the charge of the tribunes. He then marched toward the town, and commenced an assault upon the walls as on the day before. Jugurtha, meanwhile, issuing from his concealment, suddenly attacked our men in the camp, of whom those stationed in advance were for the moment alarmed and thrown into confusion; but the rest soon came to their support; nor would the Numidians have longer maintained their ground, had not their foot, which were mingled with the cavalry, done great execution in the struggle; for the horse, relying on the infantry, did not, as is common in actions of cavalry, charge and then retreat, but pressed impetuously forward, disordering and breaking the ranks, and thus, with the aid of the light-armed foot, almost succeeded in giving the army a defeat.¹

60. The conflict at Zama, at the same time, was continued with great fury. Wherever any lieutenant or tribune commanded, there the men exerted themselves with the utmost vigor. No one seemed to depend for support on others, but every one on his own exertions. The townsmen, on the other side, showed equal spirit. Attacks, or preparations for defense, were made in all quarters.¹ All appeared more eager to wound their enemies than to protect themselves. Shouts, mingled with exhortations, cries of joy, and the clashing of arms, resounded through the heavens. Darts flew thick on every side. If the besiegers, however, in the least relaxed their efforts, the defenders of the

significare aut niti corporibus,⁶⁷⁴ et ea huc et illuc quasi vitabundi aut jacentes tela agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est (nam is in ea parte curabat) consulto lenius agere ac diffidentiam rei simulare, pati Numidas sine tumultu⁶⁷⁵ regis proelium visere. Ita illis studio suorum astrictis,⁶⁷⁶ repente magna vi murum aggreditur, et jam scalis egressi milites prope summa ceperant, quum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia praeterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere, deinde, ubi unae atque alterae scalae comminutae, qui supersteterant, afflicti sunt, ceteri, quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars vulneribus confecti abeunt Denique utrimque proelium nox diremit.

61. Metellus, postquam videt frustra inceptum neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco pugnam facere, et jam aestatem exactam esse, ab Zama discedit et in iis urbibus, quae ad se⁶⁷⁷ defecerant, satisque munitae loco aut moenibus erant, praesidia imponit; ceterum exercitum in provinciam, quae proxima est Numidiae, hiemandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus ex aliorum more quieti aut luxuriae concedit, sed quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romae cum Jugurtha fuerat et inde vadibus datis clam Massivae de nece iudicium fugerat, quod ei per maximam amicitiam maxima copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus aggreditur. Ac primo efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratia occultus veniat, dein fide data, si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum sibi tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem et sua omnia concederet, facile Numidae persuadet, cum ingenio infido,⁶⁷⁸ tum metunti, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per condiciones ad.

62. Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit; monet atque lacrimans obtestatur, uti aliquando, sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum optime merenti provideat, omnibus proeliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortales captos, occisos, regni opes comminutas esse; satis saepe jam et virtutem militum et fortunam temptatam; caveat, ne illo⁶⁷⁹ cunctante Numidae sibi consulant. His atque talibus aliis ad deditionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati, qui Jugurtham imperata facturum dicerent ac sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere. Metellus propere cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis accersi jubet, eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum⁶⁸⁰ ex consilii decreto per legates Jugurthae imperat argenti pondo⁶⁸¹ ducenta milia, elephantos omnes, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quae postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnes perfuga vinctos adduci; eorum magna pars, uti jussum erat, adducti, pauci, quum primum deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretanium abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque

walls immediately turned their attention to the distant engagement of the cavalry; they were to be seen sometimes exhibiting joy, and sometimes apprehension, according to the varying fortune of Jugurtha, and, as if they could be heard or seen by their friends, uttering warnings or exhortations, making signs with their hands, and moving their bodies to and fro, like men avoiding or hurling darts. This being noticed by Marius, who commanded on that side of the town, he artfully relaxed his efforts, as if despairing of success, and allowed the besieged to view the battle at the camp unmolested. Then, while their attention was closely fixed on their countrymen, he made a vigorous assault on the wall, and the soldiers mounting their scaling ladders, had almost gained the top, when the townsmen rushed to the spot in a body, and hurled down upon them stones, firebrands, and every description of missiles. Our men made head against these annoyances for a while, but at length, when some of the ladders were broken, and those who had mounted them dashed to the ground, the rest of the assailants retreated as they could, a few indeed unhurt, but the greater number miserably wounded. Night put an end to the efforts of both parties.

61. When Metellus saw that all his attempts were vain; that the town was not to be taken; that Jugurtha was resolved to abstain from fighting, except from an ambush, or on his own ground, and that the summer was now far advanced, he withdrew his army from Zama, and placed garrisons in such of the cities that had revolted to him as were sufficiently strong in situation or fortifications. The rest of his forces he settled in winter quarters, in that part of our province nearest to Numidia.¹

This season of repose, however, he did not, like other commanders, abandon to idleness and luxury; but as the war had been but slowly advanced by fighting, he resolved to try the effect of treachery on the king through his friends, and to employ their perfidy instead of arms. He accordingly addressed himself with large promises, to Bomilcar, the same nobleman who had been with Jugurtha at Rome, and who had fled from thence, notwithstanding he had given bail, to escape being tried for the murder of Massiva; selecting this person for his instrument, because, from his great intimacy with Jugurtha, he had the best opportunities of betraying him. He prevailed on him, in the first place, to come to a conference with him privately, when, having given him his word, "that, if he should deliver up Jugurtha, alive or dead, the senate would grant him a pardon, and the full possession of his property," he easily brought him over to his purpose, especially as he was naturally faithless, and also apprehensive that, if peace were made with the Romans, he himself would be surrendered to justice by the terms of it.

62. Bomilcar took the earliest opportunity of addressing Jugurtha, at a time when he was full of anxiety, and lamenting his ill success. He exhorted and implored him, with tears in his eyes, to take at length some thought for himself and his children, as well as for the people of Numidia, who had so much claim upon him. He reminded him that they had been defeated in every battle; that the country was laid waste; that numbers of his subjects had been captured or slain; that the resources of the kingdom were greatly reduced; that the valor of his soldiers, and his own fortune, had been already sufficiently tried; and that he should beware, lest, if he delayed to consult for his people, his people should consult for themselves. By these and similar appeals, he prevailed with Jugurtha to think of a surrender. Embassadors were accordingly sent to the Roman general, announcing that Jugurtha was ready to submit to whatever he should desire, and to trust himself and his kingdom unconditionally to his honor. Metellus, on receiving this statement, summoned such of his officers as were of senatorial rank, from their winter quarters; of whom, with others whom he thought

et pecunia spoliatus est, quum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur,⁶⁸² rursus coepit flectere animum suum et ex mala conscientia digna⁶⁸³ timere. Denique multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis quum modo taedio rerum adversarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret, multis magnisque praesidiis nequidquam perditis, de integro bellum sumit. Et Romae senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiam Metello decreverat.⁶⁸⁴ supplicium traderetur.

63. Per idem tempus Uticae forte G. Mario per hostias dis supplicanti, magna atque mirabilia portendi haruspex dixerat; proinde, quae animo agitabat,⁶⁸⁵ fretus dis ageret, fortunam quam saepissime experiretur, cuncta prospere eventura. At illum jam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat, ad quem capiendum praeter vetustatem familiae alia omnia abunde erant,⁶⁸⁶ industria, probitas militiae magna scientia, animus belli⁶⁸⁷ ingens, domi modicus, libidinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriae avidus. Sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus,⁶⁸⁸ ubi primum aetas militiae patiens fuit, stipendiis faciendis, non Graeca facundia neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit; ita inter artes bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus,⁶⁸⁹ facile notus per omnes tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit, semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore quam gerebat dignus haberetur. Tamea is ad id locorum⁶⁹⁰ talisvir (nam postea ambitione praeceps datus est) consulatum appetere non audebat. Etiamtum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat.⁶⁹¹ Novus nemo tam clarus neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur.

64. Igitur ubi Marius haruspiscis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petendi gratia missionem⁶⁹² rogat. Cui quamquam virtus, gloria atque alia optanda bonis superabant,⁶⁹³ tamen inerat contemptor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus insolita re mirari ejus consilium et quasi per amicitiam monere, ne tam prava inciperet neu super fortunam animum gereret; non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse; debere illi res suas satis placere; postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur. Postquam

eligible, he formed a council. By a resolution of this assembly, in conformity with ancient usage, he demanded of Jugurtha, through his ambassadors, two hundred thousand pounds' weight of silver, all his elephants, and a portion of his horses and arms. These requisitions being immediately complied with, he next desired that all the deserters should be brought to him in chains. A large number of them were accordingly brought; but a few, when the surrender first began to be mentioned, had fled into Mauretania to king Bocchus.

When Jugurtha, however, after being thus despoiled of arms, men and money, was summoned to appear in person at Tisidium,¹ to await the consul's commands, he began again to change his mind, dreading, from a consciousness of guilt, the punishment due to his crimes. Having spent several days in hesitation, sometimes, from disgust at his ill success, believing any thing better than war, and sometimes considering with himself how grievous would be the fall from sovereignty to slavery, he at last determined, notwithstanding that he had lost so many and so valuable means of resistance, to commence hostilities anew.

At Rome, meanwhile, the senate, having been consulted about the provinces, had decreed Numidia to Metellus.

63. About the same time, as Caius Marius, who happened to be at Utica, was sacrificing to the gods,¹ an augur told him that great and wonderful things were presaged to him; that he might therefore pursue whatever designs he had formed, trusting to the gods for success; and that he might try fortune as often as he pleased, for that all his undertakings would prosper. Previously to this period an ardent longing for the consulship had possessed him; and he had, indeed, every qualification for obtaining it, except antiquity of family; he had industry, integrity, great knowledge of war, and a spirit undaunted in the field; he was temperate in private life, superior to pleasure and riches, and ambitious only of glory. Having been born at Arpinum, and brought up there during his boyhood, he employed himself, as soon as he was of age to bear arms, not in the study of Greek eloquence, nor in learning the refinements of the city, but in military service; and thus, amid the strictest discipline, his excellent genius soon attained full vigor. When he solicited the people, therefore, for the military tribuneship, he was well known by name, though most were strangers to his face, and unanimously elected by the tribes. After this office he attained others in succession, and conducted himself so well in his public duties, that he was always deemed worthy of a higher station than he had reached. Yet, though such had been his character hitherto (for he was afterward carried away by ambition), he had not ventured to stand for the consulship. The people, at that time, still disposed of² other civil offices, but the nobility transmitted the consulship from hand to hand among themselves. Nor had any commoner appeared, however famous or distinguished by his achievements, who would not have been thought unworthy of that honor, and, as it were, a disgrace to it.³

64. But when Marius found that the words of the augur pointed in the same direction as his own inclinations prompted him, he requested of Metellus leave of absence, that he might offer himself a candidate for the consulship. Metellus, though eminently distinguished by virtue, honor, and other qualities valued by the good, had yet a haughty and disdainful spirit, the common failing of the nobility. He was at first, therefore, astonished at so extraordinary an application, expressed surprise at Marius's views, and advised him, as if in friendship, "not to indulge such unreasonable

haec atque alia talia dixit neque animus Marii flectitur, respondit, ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica,⁶⁹⁴ facturum sese, quae peteret. Ac postea saepius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, ne festinaret abire; satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum. Is eo tempore contubernio patris⁶⁹⁵ ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter viginti; quae res Marium cum pro⁶⁹⁶ honore, quem affectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque ira, pessimis consultoribus, grassari,⁶⁹⁷ neque facto ullo neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum⁶⁹⁸ foret, milites, quibus in hibernis praeerat, laxiore imperio quam antea habere, apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, criminose, simul et magnifice de bello loqui, dimidia pars exercitus si sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum; ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis⁶⁹⁹ et regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet. Quae omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiares corruperant et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

65. Erat praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissae nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem⁷⁰⁰ scripserat, morbis confectus et ob eam causam mente paulum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti more regum ut sellam juxta poneret, item postea custodiae causa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat, honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges appellavisset, praesidium, quod contumeliosum in eos⁷⁰¹ foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidae traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium aggreditur atque hortatur, ut contumeliarum imperatori⁷⁰² cum suo auxilio poenas petat; hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissae nepotem esse; si Jugurtha captus aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum; id adeo⁷⁰³ mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret. Itaque et illum et equites Romanes, milites et negotiatores⁷⁰⁴ alios ipse, plerosque pacis spes impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus honestissima suffragatione⁷⁰⁵ consulatus petebatur; simul ea tempestate plebes, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam,⁷⁰⁶ novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

66. Interim Jugurtha postquam omissa deditione bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum, civitates, quae ab se defecerant, formidine aut ostentando praemia affectare,⁷⁰⁷ communire suos locos, arma, tela, aliaque, quae spe pacis amiserat, reficere aut com-

expectations, or elevate his thoughts above his station; that all things were not to be coveted by all men; that his present condition ought to satisfy him; and, finally, that he should be cautious of asking from the Roman people what they might justly refuse him." Having made these and similar remarks, and finding that the resolution of Marius was not at all affected by them, he told him "that he would grant what he desired as soon as the public business would allow him."1 On Marius repeating his request several times afterward, he is reported to have said, "that he need not be in a hurry to go, as he would be soon enough if he became a candidate with his own son."2 Metellus's son was then on service in the camp with his father,3 and was about twenty years old.

This taunt served only to rouse the feelings of Marius, as well for the honor at which he aimed, as against Metellus. He suffered himself to be actuated, therefore, by ambition and resentment, the worst of counselors. He omitted nothing henceforward, either in deeds or words, that could increase his own popularity. He allowed the soldiers, of whom he had the command in the winter quarters, more relaxation of discipline than he had ever granted them before. He talked of the war among the merchants, of whom there was a great number at Utica, censoriously with respect to Metellus, and vauntingly with regard to himself; saying "that if but half of the army were granted him, he would in a few days have Jugurtha in chains; but that the war was purposely protracted by the consul, because, being a man of vanity and regal pride, he was too fond of the delights of power." All these assertions appeared the more credible to the merchants, as, by the long continuance of the war, they had suffered in their fortunes; and to impatient minds no haste is sufficient

65. . There was then in our army a Numidian named Gauda, the son of Mastanabal, and grandson of Masinissa, whom Micipsa, in his will, had appointed next heir to his immediate successors. This man had been debilitated by ill-health, and, from the effect of it, was somewhat impaired in his understanding. He had petitioned Metellus to allow him a seat, like a prince, next to himself, and a troop of horse for a bodyguard; but Metellus had refused him both; the seat, because it was granted only to those whom the Roman people had addressed as kings, and the guard, because it would be an indignity to Roman cavalry to act as guards to a Numidian. While Gauda was discontented at these refusals, Marius paid him a visit, and prompted him, with his assistance, to seek revenge for the affronts put upon him by the general; inflating his mind, which was as weak as his body,1 with flattering speeches, telling him that he was a prince, a great man, and the grandson of Masinissa; that if Jugurtha were taken or killed, he would immediately become king of Numidia; and that this event might soon happen, if he himself were sent as consul to the war.

Thus partly the influence of Marius himself, and partly the hope of obtaining peace, induced Gauda, as well as most of the Roman knights, both soldiers and merchants,2 to write to their friends at Rome, in a style of censure, respecting Metellus's management of the war, and to intimate that Marius should be appointed general. The consulship, accordingly, was solicited for him by numbers of people, with the most honorable demonstrations in his favor.3 It happened that the people too, at this juncture, having just triumphed over the nobility by the Mamilian law,4 were eager to raise commoners to office. Hence every thing was favorable to Marius's views.

66. Jugurtha, meantime, who, after relinquishing his intention to surrender, had renewed the war, was now hastening the preparations for it with the utmost diligence. He assembled an army; he endeavored, by threats or promises, to recover the towns that had revolted from him; he fortified

mercari, servitia Romanorum allicere et eos ipsos, qui in praesidiis erant, pecunia temptare; prorsus nihil intactum neque quietum pati, cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenses, quo Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, praesidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciiis neque antea voluntate alienati,⁷⁰⁸ principes civitatis inter se conjurant; nam vulgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxime Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum⁷⁰⁹ erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio adversum. Dein, compositis inter se rebus, in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebratusque per omnem Africam ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem ostentabat.⁷¹⁰ Sed ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militares et ipsum praefectum oppidi, T. Turpilius Silanus, alius alium domos suas invitant; eos omnes praeter Turpilius inter epulas obtruncant; postea milites palantes, inermes, quippe in tali die⁷¹¹ ac sine imperio, aggrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis acta consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse et res novae satis placebant.

67. Romani milites, improvise metu incerti ignarique, quid potissimum facerent, trepidare; ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant, praesidium hostium; portae ante clausae fugam prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis⁷¹² aedificiorum saxa et alia, quae locus praebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum,⁷¹³ neque a fortissimis infirmissimo generi resisti posse; juxta boni mali que, strenui et imbelles inulti obtruncari. In ea tanta asperitate, saevissimis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius praefectus unus ex omnibus Italicis intactus profugit; id misericordiane hospitis, an pactione aut casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita integra fama potior fuit, improbus instabilisque videtur.⁷¹⁴

68. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vagae actis comperit, paulisper moestus e conspectu abijt; deinde, ubi ira et aegritudo permixta sunt, cum maxima cura ultimum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et quam plurimos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expedito educit, et postera die circiter horam tertiam pervenit in quandam planitiem, locis paulo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine et jam abnuentes omnia⁷¹⁵ docet oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum⁷¹⁶ abesse, decere illos reliquum laborem aequo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis atque miserrimis, poenas caperent; praeterea praedam benigne ostendit. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo⁷¹⁷ late, pedites quam artissime ire et signa occultare jubet.

advantageous positions;1 he repaired or purchased arms, weapons, and other necessaries, which he had given up on the prospect of peace; he tried to seduce the slaves of the Romans, and even tempted with bribes the Romans themselves who occupied the garrisons; he, indeed, left nothing untried or neglected, but put every engine in motion.

Induced by the entreaties of their king, from whom, indeed, they had never been alienated in affection, the leading inhabitants of Vacca, a city in which Metellus, when Jugurtha began to treat for peace, had placed a garrison, entered into a conspiracy against the Romans. As for the common people of the town, they were, as is generally the case, and especially among the Numidians, of a fickle disposition, factious and turbulent, and therefore already desirous of a change, and adverse to peace and quiet. Having arranged their plans, they fixed upon the third day following for the execution of them, because that day, being a festival, celebrated throughout Africa, would promise merriment and dissipation rather than alarm. When the time came, they invited the centurions and military tribunes, with Titus Turpilius Silanus, the governor of the town, to their several houses, and butchered them all, except Turpilius, at their banquets; and then fell upon the common soldiers, who, as was to be expected on such a day, when discipline was relaxed, were wandering about without their arms. The populace followed the example of their chiefs, some of them having been previously instructed to do so, and others induced by a liking for such disorders, and, though ignorant of what had been done or intended, finding sufficient gratification in tumult and variety.

67. The Roman soldiers, perplexed with sudden alarm, and not knowing what was best for them to do, were in trepidation. At the citadel,1 where their standards and shields were, was posted a guard of the enemy; and the city-gates, previously closed, prevented escape. Women and children, too, on the roofs of the houses,2 hurled down upon them, with great eagerness, stones and whatever else their position furnished. Thus neither could such twofold danger be guarded against, nor could the bravest resist the feeblest; the worthy and the worthless, the valiant and the cowardly, were alike put to death unavenged. In the midst of this slaughter, while the Numidians were exercising every cruelty, and the town was closed on all sides, Turpilius was the only one, of all the Italians, that escaped unhurt. Whether his flight was the consequence of compassion in his entertainer, of compact, or of chance, I have never discovered; but since, in such a general massacre, he preferred inglorious safety to an honorable name, he seems to have been a worthless and infamous character.3

68. When Metellus heard of what had happened at Vacca, he retired for a time, overpowered with sorrow, from the public gaze; but at length, as indignation mingled with his grief, he hastened, with the utmost spirit, to take vengeance for the outrage. He led forth, at sunset, the legion that was in winter quarters with him, and as many Numidian horse as he could, and arrived, about the third hour on the following day, at a certain plain surrounded by rising grounds. Here he acquainted the soldiers, who were now exhausted with the length of their march, and averse to further exertion,1 that the town of Vacca was not above a mile distant, and that it became them to bear patiently the toil that remained, with the hope of exacting revenge for their countrymen, the bravest and most unfortunate of men. He likewise generously promised them the whole of the plunder. Their courage being thus revived, he ordered them to resume their march, the cavalry maintaining an extended line in front, and the infantry, with their standards concealed, keeping the closest order behind.

69. Vagenses ubi animum advertere ad se versus exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum esse rati, portas clausere, deinde ubi neque agros vastari et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Jugurtham arbitrati cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque repente signo dato alii vulgum effusum oppido caedere, alii ad portas festinare, pars tures capere; ira atque praedae spes amplius quam lassitudo posse. Ita Vagenses biduum modo ex perfidia laetati; civitas magna et opulens cuncta poenae aut praedae fuit.⁷¹⁸ Turpilius, quem praefectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, jussus a Metello causam dicere,⁷¹⁹ postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus verberatusque capite poenas solvit; nam is civis ex Latio erat.

70. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi et ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere, ad perniciem ejus dolum quaerere, diu noctuque fatigare animum;⁷²⁰ denique omnia temptando, socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, carum acceptumque popularibus suis, qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare et omnes res exequi solitus erat, quae Jugurthae fesso aut majoribus astricto superaverant;⁷²¹ ex quo illi gloria opesque inventae. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur; cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit; Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager inultis hostibus vastaretur.⁷²² Is postquam magnitudine facinoris percussus ad tempus non venit metusque rem impediabat,⁷²³ Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi et timore socii anxius, ne omissio veteri consilio novum quaereret,⁷²⁴ litteras ad eum per homines fideles mittit, in quibus mollitiem socordiamque viri accusare,⁷²⁵ testari deos, per quos juravisset, monere ne praemia Metelli in pestem converteret; Jugurthae exitium adesse; ceterum suane an virtute Metelli periret, id modo agitari;⁷²⁶ proinde reputaret cum animo suo, praemia an cruciatum mallet.

71. Sed quum hae litterae allatae,⁷²⁷ forte Nabdalsa exercito corpore fessus in lecto quiescebat, ubi cognitis Bomilcaris verbis primo cura, deinde, uti aegrum animum solet,⁷²⁸ somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque et omnium consiliorum nisi novissimi particeps. Qui postquam allatas litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus opera aut ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introiit, dormiente illo epistolam, super caput in pulvino temere positam, sumit ac perlegit, dein propere, cognitis insidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa post paulo experrectus ubi neque epistolam repperit⁷²⁹ et rem omnem, uti acta erat, cognovit, primo indicem persequi conatus, postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia accedit; dicit quae ipse paravisset facere perfidia clientis sui praevenit;⁷³⁰ lacrimans obtestatur per amicitiam perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super⁷³¹ tali scelere suspectum sese haberet.

69. The people of Vacca, perceiving an army coming toward them, judged rightly at first that it was Metellus, and shut their gates; but, after a while, when they saw that their fields were not laid waste, and that the front consisted of Numidian cavalry, they imagined that it was Jugurtha, and went out with great joy to meet him. A signal being immediately given, both cavalry and infantry commenced an attack; some cut down the multitude pouring from the town, others hurried to the gates, others secured the towers, revenge and the hope of plunder prevailing over their weariness. Thus Vacca triumphed only two days in its treachery; the whole city, which was great and opulent, was given up to vengeance and spoliation. Turpilius, the governor, whom we mentioned as the only person that escaped, was summoned by Metellus to answer for his conduct, and not being able to clear himself, was condemned, as a native of Latium,¹ to be scourged and put to death.

70. About this time, Bomilcar, at whose persuasion Jugurtha had entered upon the capitulation which he had discontinued through fear, being distrusted by the king, and distrusting him in return, grew desirous of a change of government. He accordingly meditated schemes for Jugurtha's destruction, racking his invention night and day. At last, to leave nothing untried, he sought an accomplice in Nabdalsa, a man of noble birth and great wealth, who was in high regard and favor with his countrymen, and who, on most occasions, used to command a body of troops distinct from those of the king, and to transact all business to which Jugurtha, from fatigue, or from being occupied with more important matters, was unable to attend; ¹ employments by which he had gained both honors and wealth. By these two men in concert, a day was fixed for the execution of their treachery; succeeding matters they agreed to settle as the exigences of the moment might require. Nabdalsa then proceeded to join his troops, which he kept in readiness, according to orders, among the winter quarters of the Romans,² to prevent the country from being ravaged by the enemy with impunity.

But as Nabdalsa, growing alarmed at the magnitude of the undertaking, failed to appear at the appointed time, and allowed his fears to hinder their plans, Bomilcar, eager for their execution, and disquieted at the timidity of his associate, lest he should relinquish his original intentions and adopt some new course, sent him a letter by some confidential person, in which he "reproached him with pusillanimity and irresolution, and conjured him by the gods, by whom he had sworn, not to turn the offers of Metellus to his own destruction;" assuring him "that the fall of Jugurtha was approaching; that the only thing to be considered was whether he should perish by their hand or by that of Metellus; and that, in consequence, he might consider whether to choose rewards, or death by torture."

71. It happened that when this letter was brought, Nabdalsa, overcome with fatigue, was reposing on his couch, where, after reading Bomilcar's letter, anxiety at first, and afterward, as is usual with a troubled mind, sleep overpowered him. In his service there was a certain Numidian, the manager of his affairs, a person who possessed his confidence and esteem, and who was acquainted with all his designs except the last. He, hearing that a letter had arrived, and supposing that there would be occasion, as usual, for his assistance or suggestions, went into the tent, and, while his master was asleep, took up the letter thrown carelessly upon the cushion behind his head,¹ and read it; and, having thus discovered the plot, set off in haste to Jugurtha. Nabdalsa, who awoke soon after, missing the letter, and hearing of the whole affair, and how it had happened, at first attempted to pursue the informer, but finding that pursuit was vain, he went himself to Jugurtha to try to appease him; saying that the disclosure which he intended to make, had been anticipated by the perfidy of his

72. Ad ea rex, aliter atque animo gerebat,⁷³² placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis iram oppresserat, ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthae dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit, neque loco neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori satis credere, cives hostesque juxta metuere, circumspectare omnia et omni strepitu pavescere, alio atque alio loco saepe contra decus regium noctu requiescere, interdum somno excitus arreptis armis tumultum facere; ita formidine quasi vecordia exagitari.⁷³³

73. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio patefacto⁷³⁴ ex perfugis cognovit, rursus tamquam ad integrum bellum cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de profectioe, simul et invitum et offensum sibi parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romae plebes, litteris, quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitiss, volenti animo de ambobus acceperant.⁷³⁵ Imperatori nobilitas, quae antea decori, invidiae esse; at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat; ceterum in utroque magis studia partium quam bona aut mala sua moderata.⁷³⁶ Praeterea seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus contionibus capitis arcessere,⁷³⁷ Marii virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque⁷³⁸ in manibus sitae erant, relictis operibus frequentarent Marium⁷³⁹ et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita percussa nobilitate post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur, et postea populus a tribuno plebis Manlio Mancino rogatus, quem vellet cum Jugurtha bellum gerere, frequens Marium jussit. Sed senatus paulo ante Metello decreverat; ea res frustra fuit.⁷⁴⁰

74. Eodem tempore Jugurtha amissis amicis, quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum⁷⁴¹ profugerant, quum neque bellum geri sine administris posset, et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabat. Neque illi res neque consilium aut quisquam hominum satis placebat; itinera praefectosque in dies mutare, modo adversum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere, saepe in fuga ac post paulo in armis spem habere, dubitare, virtuti an fidei popularium minus crederet; ita quocumque intenderat, res adversae erant. Sed inter eas moras repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidae ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati instructique; dein proelium incipitur. Qua in parte rex pugnae affuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum, ceteri ejus omnes milites primo congressu pulsifugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero,⁷⁴² hostium paucorum potiti; nam ferme Numidas in omnibus proeliis magis pedes quam arma tuta sunt.⁷⁴³

servant; and beseeching him with tears, by his friendship, and by his own former proofs of fidelity, not to think that he could be guilty of such treachery

72. To these entreaties the king replied with a mildness far different from his real feelings. After putting to death Bomilcar, and many others whom he knew to be privy to the plot, he refrained from any further manifestation of resentment, lest an insurrection should be the consequence of it. But after this occurrence he had no peace either by day or by night; he thought himself safe neither in any place, nor with any person, nor at any time; he feared his subjects and his enemies alike; he was always on the watch, and was startled at every sound; he passed the night sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another, and often in places little suited to royal dignity; and sometimes, starting from his sleep, he would seize his arms and raise an alarm. He was indeed so agitated by extreme terror, that he appeared under the influence of madness.

73. Metellus, hearing from some deserters of the fate of Bomilcar, and the discovery of the conspiracy, made fresh preparations for action, and with the utmost dispatch, as if entering upon an entirely new war. Marius, who was still importuning him for leave of absence, he allowed to go home; thinking that as he served with reluctance, and bore him personal enmity, he was not likely to prove a very useful officer.

The common people at Rome, having learned the contents of the letters written from Africa concerning Metellus and Marius, had listened to the accounts given of both with eagerness. But the noble birth of Metellus, which had previously been a motive for paying him honor, had now become a cause of unpopularity; while the obscurity of Marius's origin had procured him favor. In regard to both, however, party feeling had more influence than the good or bad qualities of either. The factious tribunes, too, inflamed the populace, charging Metellus, in their harangues, with offenses worthy of death, and exaggerating the excellent qualities of Marius. At length the people were so excited that all the artisans and rustics, whose whole subsistence and credit depended on their labor, quitting their several employments, attended Marius in crowds, and thought less of their own wants than of his exaltation. Thus the nobility being borne down, the consulship, after the lapse of many years,² was once more given to a man of humble birth. And afterward, when the people were asked by Manilius Mancinus, one of their tribunes, whom they would appoint to carry on the war against Jugurtha, they, in a full assembly, voted it to Marius. The senate had previously decreed it to Metellus; but that decree was thus rendered abortive.³

74. During this period, Jugurtha, as he was bereft of his friends (of whom he had put to death the greater number, while the rest, under the influence of terror, had fled partly to the Romans, and partly to Bocchus), as the war, too, could not be carried on without officers, and as he thought it dangerous to try the faith of new ones after such perfidy among the old, was involved in doubt and perplexity; no scheme, no counsel, no person could satisfy him; he changed his route and his captains daily; he hurried sometimes against the enemy, and some-times toward the deserts; depended at one time on flight, and at another on resistance; and was unable to decide whether he could less trust the courage or the fidelity of his subjects. Thus, in whatever direction he turned his thoughts, the prospect was equally disheartening.

In the midst of his irresolution, Metellus suddenly made his appearance with his army. The Nu-

75. Ea fuga Jugurtha impensius modo⁷⁴⁴ rebus suis diffidens cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum atque opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri filiorumque ejus multus pueritiae cultus⁷⁴⁵ erat. Quae postquam Metello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proximum in spatio milium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen spe patrandi belli, si ejus oppidi potitus foret, omnes asperitates supervadere ac naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levare jubet nisi frumento dierum decem, ceterum utres modo et alia aquae idonea⁷⁴⁶ portari. Praeterea conquirat ex agris quam plurimum potest domiti pecoris, eoque imponit vasa cujusque modi, sed pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc finitimis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquae portaret; diem locumque, ubi praesto fuerint,⁷⁴⁷ praedicat. Ipse ex flumine, quam proximam oppido aquam esse supra diximus, jumenta onerat; eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tauta repente coelo missa vis aquae dicitur, ut ea modo⁷⁴⁸ exercitui satis superque foret. Praeterea commeatus spe amplior, quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, officia intenderant. Ceterum milites religione pluvia magis usi, eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese dis immortalibus curae esse. Deinde postero die contra opinionem Jugurthae ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re percussi, nihilo segnius bellum parare; idem nostri facere.

76. Sed rex nihil jam infectum Metello credens,⁷⁴⁹ quippe qui omnia, arma tela, locos tempora, denique naturam ipsam ceteris imperitantem industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex oppido noctu profugit, neque postea in ullo loco amplius uno die aut una nocte moratus simulabat sese negotii gratia properare; ceterum prodicionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat; nam talia consilia per otium et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos proelio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque moenia circumvenit. Deinde locis ex copia⁷⁵⁰ maxime idoneis vineas agere, aggerem jacere et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra haec oppidani festinare, parare; prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani multo ante labore proeliisque fatigati,⁷⁵¹ post dies quadraginta quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti, praeda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum arietibus feriri resque suas afflictas vident, aurum atque argentum et alia, quae prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant; ibi vino et epulis onerati, illaque et domum et semet igni corrumpunt, et quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pependere.⁷⁵²

midians were assembled and drawn up by Jugurtha, as well as time permitted; and a battle was at once commenced. Where the king commanded in person, the struggle was maintained for some time; but the rest of his force was routed and put to flight at the first onset. The Romans took a considerable number of standards and arms, but not many prisoners; for, in almost every battle, their feet afforded more security to the Numidians than their swords.

75. In consequence of this defeat, Jugurtha, feeling less confidence in the state of his affairs than ever, retreated with the deserters, and part of his cavalry, first into the deserts, and afterward to Thala,¹ a large and opulent city, where lay the greater portion of his treasures, and where there was magnificent provision for the education of his children. When Metellus was informed of this, although he knew that there was, between Thala and the nearest river, a dry and desert region fifty miles broad, yet, in the hope of finishing the war if he should gain possession of the town, he resolved to surmount all difficulties, and to conquer even Nature herself. He gave orders that the beasts of burden, therefore, should be lightened of all the baggage excepting ten days' provision; and that they should be laden with skins and other utensils for holding water. He also collected from the fields as many laboring cattle as he could find, and loaded them with vessels of all sorts, but chiefly wooden, taken from the cottages of the Numidians. He directed such of the neighboring people, too, as had submitted to him after the retreat of Jugurtha, to bring him as much water as they could carry, appointing a time and a place for them to be in attendance. He then loaded his beasts from the river, which, as I have intimated, was the nearest water to the town, and, thus provided, set out for Thala.

When he came to the place at which he had desired the Numidians to meet him, and had pitched and fortified his camp, so copious a fall of rain is said to have happened, as would have furnished more than sufficient water for his whole army. Provisions, too, were brought him far beyond his expectations; for the Numidians, like most people after a recent surrender, had done more than was required of them.² The men, however, from a religious feeling, preferred using the rain-water; the fall of which greatly increased their courage, for they thought themselves the peculiar care of the gods. On the next day, to the surprise of Jugurtha, they arrived at Thala. The inhabitants, who thought themselves secured by the difficulties of the approach to them, were astonished at so strange and unexpected a sight, but, nevertheless, prepared for their defense. Our men showed equal alacrity on their side.

76. But Jugurtha himself, believing that to Metellus, who, by his exertions, had triumphed over every obstacle, over arms, deserts, seasons, and finally over Nature herself that controls all, nothing was impossible, fled with his children, and a great portion of his treasure, from the city during the night. Nor did he ever, after this time, continue¹ more than one day or night in any place; pretending to be hurried away by business, but in reality dreading treachery, which he thought he might escape by change of residence, as schemes of such a kind are the result of leisure and opportunity.

Metellus, seeing that the people of Thala were determined on resistance, and that the town was defended both by art and situation, surrounded the walls with a rampart and a trench. He then directed his machines against the most eligible points, threw up a mound, and erected towers upon it to protect² the works and the workmen. The townsmen, on the other hand, were exceedingly active and diligent; and nothing was neglected on either side. At last the Romans, though

77. Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant orantes, uti praesidium praefectumque eo mitteret; Hamilcarem quendam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere, adversum quem neque imperia magistratum neque leges valerent; ni id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum⁷⁵³ socios fore. Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam consulem et postea Romam miserant amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere et cuncta a Bestia, Albino Metelloque imperata nave⁷⁵⁴ fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile, quae petebant, adepti. Emissae eo cohortes Ligurum quatuor et G. Annius praefectus.

78. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est, quos accepimus profugos ob discordias civiles, navibus in eos locos venisse; ceterum situm inter duas Syrtes, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura; quorum proxima terrae praealta sunt, cetera, uti fors tulit, alta,⁷⁵⁵ alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse et saevire ventis coepit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt; ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur: Syrtes ab tractu nominatae.⁷⁵⁶ Ejus civitatis lingua modo⁷⁵⁷ conversa connubio Numidarum, legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica, quae eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

79. Sed quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare; eam rem nos locus admonuit.⁷⁵⁸ Qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraque Africae imperitabant,⁷⁵⁹ Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, una specie; neque flumen neque mons erat, qui fines eorum discerneret; quae res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque legiones item classes saepe fusae fugataeque, et alteri alteros aliquantum attriverant, veriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius aggredieretur, per inducias sponsonem faciunt,⁷⁶⁰ uti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur. Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philaenis erat, maturavere iter pergere,⁷⁶¹ Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id socordiane an casu acciderit, parum cognovi. Ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus atque in mari retinere.⁷⁶² Nam ubi per loca aequalia et nuda gignentium⁷⁶³ ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea magna vi agitata ora oculosque implere

exhausted with much previous fatigue and fighting, got possession, forty days after their arrival, of the town, and the town only; for all the spoil had been destroyed by the deserters; who, when they saw the walls shaken by the battering-ram, and their own situation desperate, had conveyed the gold and silver, and whatever else is esteemed valuable, to the royal palace, where, after being sated with wine and luxuries, they destroyed the treasures, the building, and themselves, by fire, and thus voluntarily submitted to the sufferings which, in case of being conquered, they dreaded at the hands of the enemy.

77. At the very time that Thala was taken, there came to Metellus ambassadors from the city of Leptis,¹ requesting him to send them a garrison and a governor; saying "that a certain Hamilcar, a man of rank, and of a factious disposition, against whom the magistrates and the laws were alike powerless, was trying to induce them to change sides; and that unless he attended to the matter promptly, their own safety,"² and the allies of Rome, would be in the utmost danger." For the people at Leptis, at the very commencement of the war with Jugurtha, had sent to the consul Bestia, and afterward to Rome, desiring to be admitted into friendship and alliance with us. Having been granted their request, they continued true and faithful adherents to us, and promptly executed all orders from Bestia, Albinus, and Metellus. They therefore readily obtained from the general the aid which they solicited; and four cohorts of Ligurians were dispatched to Leptis, with Caius Annius to be governor of the place.

78. This city was built by a party of Sidonians, who, as I have understood, being driven from their country through civil dissensions, came by sea into those parts of Africa. It is situated between the two Syrtes, which take their name from their nature.¹ These are two gulfs almost at the extremity of Africa,² of unequal size, but of similar character. Those parts of them next to the land are very deep; the other parts some-times deep and sometimes shallow, as chance may direct; for when the sea swells, and is agitated by the winds, the waves roll along with them mud, sand, and huge stones; and thus the appearance of the gulfs changes with the direction of the wind.

Of this people, the language alone³ has been altered by their intermarriages with the Numidians; their laws and customs continue for the most part Sidonian; which they have preserved with the greater ease, through living at so great a distance from the king's dominions.⁴ Between them and the populous parts of Numidia lie vast and uncultivated deserts.

79. Since the affairs of Leptis have led me into these regions, it will not be foreign to my subject to relate the noble and singular act of two Carthaginians, which the place has brought to my recollection.

At the time when the Carthaginians were masters of the greater part of Africa, the Cyrenians were also a great and powerful people. The territory that lay between them was sandy, and of a uniform appearance, without a stream or a hill to determine their respective boundaries; a circumstance which involved them in a severe and protracted war. After armies and fleets had been routed and put to flight on both sides, and each people had greatly weakened their opponents, fearing lest some third party should attack both victors and vanquished in a state of exhaustion, they came to an agreement, during a short cessation of arms, "that on a certain day deputies should leave home on either side, and that the spot where they should meet should be the common boundary be-

solet, ita prospectu impedito morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se vident et ob rem corruptam⁷⁶⁴ domi poenas metuunt, criminari Carthaginenses ante tempus domo digresses, conturbare rem,⁷⁶⁵ denique omnia malle quam victi abire. Sed quum Poeni aliam conditionem, tantummodo aequam, peterent, Graeci optionem Carthaginensium faciunt,⁷⁶⁶ ut vel illi, quos fines populo suo peterent, ibi⁷⁶⁷ vivi obruerentur, vel eadem condicione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros. Philaeni condicione probata seque vitamque suam rei publicae condonare; ita vivi obruti. Carthaginenses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus aras consecraverunt, aliique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

80. Jugurtha postquam amissa Thala nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gaetulos,⁷⁶⁸ genus hominum ferum incultumque et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit ac paulatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Praeterea regis Bocchi proximos magnis muneribus et majoribus promissis ad studium sui perducit, quis adjutoribus regem aggressus impellit, uti adversum Romanos bellum incipiat. Id ea gratia facilius proniusque⁷⁶⁹ fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romam miserat, foedus et amicitiam petitum, quam rem opportunissimam incepto bello pauci impediverant caeci avaritia, quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat.⁷⁷⁰ Etiam antea Jugurthae filia Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur, quia singuli pro opibus quisque quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent, sed reges eo amplius.⁷⁷¹ Ita animus multitudine distrahitur, nulla pro socia obtinet,⁷⁷² pariter omnes viles sunt.

81. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum⁷⁷³ exercitus conveniunt; ibi fide data et accepta Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: Romanes injustos, profunda avaritia,⁷⁷⁴ communes omnium hostes esse; eandem illos causam belli cum Boccho habere quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, libidinem imperitandi, quis⁷⁷⁵ omnia regna adversa sint; tum sese,⁷⁷⁶ paulo ante Carthaginenses, item regem Persen, post, uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore. His atque aliis talibus dictis ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt, quod ibi Metellus praedam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus aut capta urbe⁷⁷⁷ operae pretium fore aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, proelio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere,⁷⁷⁸ ne moras agitando aliud quam bellum mallet.

tween the two states." From Carthage, accordingly, were dispatched two brothers, who were named Philaeni,¹ and who traveled with great expedition. The deputies of the Cyrenians proceeded more slowly; but whether from indolence or accident I have not been informed. However, a storm of wind in these deserts will cause obstruction to passengers not less than at sea; for when a violent blast, sweeping over a level surface devoid of vegetation,² raises the sand from the ground, it is driven onward with great force, and fills the mouth and eyes of the traveler, and thus, by hindering his view, retards his progress. The Cyrenian deputies, finding that they had lost ground, and dreading punishment at home for their mismanagement, accused the Carthaginians of having left home before the time; quarreling about the matter, and preferring to do any thing rather than submit. The Philaeni, upon this, asked them to name any other mode of settling the controversy, provided it were equitable; and the Cyrenians gave them their choice, " either that they should be buried alive in the spot which they claimed as the boundary for their people, or that they themselves, on the same conditions, should be allowed to go forward to whatever point they should think proper." The Philaeni, having accepted the conditions, sacrificed themselves³ to the interest of their country, and were interred alive. The people of Carthage consecrated altars to the brothers on the spot; and other honors were instituted to them at home. I now return to my subject.

80. After the loss of Thala, Jugurtha, thinking no place sufficiently secure against Metellus, fled with a few followers into the country of the Getulians, a people savage and uncivilized, and, at that period, unacquainted with even the name of Rome. Of these barbarians he collected a great multitude, and trained them by degrees to march in ranks, to follow standards, to obey the word of command, and to perform other military exercises. He also gained over to his interest, by large presents and larger promises, the intimate friends of king Bocchus, and working upon the king by their means, induced him to commence war against the Romans. This was the more practicable and easy, because Bocchus, at the commencement of hostilities with Jugurtha, had sent an embassy to Rome to solicit friendship and alliance; but a faction, blinded by avarice, and accustomed to sell their votes on every question honorable or dishonorable,¹ had caused his advances to be rejected, though they were of the highest consequence to the war recently begun. A daughter of Bocchus, too, was married to Jugurtha,² but such a connection, among the Numidians and Moors, is but lightly regarded; for every man has as many wives as he pleases, in proportion to his ability to maintain them; some ten, others more, but the kings most of all. Thus the affection of the husband is divided among a multitude; no one of them becomes a companion to him,³ but all are equally neglected.

81. The two kings, with their armies,¹ met in a place settled by mutual agreement, where, after pledges of amity were given and received, Jugurtha inflamed the mind of Bocchus by observing " that the Romans were a lawless people, of insatiable covetousness, and the common enemies of mankind; that they had the same motive for making war on Bocchus as on himself and other nations, the lust of dominion; that all independent states were objects of hatred to them; at present, for instance, himself; a little before, the Carthaginians had been so, as well as king Perses; and that, in future, as any sovereign became conspicuous for his power, so would he assuredly be treated as an enemy by the Romans."

Induced by these and similar considerations, they determined to march against Cirta, where Metellus had deposited his plunder, prisoners, and baggage. Jugurtha supposed that, if he took the city, there would be ample recompense for his exertions; or that, if the Roman general came to

82. Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere neque, uti saepe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit; ceterum haud procul ab Cirta castris munitis reges opperitur, melius esse ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, excommodo⁷⁷⁹ pugnam facere. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit provinciam Numidiam Mario datam; nam consulem factum ante acceperat. Quis rebus supra bonum atque honestum⁷⁸⁰ percussus, neque lacrimas tenere neque moderari linguam;⁷⁸¹ vir egregius in aliis artibus nimis molliter aegritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vertebant, alii⁷⁸² bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse, multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur. Nobis satis cognitum est, illum magis honore Marii quam injuria sua⁷⁸³ excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si adempta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur.

83. Igitur eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiae⁷⁸⁴ videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit postulatum, ne sine causa hostis populo Romano fieret; habere tum⁷⁸⁵ magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque conjungendae, quae potior bello esset; quamquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare;⁷⁸⁶ omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum aegerrime desinere;⁷⁸⁷ non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse; incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo, licere, deponi, quum victores velint; proinde sibi regnoque suo consuleret, neu florentes res suas cum Jugurthae perditis misceret. Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit; sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthae fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi copia fieret,⁷⁸⁸ omnia conventura. Rursus imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuntios mittit; ille probare partim, alia abnuere. Eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nuntiis tempus procedere et ex Metelli voluntate bellum intactum trahi.

84. At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissima plebe⁷⁸⁹ consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus⁷⁹⁰ atque ferox instare, singulos modo, modo universos laedere; dictitare sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse; alia praeterea magna pro se, et illis dolentia. Interim, quae bello opus erant, prima habere; postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque arcessere, praeterea ex Latio fortissimum quemque, plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos accire, et ambiundo cogere⁷⁹¹ homines emeritis stipendiis secum proficisci. Neque illi senatus, quamquam adversus erat, de ullo

succor his adherents, he would have the opportunity of engaging him in the field. He also hastened this movement from policy, to lessen Bocchus's chance of peace;² lest, if delay should be allowed, he should decide upon something different from war.

82. Metellus, when he heard of the confederacy of the kings, did not rashly, or in every place, give opportunities of fighting, as he had been used to do since Jugurtha had been so often defeated, but, fortifying his camp, awaited the approach of the kings at no great distance from Cirta; thinking it better, when he should have learned something of the Moors,¹ as they were new enemies in the field, to give battle on an advantage.

In the mean time he was informed, by letters from Rome, that the province of Numidia was assigned to Marius, of whose election to the consulship he had already heard.

Being affected at these occurrences beyond what was proper and decorous, he could neither restrain his tears nor govern his tongue; for though he was a man eminent in other respects, he had too little firmness in bearing trouble of mind. His irritation was by some imputed to pride; others said that a noble spirit was wounded by insult; many thought him chagrined because victory, just attained, was snatched from his grasp. But to me it is well known that he was more troubled at the honor bestowed on Marius than at the injustice done to himself; and that he would have shown much less uneasiness if the province of which he was deprived had been given to any other than Marius.

83. Discouraged, therefore, by such a mortification, and thinking it folly to promote another man's success at his own hazard, he sent deputies to Bocchus, entreating him "not to become an enemy to the Romans without cause;" and observing "that he had a fine opportunity of entering into friendship and alliance with them, which were far preferable to war; that though he might have confidence in his resources, he ought not to change certainties for uncertainties; that a war was easily begun, but discontinued with difficulty; that its commencement and conclusion were not dependent on the same party; that any one, even a coward, might commence hostilities, but that they could be broken off only when the conqueror thought proper; and that he should therefore consult for his interest and that of his kingdom, and not connect his own prosperous circumstances with the ruined fortunes of Jugurtha." To these representations the king mildly answered, "that he desired peace, but felt compassion for the condition of Jugurtha, to whom if similar proposals were made, all would easily be arranged." Metellus, in reply to this request of Bocchus, sent deputies with overtures, of which the king approved some, and rejected others. Thus, in sending messengers to and fro, the time passed away, and the war, according to the consul's desire, was protracted without being advanced.

84. Marius, who, as I said before, had been made consul with great eagerness on the part of the populace, began, though he had always been hostile to the patricians, to inveigh against them, after the people gave him the province of Numidia, with great frequency and violence; he attacked them sometimes individually and sometimes in a body; he said that he had snatched from them the consulship as spoils from vanquished enemies; and uttered other remarks laudatory to himself and offensive to them. Meanwhile he made the provision for the war his chief object; he asked for reinforcements for the legions; he sent for auxiliaries from foreign states, kings, and allies; he also en-

negotio abnuere audebat; ceterum supplementum etiam laetus decreverat, quia neque plebi militia volenti⁷⁹² putabatur et Marius aut belli usum aut studia vulgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata; tanta libido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque praeda locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum, alia hujusmodi animis trahebant,⁷⁹³ et eos non paulum oratione sua Marius arrederat. Nam postquam omnibus, quae postulaverat, decretis milites scribere vult, hortandi causa, simul et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitantem, contionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit:

85. 'Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non iisdem artibus imperium a vobis petere et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere; primo industrios, supplices, modicos esse, dein per ignaviam et superbiam aetatem agere. Sed mihi contra ea videtur; nam⁷⁹⁴ quo pluris est universa res publica quam consulatus aut praetura, eo majore cura illam administrari quam haec peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo vestro beneficio⁷⁹⁵ negotii sustineam. Bellum parare simul et aerario parcere, cogere ad militiam eos, quos nolis offendere, domi forisque omnia curare, et ea agere inter invidios, occurrentes, factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius est.⁷⁹⁶ Ad hoc, alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum fortia facta, cognatorum et affinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia haec praesidio adsunt; mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est virtute et innocentia tutari; nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intellego, Quirites, omnium ora in me conversa esse, aequos bonosque favere, quippe mea bene facta rei publicae procedunt,⁷⁹⁷ nobilitatem locum invadendi quaerere. Quo mihi acrius adnitendum est, uti neque vos capiamini et illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui, ut omnes labores, pericula consueta habeam. Quae ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti accepta mercede deseram, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere; mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optimis artibus egi, bene facere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit.⁷⁹⁸ Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis, quam rem nobilitas aegerrime tulit. Quaeso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutari melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiae⁷⁹⁹ ac multarum imaginum et nullius stipendii, scilicet ut in tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii sui. Ita plerumque evenit, ut quem vos imperatorem jussistis, is sibi imperatorem alium quaerat. Atque ego scio, Quirites, qui, postquam consules facti sunt, acta majorum et Graecorum militaria praecepta legere coeperint; praeposteri homines: nam gerere quam fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est.⁸⁰⁰ Comparete nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quae illi audire et legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quae illi litteris, ea ego militando didici. Nunc vos existimate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam, ego illorum ignaviam; mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur. Quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existimo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum.⁸⁰¹ Ac si jam ex patribus Albini aut Bestiae quaeri posset, mense an illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi sese liberos, quam optimos voluisse? Quodsi jure me despiciunt, faciant⁸⁰² idem majoribus suis, quibus uti mihi ex virtute nobilitas coepit. Invident honori meo; ergo invident labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. Nae illi falsi sunt, qui diversissimas res pariter expectant, ignaviae voluptatem et praemia virtutis. Atque etiam, quum apud vos aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores suos extollunt, eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese

listed all the bravest men from Latium, most of whom were known to him by actual service, some few only by report, and induced, by earnest solicitation, even discharged veterans¹ to accompany him. Nor did the senate, though adverse to him, dare to refuse him any thing; the additions to the legions they had voted even with eagerness, because military service was thought to be unpopular with the multitude, and Marius seemed likely to lose either the means of warfare,² or the favor of the people. But such expectations were entertained in vain, so ardent was the desire of going with Marius that had seized on almost all. Every one cherished the fancy³ that he should return home laden with spoil, crowned with victory, or attended with some similar good fortune. Marius himself, too, had excited them in no small degree by a speech; for, when all that he required was granted, and he was anxious to commence a levy, he called an assembly of the people, as well to encourage them to enlist, as to inveigh, according to his practice, against the nobility. He spoke, on the occasion, as follows:

85. "I am aware, my fellow-citizens, that most men do not appear as candidates before you for an office, and conduct themselves in it when they have obtained it, under the same character; that they are at first industrious, humble, and modest, but afterward lead a life of indolence and arrogance. But to me it appears that the contrary should be the case; for as the whole state is of greater consequence than the single office of consulate or praetorship, so its interests ought to be managed¹ with greater solicitude than these magistracies are sought. Nor am I insensible how great a weight of business I am, through your kindness, called upon to sustain. To make preparations for war, and yet to be sparing of the treasury; to press those into the service whom I am unwilling to offend; to direct every thing at home and abroad; and to discharge these duties when surrounded by the envious, the hostile,² and the factious, is more difficult, my fellow-citizens, than is generally imagined. In addition to this, if others fail in their undertakings, their ancient rank, the heroic actions of their ancestors, the power of their relatives and connections, their numerous dependents, are all at hand to support them; but as for me, my whole hopes rest upon myself, which I must sustain by good conduct and integrity; for all other means are unavailing.

"I am sensible, too, my fellow-citizens, that the eyes of all men are turned upon me; that the just and good favor me, as my services are beneficial to the state, but that the nobility seek occasion to attack me. I must therefore use the greater exertion, that you may not be deceived in me,³ and that their views may be rendered abortive. I have led such a life, indeed, from my boyhood to the present hour, that I am familiar with every kind of toil and danger; and that exertion, which, before your kindness to me, I practiced gratuitously, it is not my intention to relax after having received my reward. For those who have pretended to be men of worth only to secure their election,⁴ it may be difficult to conduct themselves properly in office; but to me, who have passed my whole life in the most honorable occupations, to act well has from habit become nature.

" You have commanded me to carry on the war against Jugurtha; a commission at which the nobility are highly offended. Consider with yourselves, I pray you, whether it would be a change for the better, if you were to send to this, or to any other such appointment, one of yonder crowd of nobles,⁵ a man of ancient family, of innumerable statues, and of no military experience; in order, forsooth, that in so important an office, and being ignorant of every thing connected with it, he may exhibit hurry and trepidation, and select one of the people to instruct him in his duty. For so it generally happens, that he whom you have chosen to direct, seeks another to direct him. I

putant. Quod contra est; nam quanto vita illorum praeclarius, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita se res habet: majorum gloria posteris quasi lumen est, neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei⁸⁰³ ego inopiam fateor. Quirites, verum id, quod multo praeclarius est, meamet⁸⁰⁴ facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte, quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena virtute sibi arrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt, scilicet quia imagines non habeo et quia mihi nova nobilitas est, quam certe peperisse melius est quam acceptam corrupisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam mihi respondere velint, abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. Sed in maximo vestro beneficio, quum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem ex animi mei sententia nulla oratio laedere potest; quippe vera necesse est bene praedicet, falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed quoniam vestra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem et maximum negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum poenitendum sit. Non possum fidei causa imagines neque triumphos aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare, at, si res postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona,⁸⁰⁵ praeterea cicatrices adverso corpore. Hae sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quae egomet plurimis laboribus et periculis quaesivi. Non sunt composita mea verba; parum id facio;⁸⁰⁶ ipsa se virtus satis ostendit; illis artificio opus est, ut turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras Graecas didici; parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt.⁸⁰⁷ At illa multo optima rei publicae doctus sum, hostem ferire, praesidia agitare,⁸⁰⁸ nihil metuere nisi turpem famam, hiemem et aestatem juxta pati, humi requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego praeceptis milites hortabor, neque illos arte colam,⁸⁰⁹ me opulenter, neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque quum tute per mollitiem agas, exercitum supplicio cogere,⁸¹⁰ id est dominum, non imperatorem esse. Haec atque talia majores vestri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere.⁸¹¹ Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum aemulos contemnit, et omnes honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quae licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram; virtutem non reliquere, neque poterant; ea sola neque datur dono neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii coquum quam villicum habeo.⁸¹² Quae mihi libet confiteri, Quirites; nam ex parente meo et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi, munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae quam divitiarum esse; arma, non suppellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo quod juvat, quod carum aestimant, id semper faciant;⁸¹³ ament, potent, ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimae parti corporis; sudorem, pulverem et alia talia relinquunt nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum noti est ita. Nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt.⁸¹⁴ Ita injustissime luxuria et ignavia, pessimae artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil officiunt, rei publicae innoxiae cladi sunt.⁸¹⁵ Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de re publica loquar. Primum omnium de Numidia bonum habete animum, Quirites; nam quae ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removit, ⁸¹⁶ avaritiam, imperitiam atque superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens, sed mehercule magis strenuus quam felix; nam magna pars ejus avaritia aut temeritate ducum attrita est.⁸¹⁷ Quamobrem vos, quibus militaris aetas est, adnitimini mecum et capessite rem publicam,⁸¹⁸ neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in proelio consultor idem⁸¹⁹ et socius periculi vobiscum adero, meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram.⁸²⁰ Et profecto dis juvantibus omnia matura sunt, victoria, praeda, laus; quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnes bonos rei publicae subvenire decebat.⁸²¹ Etenim nemo ignavia immortalis factus est, neque quisquam parens liberis, uti aeterni forent, optavit, magis, uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto.'

know some, my fellow-citizens, who, after they have been elected⁶ consuls, have begun to read the acts of their ancestors, and the military precepts of the Greeks; persons who invert the order of things ;⁷ for though to discharge the duties of the office⁸ is posterior, in point of time, to election, it is, in reality and practical importance, prior to it.

" Compare now, my fellow-citizens, me, who am a new man, with those haughty nobles.⁹ What they have but heard or read, I have witnessed or performed. What they have learned from books, I have acquired in the field; and whether deeds or words are of greater estimation, it is for you to consider. They despise my humbleness of birth; I condemn their imbecility. My condition¹⁰ is made an objection to me; their misconduct is a reproach to them. The circumstance of birth,¹¹ indeed, I consider as one and the same to all; but think that he who best exerts himself is the noblest. And could it be inquired of the fathers,¹² of Albinus and Bestia, whether they would rather be the parents of them or of me, what do you suppose that they would answer, but that they would wish the most deserving to be their offspring? If the patricians justly despise me, let them also despise their own ancestors, whose nobility, like mine, had its origin in merit. They envy me the honor that I have received; let them also envy me the toils, the abstinence,¹³ and the perils, by which I obtained that honor. But they, men eaten up with pride, live as if they disdained all the distinctions that you can bestow, and yet sue for those distinctions as if they had lived so as to merit them. Yet those are assuredly deceived, who expect to enjoy, at the same time, things so incompatible as the pleasures of indolence and the rewards of honorable exertion.¹⁴"

When they speak before you, or in the senate, they occupy the greatest part of their orations in extolling their ancestors;¹⁵ for, they suppose that, by recounting the heroic deeds of their forefathers, they render themselves more illustrious. But the reverse of this is the case; for the more glorious were the lives of their ancestors, the more scandalous is their own inaction. The truth, indeed, is plainly this, that the glory of ancestors sheds a light on their posterity,¹⁶ which suffers neither their virtues nor their vices to be concealed. Of this light, my fellow-citizens, I have no share; but I have, what confers much more distinction, the power of relating my own actions. Consider, then, how unreasonable they are; what they claim to themselves for the merit of others, they will not grant to me for my own; alleging, forsooth, that I have no statues, and that my distinction is newly-acquired; but it is surely better to have acquired such distinction myself than to bring disgrace on that received from others.

"I am not ignorant, that, if they were inclined to reply to me, they would make an abundant display of eloquent and artful language. Yet, since they attack both you and myself, on occasion of the great favor which you have conferred upon me, I did not think proper to be silent before them, lest any one should construe my forbearance into a consciousness of demerit. As for myself, indeed, nothing that is said of me, I feel assured,¹⁷ can do me injury; for what is true, must of necessity speak in my favor; what is false, my life and character will refute. But since your judgment, in bestowing on me so distinguished an honor and so important a trust, is called in question, consider, I beseech you, again and again, whether you are likely to repent of what you have done. I can not, to raise your confidence in me, boast of the statues, or triumphs, or consulships of my ancestors; but, if it be thought necessary, I can show you spears,¹⁸ a banner,¹⁹ caparisons²⁰ for horses, and other military rewards; besides the scars of wounds on my breast. These are my statues; this is my nobility; honors, not left, like theirs, by inheritance, but acquired amid innumerable toils and dangers.

"My speech, they say, is inelegant; but that I have ever thought of little importance. Worth sufficiently displays itself; it is for my detractors to use studied language, that they may palliate base

conduct by plausible words. Nor have I learned Greek; for I had no wish to acquire a tongue that adds nothing to the valor²¹ of those who teach it. But I have gained other accomplishments, such as are of the utmost benefit to a state; I have learned to strike down an enemy; to be vigilant at my post;²² to fear nothing but dishonor; to bear cold and heat with equal endurance; to sleep on the ground; and to sustain at the same time hunger and fatigue. And with such rules of conduct I shall stimulate my soldiers, not treating them with rigor and myself with indulgence, nor making their toils my glory. Such a mode of commanding is at once useful to the state, and becoming to a citizen. For to coerce your troops with severity, while you yourself live at ease, is to be a tyrant, not a general."

It was by conduct such as this, my fellow-citizens, that your ancestors made themselves and the republic renowned. Our nobility, relying on their forefathers' merits, though totally different from them in conduct, disparage us who emulate their virtues; and demand of you every public honor, as due, not to their personal merit, but to their high rank. Arrogant pretenders, and utterly unreasonable! For though their ancestors left them all that was at their disposal, their riches, their statues, and their glorious names, they left them not, nor could leave them, their virtue; which alone, of all their possessions, could neither be communicated nor received.

"They reproach me as being mean, and of unpolished manners, because, forsooth, I have but little skill in arranging an entertainment, and keep no actor,²³ nor give my cook²⁴ higher wages than my steward; all which charges I must, indeed, acknowledge to be just; for I learned from my father, and other venerable characters, that vain indulgences belong to women, and labor to men; that glory, rather than wealth, should be the object of the virtuous; and that arms and armor, not household furniture, are marks of honor. But let the nobility, if they please, pursue what is delightful and dear to them; let them devote themselves to licentiousness and luxury; let them pass their age as they have passed their youth, in revelry and feasting, the slaves of gluttony and debauchery; but let them leave the toil and dust of the field, and other such matters, to us, to whom they are more grateful than banquets. This, however, they will not do; for when these most infamous of men have disgraced themselves by every species of turpitude, they proceed to claim the distinctions due to the most honorable. Thus it most unjustly happens that luxury and indolence, the most disgraceful of vices, are harmless to those who indulge in them, and fatal only to the innocent commonwealth."

As I have now replied to my calumniators, as far as my own character required, though not so fully as their flagitiousness deserved, I shall add a few words on the state of public affairs. In the first place, my fellow-citizens, be of good courage with regard to Numidia; for all that hitherto protected Jugurtha, avarice, inexperience, and arrogance,²⁵ you have entirely removed. There is an army in it, too, which is well acquainted with the country, though, assuredly, more brave than fortunate; for a great part of it has been destroyed by the avarice or rashness of its commanders. Such of you, then, as are of military age, co-operate with me, and support the cause of your country; and let no discouragement, from the ill-fortune of others, or the arrogance of the late commanders, affect any one of you. I myself shall be with you, both on the march and in the battle, both to direct your movements and to share your dangers. I shall treat you and myself on every occasion alike; and, doubtless, with the aid of the gods, all good things, victory, spoil, and glory, are ready to our hands; though, even if they were doubtful or distant, it would still become every able citizen to act in defense of his country. For no man, by slothful timidity, has escaped the lot of mortals;²⁶ nor has any parent wished for his children²⁷ that they might live forever, but rather that they might act in life with virtue and honor. I would add more, my fellow-citizens, if words could give courage to the faint-hearted; to the brave I think that I have said enough."

86. Hujuscemodi oratione habita Marius, postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere commatu, stipendio, armis aliisque utilibus naves onerat; cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque libido erat, capite censos plerosque.⁸²² Id factum alii inopia bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant, quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat, et homini potentiam quaerenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus cui neque sua curae,⁸²³ quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum aliquanto⁸²⁴ majore numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus paucis diebus Uticam⁸²⁵ advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato; nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat, ne videret ea, quae audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

87. Sed consul expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum⁸²⁶ proficiscitur; omnia ibi capta militibus donat, dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita aggreditur; proelia multa, celerura levia, alia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse,⁸²⁷ videre fugientes capi aut occidi, fortissimum quemque tutissimum, armis libertatem, patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi, gloriam atque divitias quaeri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium aequalis facta. At reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, diversi in locos difficiles abeunt. Ita Jugurthae placuerat speranti mox effusos hostes invadi posse, Romanos sicuti plerosque remoto metu laxius licentiusque futuros.⁸²⁸

88. Metellus interea Romam profectus contra spem⁸²⁹ suam laetissimis animis excipitur, plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter attendere, cognoscere quid boni utrisque aut contra esset, explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias eorum antevenire, nihil apud se remissum neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque et Gaetulos et Jugurtham ex sociis nostris praedas agentes saepe aggressus in itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat.⁸³⁰ Quae postquam gloriosa modo neque belli patrandi⁸³¹ cognovit, statuit urbes, quae viris aut loco pro hostibus et adversum se opportunissimae erant,⁸³² singulas circumvenire; ita Jugurtham aut praesidiis nudatum,⁸³³ si ea pateretur, aut proelio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuntios ad eum saepe miserat, velle populi Romani amicitiam; ne quid ab se hostile timeret.⁸³⁴ Id simulaveritne, quo improvisus gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum est.

86. After having spoken to this effect, Marius, when he found that the minds of the populace were excited, immediately freighted vessels with provisions, pay, arms, and other necessaries, and ordered Aulus Manlius, his lieutenant-general, to set sail with them. He himself, in the mean time, proceeded to enlist soldiers, not after the ancient method, or from the classes,¹ but taking all that were willing to join him, and the greater part from the lowest ranks. Some said that this was done from a scarcity of better men, and others from the consul's desire to pay court² to the poorer class, because it was by that order of men that he had been honored and promoted; and, indeed, to a man grasping at power, the most needy are the most serviceable, persons to whom their property (as they have none) is not an object of care, and to whom every thing lucrative appears honorable. Setting out, accordingly, for Africa, with a somewhat larger force than had been decreed, he arrived in a few days at Utica. The command of the army was resigned to him by Publius Rutilius, Metullus's lieutenant-general; for Metullus himself avoided the sight of Marius, that he might not see what he could not even endure to hear mentioned.

87. Marius, having filled up his legions¹ and auxiliary cohorts, marched into a part of the country which was fertile and abundant in spoil, where, whatever he captured, he gave up to his soldiers. He then attacked such fortresses or towns as were ill defended by nature or with troops, and ventured on several engagements, though only of a light character, in different places. The new recruits, in process of time, began to join in an encounter without fear; they saw that such as fled were taken prisoners or slain; that the bravest were the safest; that liberty, their country, and parents,² are defended, and glory and riches acquired, by arms. Thus the new and old troops soon became as one body, and the courage of all was rendered equal.

The two kings, when they heard of the approach of Marius, retreated, by separate routes, into parts that were difficult of access; a plan which had been proposed by Jugurtha, who hoped that, in a short time, the enemy might be attacked when dispersed over the country, supposing that the Roman soldiers, like the generality of troops, would be less careful and observant of discipline when the fear of danger was removed.

88. Metellus, meanwhile, having taken his departure for Rome, was received there, contrary to his expectation, with the greatest feelings of joy, being equally welcomed, since public prejudice had subsided, by both the people and the patricians.

Marius continued to attend, with equal activity and prudence, to his own affairs and those of the enemy. He observed what would be advantageous, or the contrary, to either party; he watched the movements of the kings, counteracted their intentions and stratagems, and allowed no remissness in his own army, and no security in that of the enemy. He accordingly attacked and dispersed, on several occasions, the Getulians and Jugurtha on their march, as they were carrying off spoil from our allies;¹ and he obliged the king himself, near the town of Cirta, to take flight without his arms.² But finding that such enterprises merely gained him honor, without tending to terminate the war, he resolved on investing, one after another, all the cities, which, by the strength of their garrisons or situation, were best suited either to support the enemy, or to resist himself; so that Jugurtha would either be deprived of his fortresses, if he suffered them to be taken, or be forced to come to an engagement in their defense. As to Bocchus, he had frequently sent messengers to Marius, saying that he desired the friendship of the Roman people, and that the consul need fear no act of hostility from him. But whether he merely dissembled, with a view to attack us unexpectedly with greater effect, or whether, from fickleness of disposition he habitually wavered between

89. Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire, partim vi, alia metu aut praemia ostentando avertere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, existimans Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum.⁸³⁵ Sed ubi illum procul abesse et aliis negotiis intentum accepit, majora et magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est.⁸³⁶ Erat inter ingentes solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa,⁸³⁷ cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes,⁸³⁸ levi imperio et ob ea fidelissimi habebantur, muniti adversum hostes non moenibus modo et armis atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam praeter oppido propinqua alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus, quorum⁸³⁹ vis sicuti omnium ferarum inopia cibi acrior; ad hoc natura serpentium ipsa perniciose siti magis quam alia re accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxima cupido invaserat, quum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur, et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque, nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a moenibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo atque ea intra oppidum jugi aqua;⁸⁴⁰ cetera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique et in omni Africa, quae procul a mari incultius agebat,⁸⁴¹ eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur et neque salem neque alia irritamenta gulae quaerebant; cibus illis adversum famem atque sitim, non libidini neque luxuriae erat.

90. Igitur consul omnibus exploratis, credo dis fretus (nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat, quippe etiam frumenti inopia temptabatur,⁸⁴² quod Numidae pabulo pecoris magis quam arvo student,⁸⁴³ et quodcumque natum fuerat jussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum vacuus ea tempestate, nam aestatis extremum erat), tamen pro rei copia satis providenter exornat;⁸⁴⁴ pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus praedae fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum attribuit, A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Lares, ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire jubet dicitque se praedabundum, post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occultato pergat ad flumen Tanam.

91. Ceterum in itinere cotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas⁸⁴⁵ aequaliter distribuerat, et ex coriis utres uti fierent curabat; simul et inopiam frumenti lenire et ignaris omnibus parare, quae mox usui forent; denique sexto die, quum ad flumen ventum est, maxima vis utrius effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positus, milites cibum capere atque, uti simul cum occasu solis egredierentur, paratos esse jubet, omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur noctemque totam itinere facto consedit; idem proxima

war and peace, was never fairly ascertained.

89. Marius, as he had determined, proceeded to attack the fortified towns and places of strength, and to detach them, partly by force, and partly by threats or offers of reward, from the enemy. His operations in this way, however, were at first but moderate; for he expected that Jugurtha, to protect his subjects, would soon come to an engagement. But finding that he kept at a distance, and was intent on other affairs, he thought it was time to enter upon something of greater importance and difficulty. Amid the vast deserts there lay a great and strong city, named Capsa, the founder of which is said to have been the Libyan Hercules.¹ Its inhabitants were exempted from taxes by Jugurtha, and under mild government, and were consequently regarded as the most faithful of his subjects. They were defended against enemies, not only by walls, magazines of arms, and bodies of troops, but still more by the difficulty of approaching them; for, except the parts adjoining the walls, all the surrounding country is waste and uncultivated, destitute of water, and infested with serpents, whose fierceness, like that of other wild animals, is aggravated by want of food; while the venom of such reptiles, deadly in itself, is exacerbated by nothing so much as by thirst. Of this place Marius conceived a strong desire² to make himself master, not only from its importance for the war, but because its capture seemed an enterprise of difficulty; for Metellus had gained great glory by taking Thala, a town similarly situated and fortified; except that at Thala there were several springs near the walls, while the people of Capsa had only one running stream, and that within the town, all the water which they used beside being rain-water. But this scarcity, both here and in other parts of Africa, where the people live rudely and remote from the sea, was endured with the greater ease, as the inhabitants subsist mostly on milk and wild beasts' flesh,³ and use no salt, or other provocatives of appetite, their food being merely to satisfy hunger or thirst, and not to encourage luxury or excess.

90. The consul,¹ having made all necessary investigations, and relying, I suppose, on the gods (for against such difficulties he could not well provide by his own forethought, as he was also straitened for want of corn, because the Numidians apply more to pasturage than agriculture, and had conveyed, by the king's order, whatever corn had been raised into fortified places, while the ground at the time, it being the end of summer, was parched and destitute of vegetation), yet, under the circumstances, conducted his arrangements with great prudence. All the cattle, which had been taken for some days previous, he consigned to the care² of the auxiliary cavalry; and directed Aulus Manlius, his lieutenant-general, to proceed with the light-armed cohorts to the town of Lares,³ where he had deposited provisions and pay for the army, telling him that, after plundering the country, he would join him there in a few days. Having by this means concealed his real design, he proceeded toward the river Tana.

91. On his march he distributed daily, to each division of the infantry and cavalry, an equal portion of the cattle, and gave orders that water-bottles should be made of their hides; thus compensating, at once, for the scarcity of corn, and providing, while all remained ignorant of his intention, utensils which would soon be of service. At the end of six days, accordingly, when he arrived at the river, a large number of bottles had been prepared. Having pitched his camp, with a slight fortification, he ordered his men to take refreshment, and to be ready to resume their march at

facit, dein tertia multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumulosum ab Capsa non amplius duum⁸⁴⁶ milium intervallo; ibique quam occultissime potest, cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed ubi dies coepit et Numidae nihil hostile metuentes, multi oppido egressi, repente omnem equitatum et cum his velocissimos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam et portas obsidere jubet; deinde ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites praedari sinere. Quae postquam oppidani cognovere, res trepidae,⁸⁴⁷ metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potestate, coegere, uti deditionem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum, Numidae puberes interfecti, alii omnes venundati, praeda militibus divisa. Id facinus contra jus belli non avaritia neque scelere consulis admissum, sed quia locus Jugurthae opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum ante, neque beneficio neque metu coercitum.⁸⁴⁸

92. Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit, magnus et clarus antea, major atque clarior haberi coepit. Omnia non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur,⁸⁴⁹ milites modesto imperio habiti simul et locupletes ad coelum ferre, Numidae magis quam mortalem timere, postremo omnes, socii atque hostes, credere illi aut mentem divinam esse aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi.⁸⁵⁰ Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergat, pauca repugnantibus Numidis capit, plura deserta propter Capsensium miserias igni corrumpit; luctu atque caede omnia complentur. Denique multis locis potitus ac plerisque exercitu incruento, aliam rem aggreditur non eadem asperitate qua Capsensium,⁸⁵¹ ceterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha, quod Jugurthae Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicta, nam omnia[502] natura velut opere atque consulto praeceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte quam consilio melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis magna vis, et frumenti,⁸⁵² et fons aquae; aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus importunus, iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque praecisum. Vineae cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur; nam quum eae paulo processerant, igni aut lapidibus corrumpebantur, milites neque pro opere consistere propter iniquitatem loci, neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare;⁸⁵³ optimus quisque cadere aut sauciari, ceteris metus augeri.

sunset; and, having laid aside all their baggage, to load themselves and their beasts only with water. As soon as it seemed time, he quitted the camp, and, after marching the whole night,¹ encamped again. The same course he pursued on the following night, and on the third, long before dawn, he reached a hilly spot of ground, not more than two miles distant from Capsa, where he waited, as secretly as possible, with his whole force. But when daylight appeared, and many of the Numidians, having no apprehensions of an enemy, went forth out of the town, he suddenly ordered all the cavalry, and with them the lightest of the infantry, to hasten forward to Capsa, and secure the gates. He himself immediately followed, with the utmost ardor, restraining his men from plunder.

When the inhabitants perceived that the place was surprised, their state of consternation and extreme dread, the suddenness of the calamity, and the consideration that many of their fellow-citizens were without the walls in the power of the enemy, compelled them to surrender. The town, however, was burned; of the Numidians, such as were of adult age, were put to the sword; the rest were sold, and the spoil divided among the soldiers. This severity, in violation of the usages of war, was not adopted from avarice or cruelty in the consul, but was exercised because the place was of great advantage to Jugurtha, and difficult of access to us, while the inhabitants were a fickle and faithless race, to be influenced neither by kindness nor by terror.

92. When Marius had achieved so important an enterprise, without any loss to his troops, he who was great and honored before became still greater and still more honored. All his undertakings,¹ however ill-concerted, were regarded as proofs of superior ability; his soldiers, kept under mild discipline, and enriched with spoil, extolled him to the skies; the Numidians dreaded him as some thing more than human; and all, indeed, allies as well as enemies, believed that he was either possessed of supernatural power, or had all things directed for him by the will of the gods.

After his success in this attempt, he proceeded against other towns; a few, where they offered resistance, he took by force; a greater number, deserted in consequence of the wretched fate of Capsa, he destroyed by fire; and the whole country was filled with mourning and slaughter.

Having at length gained possession of many places, and most of them without loss to his army, he turned his thoughts to another enterprise, which, though not of the same desperate character as that at Capsa, was yet not less difficult of execution.² Not far from the river Mulucha, which divided the kingdoms of Jugurtha and Bocchus, there stood, in the midst of a plain,³ a rocky hill, sufficiently broad at the top for a small fort; it rose to a vast height, and had but one narrow ascent left open, the whole of it being as steep by nature as it could have been rendered by labor and art. This place, as there were treasures of the king in it, Marius directed his utmost efforts to take.⁴ But his views were furthered more by fortune than by his own contrivance. In the fortress there were plenty of men and arms for its defense, as well as an abundant store of provisions, and a spring of water; while its situation was unfavorable for raising mounds, towers, and other works; and the road to it, used by its inhabitants, was extremely steep, with a precipice on either side. The vineae were brought up with great danger, and without effect; for, before they were advanced any considerable distance, they were destroyed with fire or stones. And from the difficulties of the ground, the soldiers could neither stand in front of the works, nor act among the vineae,⁵ without danger; the boldest of them were killed or wounded, and the fear of the rest increased.

93. At Marius, multis diebus et laboribus consumptis, anxius trahere cum animo suo, omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua saepe prospere usus fuerat. Quae quum multos dies noctesque aestuans⁸⁵⁵ agitaret, forte quidam Ligus,⁸⁵⁶ ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aequatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod aversum proeliantibus erat, animum advertit inter saxa repentes cochleas; quarum quum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paulatim prope ad summum montis egressus est.⁸⁵⁷ Ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more humani ingenii cupido difficilia faciundi animum vertit.⁸⁵⁸ Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa paulum modo prona, dein flexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert; cujus ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus castelli planitiem perscribit,⁸⁵⁹ quod cuncti Numidae intenti proeliantibus aderant.⁸⁶⁰ Exploratis omnibus, quae mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur, non temere, uti escenderat, sed temptans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium prope adit, acta edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse escenderat, castellum temptet; pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa ejus cognitum, ex praesentibus misit;⁸⁶¹ quorum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nuntiavere. Consul animus tamen paulum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero quinque quam velocissimos delegit,⁸⁶² et cum his, praesidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones, omnesque Liguri parere jubet, et ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

94. Sed ubi ex praecepto tempus visum, paratis compositisque omnibus ad locum pergat.⁸⁶³ Ceterum illi, qui ascensuri erant, praedocti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret;⁸⁶⁴ super terga gladii et scuta, verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul et offensa quo levius streperent.⁸⁶⁵ Igitur praegrediens Ligus saxa, et si quae vetustate radices eminebant,⁸⁶⁶ laqueis vinciebat, quibus allevati milites facilius escenderent, interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu, ubi paulo asperior ascensus erat, singulos prae se inermes mittere, deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi, quae dubia nisu videbantur, potissimum temptare,⁸⁶⁷ ac saepius eadem ascendens descendensque, deinstatim digrediens,⁸⁶⁸ ceteris audaciam addere. Igitur diu multumque fatigati tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte, quod omnes sicuti aliis diebus adversum hostes aderant. Marius, ubi ex nuntiis, quae Ligus egerat, cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos proelio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine acta succedere et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidae saepe antea vineis Romanorum subversis, item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur; sed pro muro dies noctesque agitare, maledicere Romanis ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris Jugurthae servitium minari, secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim omnibus, Romanis hostibusque, proelio intentis, magna utrimque vi pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere; ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere, deinde uti quisque muro proximus erat, postremo cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere ac plerosque tanturamodo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriae certantes murum petere, neque quemquam omnium praeda morari. Sic forte correcta Marii temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit.⁸⁶⁹

93. Marius having thus wasted much time and labor, began seriously to consider whether he should abandon the attempt as impracticable, or wait for the aid of Fortune, whom he had so often found favorable. While he was revolving the matter in his mind, during several days and nights, in a state of much doubt and perplexity, it happened that a certain Ligurian, a private soldier in the auxiliary cohorts,1 having gone out of the camp to fetch water, observed, near that part of the fort which was furthest from the besiegers, some snails crawling among the rocks, of which, when he had picked up one or two, and afterward more, he gradually proceeded, in his eagerness for collecting them, almost to the top of the hill. When he found this part deserted, a desire, incident to the human mind, of seeing what he had never seen,2 took violent possession of him. A large oak chanced to grow out among the rocks, at first, for a short distance, horizontally,3 and then, as nature directs all vegetables,4 turning and shooting upward. Raising himself sometimes on the boughs of this tree, and sometimes on the projecting rocks, the Ligurian, as all the Numidians were intently watching the besiegers, took a full survey of the platform of the fortress. Having observed whatever he thought it would afterward prove useful to know, he descended the same way, not unobservantly, as he had gone up, but exploring and noticing all the peculiarities of the path. He then hastened to Marius, acquainted him with what he had done, and urged him to attack the fort on that side where he had ascended, offering himself to lead the way and the attempt. Marius sent some of those about him, along with the Ligurian, to examine the practicability of his proposal, who, according to their several dispositions, reported the affair as difficult or easy. The consul's hopes, however, were somewhat encouraged; and he accordingly selected, from his band of trumpeters and bugle-men, five of the most nimble, and with them four centurions for a guard;5 all of whom he directed to obey the Ligurian, appointing the next day for commencing the experiment.

94. When, according to their instructions, it seemed time to set out, the Ligurian, after preparing and arranging every thing, proceeded to the place of ascent. Those who commanded the centuries,1 being previously instructed by the guide, had changed their arms and dress, having their heads and feet bare, that their view upward, and their progress among the rocks, might be less impeded;2 their swords were slung behind them, as well as their shields, which were Numidian, and made of leather, both for the sake of lightness, and in order that, if struck against any object, they might make less noise. The Ligurian went first, and tied to the rocks, and whatever roots of trees projected through age, a number of ropes, by which the soldiers supporting themselves might climb with the greatest ease. Such as were timorous, from the extraordinary nature of the path, he sometimes pulled up by the hand; when the ascent was extremely rugged, he sent them on singly before him without their arms, which he then carried up after them; whatever parts appeared unsafe,3 he first tried them himself, and, by going up and down repeatedly in the same place, and then standing aside, he inspired the rest with courage to proceed. At length, after uninterrupted and harassing exertion they reached the fortress, which, on that side, was undefended, for all the occupants, as on other days, were intent on the enemy in the opposite quarter.

Though Marius had kept the attention of the Numidians, during the whole day, fixed on his attacks, yet, when he heard from his scouts how the Ligurian had succeeded, he animated his soldiers to fresh exertions, and he himself, advancing beyond the vineæ, and causing a testudo to be formed,4 came up close under the walls, annoying the enemy, at the same time, with his engines, archers, and slingers, from a distance.

But the Numidians, having often before overturned and burned the vineæ of the Romans, no lon-

95. Ceterum dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum magno equitatu in castra venit, quos⁸⁷⁰ uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret, Romae relictus erat. Sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit,⁸⁷¹ idoneum visum est de natura cultuque ejus paucis dicere; neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus, et L. Sisenna optime et diligentissime omnium, qui eas res dixere, persecutus,⁸⁷² parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur ulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit, familia prope jam extincta majorum ignavia,⁸⁷³ litteris Graecis atque Latinis juxta, atque doctissime,⁸⁷⁴ eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriae cupidior, otio luxurioso esse; tamen, ab negotiis nunquam voluptas remorata, nisi quod⁸⁷⁵ de uxore potuit honestius consuli; facundus, callidus et amicitia facilis;⁸⁷⁶ ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis,⁸⁷⁷ multarum rerum ac maxime pecuniae largitor. Atque illi, felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam, nunquam super industriam fortuna fuit,⁸⁷⁸ multique dubitare, fortior an felicior esset; nam postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat magis an pigeat disserere.

96. Igitur Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus⁸⁷⁹ factus est. Ad hoc milites benigne appellare, multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere, sed ea properantius quam aes mutuum reddere, ipse ab nullo repetere, magis id laborare,⁸⁸⁰ ut illi quam plurimi deberent, joca atque seria cum humillimis agere, in operibus, in agmine atque ad vigiliis multus adesse,⁸⁸¹ neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis aut cujusquam boni famam laedere, tantummodo neque consilio neque manu priorem alium pati, plerosque antevenire. Quis rebus et artibus brevi Mario militibusque carissimus factus.

ger confined themselves within the fortress, but spent day and night before the walls, railing at the Romans, upbraiding Marius with madness, threatening our soldiers with being made slaves to Jugurtha, and exhibiting the utmost audacity on account of their successful defense. In the mean time, while both the Romans and Numidians were engaged in the struggle, the one side contending for glory and dominion, the other for their very existence, the trumpets suddenly sounded a blast in the rear of the enemy, at which the women and children, who had gone out to view the contest, were the first to flee; next those who were nearest to the wall, and at length the whole of the Numidians, armed and unarmed, retreated within the fort. When this had happened, the Romans pressed upon the enemy with increased boldness, dispersing them, and at first only wounding the greater part, but afterward making their way over the bodies of those who fell, thirsting for glory, and striving who should be first to reach the wall; not a single individual being detained by the plunder. Thus the rashness of Marius, rendered successful by fortune, procured him renown from his very error.

95. During the progress of this affair, Lucius Sylla, Marius's quaestor, arrived in the camp with a numerous body of cavalry, which he had been left at Rome to raise among the Latins and allies.

Of so eminent a man, since my subject brings him to my notice, I think it proper to give a brief account of the character and manners; for I shall in no other place allude to his affairs;1 and Lucius Sisenna,2 who has treated that subject the most ably and accurately of all writers, seems to me to have spoken with too little freedom. Sylla, then, was of patrician descent, but of a family almost sunk in obscurity by the degeneracy of his forefathers. He was skilled, equally and profoundly, in Greek and Roman literature. He was a man of large mind, fond of pleasure, but fonder of glory. His leisure was spent in luxurious gratifications, but pleasure never kept him from his duties, except that he might have acted more for his honor with regard to his wife.3 He was eloquent and subtle, and lived on the easiest terms with his friends.4 His depth of thought in disguising his intentions, was incredible; he was liberal of most things, but especially of money. And though he was the most fortunate5 of all men before his victory in the civil war, yet his fortune was never beyond his desert;6 and many have expressed a doubt whether his success or his merit were the greater. As to his subsequent acts, I know not whether more of shame or of regret must be felt at the recital of them.

96. When Sylla came with his cavalry into Africa, as has just been stated, and arrived at the camp of Marius, though he had hitherto been unskilled and undisciplined in the art of war, he became, in a short time, the most expert of the whole army. He was besides affable to the soldiers; he conferred favors on many at their request, and on others of his own accord, and was reluctant to receive any in return. But he repaid other obligations more readily than those of a pecuniary nature; he himself demanded repayment from no one; but rather made it his object that as many as possible should be indebted to him. He conversed, jocosely as well as seriously, with the humblest of the soldiers; he was their frequent companion at their works, on the march, and on guard. Nor did he ever, as is usual with depraved ambition, attempt to injure the character of the consul, or of any deserving person. His sole aim, whether in the council or the field, was to suffer none to excel him; to most he was superior. By such conduct he soon became a favorite both with Marius and with the army.

97. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utiles, simul et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuntios mittit, quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret, proelii faciundi tempus adesse. Quem ubi cunctari accepit et dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere,⁸⁸² rursus, uti antea, proximos ejus donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut integris suis finibus bellum compositum foret. Eo praemio illectus Boechus cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marius jam in hiberna proficiscentem, vix decima parte die⁸⁸³ reliqua, invadunt, rati noctem, quae jam aderat, et victis sibi munimento fore et, si vicissent, nullo impedimento,⁸⁸⁴ quia locorum scientes erant, contra Romania utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem fore. Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant⁸⁸⁵ et, priusquam exercitus aut instrui aut sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum⁸⁸⁶ aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie neque ullo more proelii, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros concurrunt; qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant aut capientes alios ab hostibus defensabant, pars equos ascendere, obviam ire hostibus, pugna latrocinio⁸⁸⁷ magis quam proelio similis fieri, sine signis, sine ordinibus equites peditesque permixti; caedere alios, alios obtruncare;⁸⁸⁸ multos, contra adversos acerrime pugnantes, ab tergo circumvenire; neque virtus neque arma satis tegere, quod hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi erant; denique Romani veteres novique et ob ea⁸⁸⁹ scientes belli, si quos locus aut casus conjunxerat, orbis facere, atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

98. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus aut magis quam antea demisso animo fuit, sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis quam familiarissimis paraverat, vagari passim, ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostes, ubi confertissimi obstiterant, invadere; manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare, conturbatis omnibus, non poterat. Jamque dies consumptus erat, quum tamen barbari nihil remittere,⁸⁹⁰ atque, uti reges praeceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, colles duos propinquos inter se occupat, quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquae magnus erat, alter usui opportunus, quia magna parte editus et praeceps pauca munimenta quaerebat.⁸⁹¹ Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet; ipse paulatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus conturbatis,⁸⁹² in unum contrahit, dein cunctos pleno gradu⁸⁹³ in collem subducit. Ita reges loci difficultate coacti proelio deterrentur, neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato, effusi consedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari more suo laetari, exultare, strepere vocibus, et ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugere, ut pro⁸⁹⁴ victoribus egere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia visa magnoque hortamento erant.

97. Jugurtha, after he had lost the city of Capsa, and other strong and important places, as well as a vast sum of money, dispatched messengers to Bocchus, requesting him to bring his forces into Numidia as soon as possible, and stating that the time for giving battle was at hand. But finding that he hesitated, and was balancing the inducements to peace and war, he again corrupted his confidants, as on a previous occasion, with presents, and promised the Moor himself a third part of Numidia, should either the Romans be driven from Africa, or the war brought to an end without any diminution of his own territories. Being allured by this offer, Bocchus joined Jugurtha with a large force.

The armies of the kings being thus united, they attacked Marius, on his march to his winter quarters, when scarcely a tenth part of the day remained,¹ expecting that the night, which was now coming on, would be a shelter to them if they were beaten, and no impediment if they should conquer, as they were well acquainted with the country, while either result would be worse for the Romans in the dark. At the very moment, accordingly, that Marius heard from various quarters² of the enemy's approach, the enemy themselves were upon him, and before the troops could either form themselves or collect the baggage, before they could receive even a signal or an order, the Moorish and Getulian horse, not in line, or any regular array of battle, but in separate bodies, as chance had united them, rushed furiously on our men; who, though all struck with a panic, yet, calling to mind what they had done on former occasions, either seized their arms, or protected those who were looking for theirs, while some, springing on their horses, advanced against the enemy. But the whole conflict was more like a rencounter with robbers than a battle; the horse and foot of the enemy, mingled together without standards or order, wounded some of our men, and cut down others, and surprised many in the rear while fighting stoutly with those in front; neither valor nor arms were a sufficient defense, the enemy being superior in numbers, and covering the field on all sides. At last the Roman veterans, who were necessarily well experienced in war,³ formed themselves, wherever the nature of the ground or chance allowed them to unite, in circular bodies, and thus secured on every side, and regularly drawn up, withstood the attacks of the enemy.

98. Marius, in this desperate emergency, was not more alarmed or disheartened than on any previous occasion, but rode about with his troop of cavalry, which he had formed of his bravest soldiers rather than his nearest friends, in every quarter of the field, sometimes supporting his own men when giving way, sometimes charging the enemy where they were thickest, and doing service to his troops with his sword, since, in the general confusion, he was unable to command with his voice.

The day had now closed, yet the barbarians abated nothing of their impetuosity, but, expecting that the night would be in their favor, pressed forward, as their kings had directed them, with increased violence. Marius, in consequence, resolved upon a measure suited to his circumstances, and, that his men might have a place of retreat, took possession of two hills contiguous to each other, on one of which, too small for a camp, there was an abundant spring of water, while the other, being mostly elevated and steep, and requiring little fortification, was suited for his purpose as a place of encampment. He then ordered Sylla, with a body of cavalry, to take his station for the night on the eminence containing the spring, while he himself collected his scattered troops by degrees, the enemy being not less disordered,¹ and led them all at a quick march² up the other hill. Thus the kings, obliged by the strength of the Roman position, were deterred from continuing the combat; yet they did not allow their men to withdraw to a distance, but, surrounding both hills with a large

99. Plurimum vero Marius imperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maximum silentium haberi jubet, ne signa quidem, uti per vigiliis solebant, canere,⁸⁹⁵ deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus et paulo ante somno captis, de improviso vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnes signa canere, milites clamorem tollere atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gaetuli, ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere neque arma capere neque omnino facere aut providere quicquam poterant; ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore, formido quasi vecordia ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique; arma et signa militaria pleraque capta, pluresque eo proelio quam omnibus superioribus interempti. Nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

100. Dein Marius, uti coeperat, in hiberna proficiscitur, quae propter commeatum in oppidis maritimis agere decreverat. Neque tamen victoria socors aut insolens factus, sed pariter atque in conspectu hostium quadrato agmine incedere; Sulla cum equitatu apud dextimos⁸⁹⁶, in sinistra parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortes Ligurum curabat; primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunes locaverat. Perfugae, minime cari⁸⁹⁷ et regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant. Simul consul, quasi nullo imposito,⁸⁹⁸ omnia providere, apud omnes adesse, laudare et increpare merentes. Ipse armatus intentusque, item milites cogebat;⁸⁹⁹ neque secus, atque iter facere, castra munire,⁹⁰⁰ excubitum in porta⁹⁰¹ cohortes ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere, praeterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigiliis ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futurum, quae⁹⁰² imperavisset, quam uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius illoque aliisque temporibus Jugurthini belli pudore magis quam malo⁹⁰³ exercitum coercebat; quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant, pars quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam et alia, quae ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati habuisset; nisi tamen⁹⁰⁴ res publica pariter ac saevissimo imperio bene atque decore gesta.

101. Igitur quarto denique die haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt, qua re hostes adesse intellegitur.⁹⁰⁵ Sed quia diversi redeuntes alius ab alia parte atque omnes idem significabant, consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, adversum omnia paratus, ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatu-

force, encamped without any regular order. Having then lighted numerous fires, the barbarians, after their custom, spent most of the night in merriment, exultation, and tumultuous clamor, the kings, elated at having kept their ground, conducting themselves as conquerors. This scene, plainly visible to the Romans, under cover of the night and on the higher ground, afforded great encouragement to them.

99. Marius, accordingly, deriving much confidence from the imprudence of the enemy, ordered the strictest possible silence to be kept, not allowing even the trumpets, as was usual, to be sounded when the watches were changed; 1 and then, when day approached, and the enemy were fatigued and just sinking to sleep, he ordered the sentinels, with the trumpeters of the auxiliary cohorts, 2 cavalry, and legions, to sound all their instruments at once, and the soldiers, at the same time, to raise a shout, and sally forth from the camp 3 upon the enemy. The Moors and Getulians, suddenly roused by the strange and terrible noise, could neither flee, nor take up arms, could neither act, nor provide for their security, so completely had fear, like a stupor, 4 from the uproar and shouting, the absence of support, the charge of our troops, and the tumult and alarm, seized upon them all. The whole of them were consequently routed and put to flight; most of their arms, and military standards, were taken; and more were killed in this than in all former battles, their escape being impeded by sleep and the sudden alarm.

100. Marius now continued the route, which he had commenced, toward his winter quarters, which, for the convenience of getting provisions, he had determined to fix in the towns on the coast. He was not, however, rendered careless or presumptuous by his victory, but marched with his army in form of a square, 1 just as if he were in sight of the enemy. Sylla, with his cavalry, was on the right; Aulus Manlius, with the slingers and archers, and Ligurian cohorts, had the command on the left; the tribunes, with the light-armed infantry, the consul had placed in the front and rear. The deserters, whose lives were of little value, and who were well acquainted with the country, observed the route of the enemy. Marius himself, too, as if no other were placed in charge, attended to every thing, went through the whole of the troops, and praised or blamed them according to their desert. He was always armed and on the alert, and obliged his men to imitate his example. He fortified his camp with the same caution with which he marched; stationing cohorts of the legions to watch the gates, and the auxiliary cavalry in front, and others upon the rampart and lines. He went round the posts in person, not from suspicion that his orders would not be observed, but that the labor of the soldiers, shared equally by their general, might be endured by them with cheerfulness. 2 Indeed, Marius, as well at this as at other periods of the war, kept his men to their duty rather by the dread of shame 3 than of severity; a course which many said was adopted from desire of popularity, but some thought it was because he took pleasure in toils to which he had been accustomed from his youth, and in exertions which other men call perfect miseries. The public interest, however, was served with as much efficiency and honor as it could have been under the most rigorous command.

101. At length, on the fourth day of his march, when he was not far from the town of Cirta, his scouts suddenly made their appearance from all quarters at once; a circumstance by which the enemy was known to be at hand. But as they came in from different points, and all gave the same account, the consul, doubting in what form to draw up his army, made no alteration in it, but

or paries distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus aequ⁹⁰⁶ aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum hostes attigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim et quam maxime confertis equis ipse alique Mauros invadunt,⁹⁰⁷ ceteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites proeliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius ejus adduxerat, neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, affuerant,⁹⁰⁸ postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat, quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis erat. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites convertit;⁹⁰⁹ ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat) exclamat: nostros frustra pugnare paulo ante Marium sua manu interfectum;' simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna satis impigre occiso pedite nostro cruentaverat. Quod ibi milites acceperere, magis atrocitate rei quam fide nuntii terrentur, simulque barbari animos tollere et inperculos Romanos acrius incedere. Jamque paulum ab fuga aberant, quum Sulla, profligatis iis, quos adversum⁹¹⁰ ierat, rediens ab latere Mauris incurrit. Bocchus statim avertitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos et prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit circumventus ab equitibus, dextra sinistra omnibus⁹¹¹ occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus⁹¹² erumpit. Atque interim Marius fugatis equitibus accurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes jam undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi fugere, occidi capi; equi atque viri afflicti, ac multi vulneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati, niti modo, ac statim concidere; postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus, et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.⁹¹³

102. Post ea loci⁹¹⁴ consul haud dubie jam victor pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat.⁹¹⁵ Eo post diem quintum quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, duos quam fidissimos ad eum mitteret, velle de suo et de populi Romani commodo⁹¹⁶ cum iis disserere. Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit⁹¹⁷ verba apud regem facere, uti ingenium aut aversum flecterent aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiae, non aetati, a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujusmodi locutus:

'Rex Bocche, magna nobis laetitia est, quum te talem virum di monuere, uti aliquando pacem quam bellum malles, neu te optimum cum pessimo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares, simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem atque illum sceleratissimum persequi. Ad hoc populo Romano jam a principio melius visum amicos quam servos quaerere; tutiusque rati⁹¹⁸ volentibus quam coactis imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia, primum, quod procul absumus, in quo offensae minimum, gratia par ac si prope adessemus; dein quod parentes abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis neque cuiquam omnium satis fuit. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset: profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quarn mala perpeusus es.⁹¹⁹ Sed quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque

halted where he was, being already prepared for every contingency. Jugurtha's expectations, in consequence, disappointed him; for he had divided his force into four bodies, trusting that one of them, assuredly, would surprise the Romans in the rear. Sylla, meanwhile, with whom they first came in contact, having cheered on his men, charged the Moors, in person and with his officers, with troop after troop of cavalry, in the closest order possible; while the rest of his force, retaining their position, protected themselves against the darts thrown from a distance, and killed such of the enemy as fell into their hands.

While the cavalry was thus engaged, Bocchus, with his infantry, which his son Volux had brought up, and which, from delay on their march, had not been present in the former battle, assailed the Romans in the rear. Marius was at that moment occupied in front, as Jugurtha was there with his largest force, The Numidian king, hearing of the arrival of Bocchus, wheeled secretly about, with a few of his followers, to the infantry, and exclaimed in Latin, which he had learned to speak at Numantia, "that our men were struggling in vain; for that he had just slain Marius with his own hand;" showing, at the same time, his sword besmeared with blood, which he had, indeed, sufficiently stained by vigorously cutting down our infantry. When the soldiers heard this, they felt a shock, though rather at the horror of such an event, than from belief in him who asserted it; the barbarians, on the other hand, assumed fresh courage, and advanced with greater fury on the disheartened Romans, who were just on the point of taking to flight, when Sylla, having routed those to whom he had been opposed, fell upon the Moors in the flank. Bocchus instantly fled. Jugurtha, anxious to support his men, and to secure a victory so nearly won, was surrounded by our cavalry, and all his attendants, right and left, being slain, had to force a way alone, with great difficulty, through the weapons of the enemy. Marius, at the same time, having put to flight the cavalry, came up to support such of his men as he had understood to be giving ground. At last the enemy were defeated in every quarter. The spectacle on the open plains was then frightful; some were pursuing, others fleeing; some were being slain, others captured; men and horses were dashed to the earth; many, who were wounded, could neither flee nor remain at rest, attempting to rise, and instantly falling back; and the whole field, as far as the eye could reach, was strewed with arms and dead bodies, and the intermediate spaces saturated with blood.

102. At length the consul, now indisputably victor, arrived at the town of Cirta, whither he had at first intended to go. To this place, on the fifth day after the second defeat of the barbarians, came messengers from Bocchus, who, in the king's name, requested of Marius to send him two persons in whom he had full confidence, as he wished to confer with them on matters concerning both the interest of the Roman people and his own. Marius immediately dispatched Sylla and Aulus Manlius; who, though they went at the king's invitation, thought proper, notwithstanding, to address him first, in the hope of altering his sentiments, if he were unfavorable to peace, or of strengthening his inclination, if he were disposed to it. Sylla, therefore, to whose superiority, not in years but in eloquence, Manlius yielded precedence, spoke to Bocchus briefly as follows:

"It gives us great pleasure, King Bocchus, that the gods have at length induced a man, so eminent as yourself, to prefer peace to war, and no longer to stain your own excellent character by an alliance with Jugurtha, the most infamous of mankind; and to relieve us, at the same time, from the disagreeable necessity of visiting with the same punishment your errors and his crimes. Besides, the Roman people, even from the very infancy of their state, have thought it better to seek friends than slaves, thinking it safer to rule over willing than forced subjects. But to you no friendship can

regit, cui scilicet placuisse⁹²⁰ et vim et gratiam nostram te experiri, nunc, quando per illam licet, festina atque, uti coepisti, perge. Multa atque opportuna habes,⁹²¹ quo facilius errata officiis superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte,⁹²² nunquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum esse; nam bello quid valeat, tute scis.'

Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne; simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit: 'Se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutandum arma cepisse; nam Numidiae partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerit,⁹²³ jure belli suam factam; eam vastari a Mario pati nequivisse; praeterea missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera omittere ac tum,⁹²⁴ si per Marium liceret, legates ad senatum missurum.' Dein, copia facta,⁹²⁵ animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullae et Manlii, metuens id, quod parabatur, donis corruerat.

103. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernaculis⁹²⁶ composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola, obsessum turrim⁹²⁷ regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnes praesidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando, quae sibi duobus proeliis venerationem, seu admonitus ab aliis amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat,⁹²⁹ ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita et ingenia validissima erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romam legates ire jubet, agendarum rerum et quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam ipsis permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur, deinde in itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, sine decore ad Sullam profugiunt, quem consul in expeditionem proficiscens pro praetore reliquerat.⁹³⁰ Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus,⁹³¹ uti meriti erant, sed accurate ac liberaliter habuit; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiae falsam et Sullam ob munificentiam in sese amicum rati. Nam etiamtum largitio multis ignota erat; munificus nemo putabatur nisi pariter volens,⁹³² dona omnia in benignitate habebantur.⁹³³ Igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit; copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui et alia, quae aut utilia aut benevolentiae⁹³⁴ esse credebant, oratione extollunt; dein Sulla omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies quadraginta ibidem opperiantur.

be more suitable than ours; for, in the first place, we are at a distance from you, on which account there will be the less chance of misunderstanding between us, while our good feeling for you will be as strong as if we were near; and, secondly, because, though we have subjects in abundance, yet neither we, nor any other nation, can ever have a sufficiency of friends. Would that such had been your inclination from the first; for then you would assuredly, before this time, have received from the Roman people more benefits than you have now suffered evils. But since Fortune has the chief control in human affairs, and it has pleased her that you should experience our force as well as our favor, now, when she gives you this fair opportunity, embrace it without delay, and complete the course which you have begun. You have many and excellent means of atoning, with great ease, for past errors by future services. Impress this, however, deeply on your mind, that the Roman people are never outdone in acts of kindness; of their power in war you have already sufficient knowledge."

To this address Bocchus made a temperate and courteous reply, offering a few observations, at the same time, in extenuation of his error; and saying " that he had taken arms, not with any hostile feeling, but to defend his own dominions, as part of Numidia, out of which he had forcibly driven Jugurtha,² was his by right of conquest, and he could not allow it to be laid waste by Marius; that when he formerly sent ambassadors to the Romans, he was refused their friendship; but that he would say nothing more of the past, and would, if Marius gave him permission, send another embassy to the senate." But no sooner was this permission granted, than the purpose of the barbarian was altered by some of his friends, whom Jugurtha, hearing of the mission of Sylla and Manlius, and fearful of what was intended by it, had corrupted with bribes.

103. Marius, in the mean time, having settled his army in winter quarters, set out, with the light-armed cohorts and part of the cavalry, into a desert part of the country, to besiege a fortress of Jugurtha's, in which he had placed a garrison consisting wholly of Roman deserters. And now again Bocchus, either from reflecting on what he had suffered in the two engagements, or from being admonished by such of his friends as Jugurtha had not corrupted, selected, out of the whole number of his adherents, five persons of approved integrity and eminent abilities, whom he directed to go, in the first place, to Marius, and afterward to proceed, if Marius gave his consent, as ambassadors to Rome, granting them full powers to treat concerning his affairs, and to conclude the war upon any terms whatsoever. These five immediately set out for the Roman winter-quarters, but being beset and spoiled by Getulian robbers on the way, fled, in alarm and ill plight,¹ to Sylla, whom the consul, when he went on his expedition, had left as pro-prætor with the army. Sylla received them, not, as they had deserved, like faithless enemies, but with the greatest ceremony and munificence; from which the barbarians concluded that what was said of Roman avarice was false, and that Sylla, from his generosity, must be their friend. For interested bounty,² in those days, was still unknown to many; by whom every man who was liberal was also thought benevolent, and all presents were considered to proceed from kindness. They therefore disclosed to the quaestor their commission from Bocchus, and asked him to be their patron and adviser; extolling, at the same time, the power, integrity, and grandeur of their monarch, and adding whatever they thought likely to promote their objects, or to procure the favor of Sylla. Sylla promised them all that they requested; and, being instructed how to address Marius and the senate, they tarried in the camp about forty days.³

104. Marius postquam confecto negotio, quo intenderat, Cirtam redit, de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque et Sullam venire jubet,⁹³⁵ item L. Bellienum praetorem Utica, praeterea omnes undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab consule; interea induciae postulabantur. Ea⁹³⁶ Sullae et plerisque placuere; pauci ferocius discernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quae fluxae et mobiles semper in adversa mutantur.⁹³⁷ Ceterum Mauri, impetratis omnibus, tres Romam profecti cum Gn. Octavio Rufo,⁹³⁸ qui quaestor stipendium in Africam portaverat; duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus quum cetera, tum maxime benignitatem et studium Sullae libens accepit. Romae legatis ejus, postquam errasse regem et Jugurthae scelere lapsura deprecata sunt,⁹³⁹ amicitiam et foedus petentibus hoc modo respondetur:

'Senatus et populus Romanus beneficii et injuriae memor esse solet. Ceterum Boccho, quoniam poenitet, delicti gratiam facit,⁹⁴⁰ foedus et amicitia dabantur, quum meruerit.'

105. Quis rebus cognitis Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret, cujus arbitratu de communibus negotiis consuleretur.⁹⁴¹ Is missus cum praesidio equitum atque peditum, funditorum Balearium,⁹⁴² praeterea iere sagittarii et cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa, neque his secus atque aliis armis adversum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed in itinere quinto denique die Volux filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius⁹⁴³ equitibus sese ostendit, qui temere et effuse euntes Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum amplioverum et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur se quisque expedire, arma atque tela temptare, intendere,⁹⁴⁴ timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, et adversum eos, quos saepe vicerant. Interim equites exploratum praemissi rem uti erat⁹⁴⁵ quietam nuntiant.

106. Volux adveniens quaestorem appellat dicitque se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul et praesidio missum. Deinde eum et proximum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post ubi castra locata et diei vesper erat; repente Maurus incerto vultu, pavens ad Sullam accurrit dicitque sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse; simul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci negat se toties fusum Numidam pertimescere; virtuti suorum satis credere;⁹⁴⁶ etiamsi certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius quam proditis, quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paulo morbo interiturae vitae parceret.⁹⁴⁷ Ceterum ab eodem monitus, uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium approbat, ac statim milites coenatos esse, in castris ignes quam creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, quum equites Mauri nuntiant Jugurtham circiter duum milium intervallo ante eos⁹⁴⁸ consedissee. Quod postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit; credere se proditos a Voluce et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere, qui dicerent manu vindicandum neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

104. When Marius, having failed in the object¹ of his expedition, returned to Cirta, and was informed of the arrival of the ambassadors, he desired both them and Sylla to come to him, together with Lucius Bellienus, the praetor from Utica, and all that were of senatorial rank in any part of the country, with whom he discussed the instructions of Bocchus to his ambassadors; to whom permission to proceed to Rome was granted by the consul. In the mean time a truce was asked, a request to which assent was readily expressed by Sylla and the majority; the few, who advocated harsher measures, were men inexperienced in human affairs, which, unstable and fluctuating, are always verging to opposite extremes.²

The Moors having obtained all that they desired, three of them started for Rome with Cneius Octavius Rufus, who, as quaestor, had brought pay for the army to Africa; the other two returned to Bocchus, who heard from them, with great pleasure, their account both of other particulars, and especially of the courtesy and attention of Sylla.

To his three ambassadors that went to Rome, when, after a deprecatory acknowledgment that their king had been in error, and had been led astray by the treachery of Jugurtha, they solicited for him friendship and alliance, the following answer was given: "The senate and people of Rome are wont to be mindful of both services and injuries; they pardon Bocchus, since he repents of his fault, and will grant him their alliance and friendship when he shall have deserved them."

105. When this reply was communicated to Bocchus, he requested Marius, by letter, to send Sylla to him, that, at his discretion,¹ measures might be adopted for their common interest. Sylla was accordingly dispatched, attended with a guard of cavalry, infantry, and Balearic slingers, besides some archers and a Pelignian cohort, who, for the sake of expedition, were furnished with light arms, which, however, protected them, as efficiently as any others, against the light darts of the enemy. As he was on his march, on the fifth day after he set out, Volux, the son of Bocchus, suddenly appeared on the open plain with a body of cavalry, which amounted in reality to not more than a thousand, but which, as they approached in confusion and disorder, presented to Sylla and the rest the appearance of a greater number, and excited apprehensions of hostility. Every one, therefore, prepared himself for action, trying and presenting² his arms and weapons; some fear was felt among them, but greater hope, as they were now conquerors, and were only meeting those whom they had often overcome. After a while, however, a party of horse sent forward to reconnoiter, reported, as was the case, that nothing but peace was intended.

106. Volux, coming forward, addressed himself to Sylla, saying that he was sent by Bocchus his father to meet and escort him. The two parties accordingly formed a junction, and prosecuted their journey, on that day and the following, without any alarm. But when they had pitched their camp, and evening had set in, Volux came running, with looks of perplexity, to Sylla, and said that he had learned from his scouts that Jugurtha was at hand, entreating and urging him, at the same time, to escape with him privately in the night. Sylla boldly replied, "that he had no fear of Jugurtha, an enemy so often defeated; that he had the utmost confidence in the valor of his troops; and that, even if certain destruction were at hand, he would rather keep his ground, than save, by deserting his followers, a life at best uncertain, and perhaps soon to be lost by disease." Being pressed, however, by Volux, to set forward in the night, he approved of the suggestion, and immediately ordered his men to dispatch their supper,¹ to light as many fires as possible in the camp, and to set out in silence at the first watch.

107. At Sulla, quamquam eadem existimabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet;⁹⁴⁹ suos hortatur, uti fortem animum gererent; saepe ante paucis strenuis⁹⁵⁰ adversum multitudinem bene pugnatum; quanto sibi in proelio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore, nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis⁹⁵¹ pedibus auxilium petere, in maximo metu nudum et caecum corpus ad hostes vertere. Deinde Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Jovem maximum obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi testis adesset, ex castris abire jubet. Ille lacrimans orare, ne ea crederet; nihil dolo factum, ac magis calliditate Jugurthae, cui videlicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. Ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet et spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent, credere illum nihil palam ausurum, quum ipse filius testis adesset; quare optimum factu⁹⁵² videri per media ejus castra palam transire; sese vel praemissis vet ibidem relictis Mauris solum cum Sulla iturum. Ea res ut in tali negotio⁹⁵³ probata; ac statim profecti, quia de improvviso acciderant,⁹⁵⁴ dubio atque haesitante Jugurtha, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum est.

108. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, multum et familiariter agebat, praemissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator⁹⁵⁵ et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia; praeterea Dabar, Massugrae filius, ex gente Masinissae, ceterum materno genere impar (nam pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat), Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus acceptusque. Quem Bocchus fidum esse Romanis multis ante tempestatibus expertus illico ad Sullam nuntiatum mittit paratum sese facere, quae populus Romanus vellet; colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse delegeret; consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere;⁹⁵⁶ ne Jugurthae legatum pertimesceret, quo res communis licentius gereretur;⁹⁵⁷ nam ab insidiis ejus aliter caveri⁹⁵⁸ nequivisse. Sed ego comperior Bocchum magis Punica fide⁹⁵⁹ quam ob ea, quae praedicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis attinguisse multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Jugurtham Romanis an illi Sullam traderet; libidinem⁹⁶⁰ adversum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

109. Igitur Sulla respondit, pauca coram Aspare locuturum, cetera occulte aut nullo aut quam paucissimis praesentibus; simul edocet, quae sibi responderentur. Postquam sicuti voluerat con-

When they were all fatigued with their march during the night, and Sylla was preparing, at sunrise, to pitch his camp, the Moorish cavalry announced that Jugurtha was encamped about two miles in advance. At this report, great dismay fell upon our men; for they believed themselves betrayed by Volux, and led into an ambush. Some exclaimed that they ought to take vengeance on him at once, and not suffer such perfidy to remain unpunished.

107. But Sylla, though he had similar thoughts, protected the Moor from violence; exhorting his soldiers to keep up their spirits; and saying, "that a handful of brave men had often fought successfully against a multitude; that the less anxious they were to save their lives in battle, the greater would be their security; and that no man, who had arms in his hands, ought to trust for safety to his unarmed heels, or to turn to the enemy, in however great danger, the defenseless and blind parts of his body."1 Having then called almighty Jupiter to witness the guilt and perfidy of Bocchus, he ordered Volux, as being an instrument of his father's hostility,2 to quit the camp.

Volux, with tears in his eyes, entreated him to entertain no such suspicions; declaring " that nothing in the affair had been caused by treachery on his part, but all by the subtilty of Jugurtha, to whom his line of march had become known through his scouts. But as Jugurtha had no great force with him, and as his hopes and resources were dependent on his father Bocchus, he assuredly would not attempt any open violence, when the son of Bocchus would himself be a witness of it. He thought it best for Sylla, therefore, to march boldly through the middle of his camp, and that as for himself, he would either send forward his Moors, or leave them where they were, and accompany Sylla alone." This course, under such circumstances, was adopted; they set forward without delay, and, as they came upon Jugurtha unexpectedly, while he was in doubt and hesitation how to act, they passed without molestation. In a few days afterward, they arrived at the place to which their march was directed.

108. There was, at this time, in constant and familiar intercourse with Bocchus, a Numidian named Aspar, who had been sent to him by Jugurtha, when he heard of Sylla's intended interview, in the character of ambassador, but secretly to be a spy on the Mauretanian king's proceedings. There was also with him a certain Dabar, son of Massugrada, one of the family of Masinissa,1 but of inferior birth on the maternal side, as his father was the son of a concubine. Dabar, for his many intellectual endowments, was liked and esteemed by Bocchus, who, having found him faithful2 on many former occasions, sent him forthwith to Sylla, to say "that he was ready to do whatever the Romans desired; that Sylla himself should appoint the place, day, and hour,3 for a conference; that he kept all points, which he had settled with him before, inviolate ;4 and that he was not to fear the presence of Jugurtha's ambassador as any restraint5 on the discussion of their common interests, since, without admitting him, he could have no security against Jugurtha's treachery." I find, however, that it was rather from African duplicity6 than from the motives which he professed, that Bocchus thus allured both the Romans and Jugurtha with the hopes of peace; that he frequently debated with himself whether he should deliver Jugurtha to the Romans, or Sylla to Jugurtha; and that his inclination swayed him against us, but his fears in our favor.

109. Sylla replied, "that he should speak on but few particulars before Aspar, and discuss others at a private meeting, or in the presence of only a few;" dictating, at the same time, what answer should

gressi, dicit se missum a consule venisse quaesitum ab eo, pacem an bellum agitaturus foret. Tum rex, ut praeceptum fuerat, post diem decimum redire jubet, ac nihil etiam nunc⁹⁶¹ decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum. Dein ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte accersitur; ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur, praeterea Dabar internuntius, sanctus vir et ex sententia ambobus.⁹⁶² Ac statim sic rex incipit:

110. 'Nunquam ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maximus in hac terra et omnium, quos novi, privato homini⁹⁶³ gratiam deberem. Et mehercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum multis orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui.⁹⁶⁴ Id imminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor; fuerit mihi eguisse⁹⁶⁵ aliquando amicitiae tuae, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeo experiri licet:⁹⁶⁶ arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo libet, sume, utere; et quoad vives, nunquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra⁹⁶⁷ erit; denique nihil me sciente frustra voles. Nam, ut ego aestimo, regem armis quam munificentia vinci minus flagitiosum est.⁹⁶⁸ Ceterum de re publica vestra, cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci neque factum umquam volui.⁹⁶⁹ fines meos adversum armatos armis tutatus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ita placet; gerite quod vultis cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar neque id intrare Jugurtham sinam. Praeterea si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis.⁹⁷⁰

111. Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice, de pace et de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefecit, 'quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valuissent, non in gratiam habituros;⁹⁷¹ faciendum aliquid, quod illorum magis quam sua rettulisse videretur; id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam Jugurthae copiam haberet; quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, ut illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, foedus, Numidiae partem, quam nunc peteret, tunc ultroadventuram.⁹⁷² Rex primo negitare;⁹⁷³ affinitatem, cognationem, praeterea foedus intervenisse; ad hoc metuere, ne fluxa fide usus popularium animos averteret, quis et Jugurtha carus et Romani invisierant. Denique saepius fatigatus lenitur et ex voluntate Sullae omnia se facturum promittit. Ceterum ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida defessus bello avidissimus, quae utilia visa, constituunt. Ita composito dolo digrediuntur.

be returned by Bocchus.¹ Afterward, when they met, as Bocchus had desired, Sylla stated, "that he had come, by order of the consul, to inquire whether he would resolve on peace or on war." Bocchus, as he had been previously instructed by Sylla, requested him to come again at the end of ten days, since he had as yet formed no determination, but would at that time give a decisive answer. Both then retired to their respective camps.² But when the night was far advanced, Sylla was secretly sent for by Bocchus. At their interview, none but confidential interpreters were admitted on either side, together with Dabar, the messenger between them, a man of honor, and held in esteem by both parties. The king at once commenced thus:

110. " I never expected that I, the greatest monarch in this part of the world, and the richest of all whom I know, should ever owe a favor to a private man. Indeed, Sylla, before I knew you, I gave assistance to many who solicited me, and to others without solicitation, and stood in need of no man's assistance. But at this loss of independence, at which others are wont to repine, I am rather inclined to rejoice. It will be a pleasure to me¹ to have once needed your friendship, than which I hold nothing dearer to my heart. Of the sincerity of this assertion you may at once make trial; take my arms, my soldiers, my money, or whatever you please, and use it as your own. But do not suppose, as long as you live, that your kindness to me has been fully requited; my sense of it will always remain undiminished, and you shall, with my knowledge, wish for nothing in vain. For, as I am of opinion, it is less dishonorable to a prince to be conquered in battle than to be surpassed in generosity.

" With respect to your republic, whose interests you are sent to guard, hear briefly what I have to say. I have neither made war upon the Roman people, nor desired that it should be made; I have merely defended my territories with arms against an armed force. But from hostilities, since such is your pleasure, I now desist. Prosecute the war with Jugurtha as you think proper. The river Mulucha, which was the boundary between Micipsa and me, I shall neither pass myself, nor suffer Jugurtha to come within it. And if you shall ask any thing besides, worthy of me and of yourself, you shall not depart with a refusal.

111. To this speech Sylla replied, as far as concerned himself, briefly and modestly; but spoke, with regard to the peace and their common concerns, much more at length. He signified to the king " that the senate and people of Rome, as they had the superiority in the field, would think themselves little obliged by what he promised; that he must do something which would seem more for their interest than his own; and that for this there was now a fair opportunity, since he had Jugurtha in his power, for, if he delivered him to the Romans, they would feel greatly indebted to him, and their friendship and alliance, as well as that part of Numidia which he claimed,¹ would readily be granted him." Bocchus at first refused to listen to the proposal, saying that affinity, the ties of blood,² and a solemn league, connected him with Jugurtha; and that he feared, if he acted insincerely, he might alienate the affections of his subjects, by whom Jugurtha was beloved, and the Romans disliked. But at last, after being frequently importuned, his resolution gave way,³ and he engaged to do every thing in accordance with Sylla's wishes. They then concerted measures for conducting a pretended treaty of peace, of which Jugurtha, weary of war, was extremely desirous. Having settled their plans, they separated.

112. At rex postero die Asparem Jugurthae legatum appellat dicitque sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse condicionibus bellum poni;⁹⁷⁴ quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret. Ille laetus in castra Jugurthae venit; dein ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum et ei denuntiat, 'Jugurtham cupere omnia, quae imperarentur, facere, sed Mario parum confidere; saepe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam⁹⁷⁵ frustra fuisse. Ceterum Bocchus si ambobus consultum et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus quasi de pace in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet; quum talem virum in potestatem habuisset,⁹⁷⁶ tum fore, uti jussu senatus populique Romani foedus fieret, neque hominem nobilem non sua ignavia sed ob rem publicam⁹⁷⁷ in hostium potestate relictum iri.'

113. Haec Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit, ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, saepe ipsae sibi adversae.⁹⁷⁸ Postea tempore et loco constituto, in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthae legatum appellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter laeti ac spei bonae pleni esse. Sed nocte ea, quae proxima fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus adhibitis amicis ac statim, immutata voluntate, remotis ceteris,⁹⁷⁹ dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse, vultu⁹⁸⁰ corporis pariter atque animo varius, quae scilicet tacente ipso occulta pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam accersi jubet et ex ejus sententia Numidae insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit et ei nuntiatum est Jugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et quaestore nostro quasi obvius honoris causa procedit in tumultum facillimum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat,⁹⁸¹ accedit ac statim, signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obruncati; Jugurtha Sullae vinctus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.⁹⁸²

114. Per idem tempus⁹⁸³ adversura Gallos ab ducibus nostris Q. Caepione et Gn. Manlio male pugnatum; quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique⁹⁸⁴ et inde usque ad nostram memoriam Romani sic habere, alia omnia virtuti suae prona esse: cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria, certare.⁹⁸⁵ Sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum et Jugurtham Romam vinctum adduci nuntiatum est, Marius consul absens factus et ei decreta provincia Gallia; isque Kalendis Januariis⁹⁸⁶ magna gloria consul triumphavit. Ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illositae.

112. On the next day Bocchus sent for Aspar, Jugurtha's envoy, and acquainted him that he had ascertained from Sylla, through Dabar, that the war might be concluded on certain conditions; and that he should therefore make inquiry as to the sentiments of his king. Aspar proceeded with joy to Jugurtha's camp, and having received full instructions from him, returned in haste to Bocchus at the end of eight days, with intelligence "that Jugurtha was eager to do whatever might be required, but that he put little confidence in Marius, as treaties of peace, concluded with Roman generals, had often before proved of no effect; that if Bocchus, however, wished to consult the interests of both, and to have an established peace, he should endeavor to bring all parties together to a conference, as if to settle the conditions, and then deliver Sylla into his hands, for when he had such a man in his power, a treaty would at once be concluded by order of the senate and people of Rome; as a man of high rank, who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, not from want of spirit; but from zeal for the public interest, would not be left in captivity."

113. The Moor, after long meditation on these suggestions, at length expressed his assent to them, but whether in pretense or sincerity I have not been able to discover. But the inclinations of kings, as they are violent, are often fickle, and at variance with themselves. At last, after a time and place were fixed for coming to a conference about the treaty, Bocchus addressed himself at one time to Sylla and at another to the envoy of Jugurtha, treating them with equal affability, and making the same professions to both. Both were in consequence equally delighted, and animated with the fairest expectations. But on the night preceding the day appointed for the conference; the Moor, after first assembling his friends, and then, on a change of mind, dismissing them, is reported to have had many anxious struggles with himself, disturbed alike in his thoughts and his gestures, which, even when he was silent, betrayed the secret agitation of his mind. At last, however, he ordered that Sylla should be sent for, and, according to his desire, laid an ambush for Jugurtha.

As soon as it was day, and intelligence was brought that Jugurtha was at hand, Bocchus, as if to meet him and do him honor, went forth, attended by a few friends, and our quæstor, as far as a little hill, which was full in the view of the men who were placed in ambush. To the same spot came Jugurtha with most of his adherents, unarmed, according to agreement; when immediately, on a signal being given, he was assailed on all sides by those who were lying in wait. The others were cut to pieces, and Jugurtha himself was delivered bound to Sylla, and by him conducted to Marius.

114. At this period war was carried on unsuccessfully by our generals Quintus Cæpio and Marcus Manlius, against the Gauls; with the terror of which all Italy was thrown into consternation. Both the Romans of that day, indeed, and their descendants, down to our own times, maintained the opinion that all other nations must yield to their valor, but that they contended with the Gauls, not for glory, but merely in self-defense. But after the war in Numidia was ended, and it was announced that Jugurtha was coming in chains to Rome, Marius, though absent from the city, was created consul, and Gaul decreed to him as his province. On the first of January he triumphed as consul, with great glory. At that time the hopes and dependence of the state were placed on him.

Footnotes for *Bellum Catilinarium*

1 Other editions have *omnis* or *omneis*. The accusative plural of words of the third declension making their genitive plural in *ium*, varied in early Latin, sometimes ending in *is*, and sometimes in *eis* or *es*. This fluctuation, however, afterwards ceased; and even in the best age of the Latin language it became generally customary to make the accusative plural like the nominative in *es*. The same was the case with some other obsolete forms, as *vult* for *vultus*, *divorsus* for *diversus*, *quoique* for *cuique*, *maxumus* for *maximus*, *quom* for *quum*, or *cum*, which are retained in many editions, but have been avoided in the present, in accordance with the orthography generally adopted during the best period of the Latin language.

2 *Studeo*, when the verb following has the same subject, may be construed in three ways — with the infinitive alone, as *studeo praestare*; with the accusative and infinitive, *studeo me praestare*, as in the present case; or with *ut*, as *studeo ut praestem*.

3 *Summa ope*, ‘with the greatest exertion,’ equivalent to *summa opere*, *summo opere*; as *magno opere*, or *magnopere*, signifies ‘with great exertion,’ or ‘greatly.’ The nominative *ops* is not in use, and the plural *opes* generally signifies ‘the means’ or ‘power of doing something.’

4 *Prona*, ‘bent forward,’ ‘bent down to the ground,’ in opposition to the erect gait of man.

5 *Dis* for *diis*. See Zumpt, § 51, n. 5.

6 *Beluis*; another, but less correct mode of spelling, is *bellua*, *belluis*.

7 Instead of *memoriam nostri*, Sallust might have said *memoriam nostram*; but the genitive *nostri* sets forth the object of remembrance with greater force. See Zumpt, § 423.

8 *Quam maxime longam*; that is, *quam longissimam*, ‘lasting as long as possible.’ Zumpt, § 108.

9 The author here makes a digression, to remove the objection that in war bodily strength is of greater importance than mental superiority. He admits that in the earlier times it may have been so, but maintains that in more recent times, when the art of war had become rather complicate, the superiority of mind has become manifest. *Vine corporis an*; that is, *utrum vi corporis an*. See Zumpt, § 554

10 That is, ‘before undertaking anything, reflect well; but when you have reflected, then carry your design into execution without delay.’ The past participles *consulta* and *facto* here supply the place of verbal substantives.

11 Respecting the frequent position of *igitur* at the beginning of a sentence in Sallust, see Zumpt, § 357

12 *Pars*, instead of *alii*, probably to avoid the repetition of *alii*, and to produce variety.

13 *Postea vero quam*, for *postquam vero*. The author means to say, that after the formation of great empires by extensive conquests, the truth became manifest that even in war mind was superior to mere bodily strength. He mentions Cyrus, king of Persia, the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, because the earlier empires of the Egyptians and Assyrians did not yet belong to accredited history.

14 Sallust here introduces, by *quodsi* (and if, or yes, if), an illustration connected with the preceding remarks. Respecting this connecting power of *quodsi*, as distinguished from the simple *si*, see Zumpt, § 807. This illustration, which ends with the word *transfertur*, was suggested to Sallust especially by the consideration of the recent disturbances in the Roman republic under Pompey, Caesar, and Mark Antony, three men who, in times of peace, saw their glory, previously acquired in war, fade away.

15 *Animi virtus*; these two words are here united to express a single idea, ‘mental greatness.’

16 *Aliud alio ferri*, ‘that one thing is drawn in one direction, and the other in another.’ For *aliud alio*, see Zumpt, § 714; and for *cerneres*, in which the second person singular of the subjunctive answers to the English ‘you’ when not referring to any definite person, § 381.

17 *Optimum quemque*, ‘to every one in proportion as he is better than others.’ Respecting this relative meaning of *quisque*, see Zumpt, § 710. ‘Every one,’ absolutely, is *unusquisque*, and adjectively *omnis*.

18 ‘They have passed through life like strangers or travellers;’ that is, as if they had no concern with their own life, although it is clear that human life is of value only when men are conscious of themselves, and exert themselves to cultivate their mental powers, and apply them to practical purposes.

19 ‘I set an equal value upon their life and their death;’ that is, an equally low value, *juxta* being equivalent to *aeque* or *pariter*.

20 *Verum enimvero*; these conjunctions are intended strongly to draw the attention of the reader to the conclusion from a preceding argument.

21 ‘Intent upon some occupation.’ *Intentus* is commonly construed with the dative, or the preposition *in* or *ad* with the accusative; but as a person may be intent upon something, so he also may be intent by, or in consequence of, something, so that the ablative is perfectly consistent.

22 *Haud absurdum est*, ‘is not unbecoming;’ that is, ‘is worthy of man.’

23 *Quidem* here, like the Greek $\mu\epsilon\nu$ in $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\nu$, without a $\delta\epsilon$ following, introduces one opinion in contradistinction from others, though the latter are not mentioned, but merely suggested by *quidem*. ‘I for my part think so, but what others think I do not know, or care.’

24 ‘If you censure any things as faults or delinquencies, your censure is considered to have arisen from malevolence or ill-will.’

25 *Supra ea*, ‘whatever is beyond: that;’ that is, whatever is beyond the capacity of the reader.

26 The author now passes over to his own experience, telling us that after having devoted himself at first to the career of a public man, and finding that he was not understood, and ill-used by his opponents, he formed the determination to give himself up to a literary life.

27 *Insolens malarum artium*, ‘unacquainted with base artifices or intrigues;’ for *artes* may be *malae* as well as *bonae*, according as they consist in the skill of doing bad or good things.

28 *Imbecilla aetas*, ‘my weak age;’ that is, my mind, which had not yet arrived at mature independence, ‘was corrupted by ambition, and was kept under the influence of such bad circumstances.’ Sallust means to say that if his mind had arrived at manly independence, he would have immediately withdrawn from the vicious atmosphere of public life

29 My ambition caused me to be equally ill spoken of and envied, and thus to be dragged down to a level with the rest, and to be equally harassed and persecuted as they were.

30 *Conterere* — that is, *consumere*, ‘to waste my fair leisure.’

31 Sallust here calls agriculture and the chase occupations of men in a servile condition, although the majority of the ancients considered the former especially as the most honourable occupation of free citizens. But he seems to think that in comparison with the important business of writing the history of his country, agriculture and the chase are not suitable occupations for a man who has at one time taken an active part in political affairs

32 *Carptim*, ‘in detached parts.’

33 *Paucis absolvam*, ‘I shall treat briefly,’ or *paucis pertractabo* *conjunctionem* *Catilinae*.

34 Sallust begins with a general description of the character of Catiline. This talented person, though of a most wicked disposition, belonged to the patrician gens *Sergia*, which traced its descent to one of the companions of Aeneas. This is no doubt fabulous, but at any rate proves the high antiquity of the gens. The most renowned among the ancestors of Catiline was M. Sergius, a real model of bravery, who distinguished himself in the Gallic and second Punic wars, and after having lost his right hand in battle, wielded the sword with the left. As Catiline offered himself as a candidate for the consulship in B.C. 66, which no Roman was allowed to do by law before having attained the age of forty-three, we may fairly presume that he was born about B.C. 109, in the time of the Jugurthine war. Cicero was born in B.C. 106, and was consequently a few years younger than

Catiline.

35 *Patiens inediae*. Respecting the genitive governed by this and similar participles — as soon after *alieni appetens* — see Zumpt, § 438

36 *Cujus rei libet*; it is more common to say *cujuslibet rei*. Sometimes the relative pronouns compounded with *cunq̄ue* and *libet* are separated by the insertion of some other word or words between them, which in grammatical language is called a *tmesis* — as *quod enim cunq̄ue iudicium subierat, absolvebatur; quem sors dierum cunq̄ue tibi dederit, lucre appone*, ‘whatever day chance may give thee, consider it as a gain.’

37 *Capiundae*. Respecting the *e* or *u* in such gerunds and gerandives, see Zumpt, § 167.

38 *Auxerat*. He had increased both by the above-mentioned qualities — namely, his poverty by extravagance, and the consciousness of guilt by the crimes he committed. The neuter plural *quae*, referring to two feminine substantives denoting abstract ideas, is not very common, though quite justifiable. Zumpt, § 377

39 *Domi militiaeque*, ‘in times of peace and in war.’

40 Respecting the infinitive after *hortari*, instead of the more common use of the conjunction *ut*, see Zumpt, § 615

41 In the following eight chapters (6-13) Sallust describes the transition from the stern manners, the warlike energy, and domestic peace of the ancient Romans, to the corruption prevalent in the time of Catiline, and which consisted chiefly in extravagance, avarice, oppression, and the love of dominion. His description is a striking picture of the early virtuous character of the Romans, and their subsequent indulgence in vice. He traces all the corruption of his time to the immense wealth accumulated at Rome, after she had acquired the dominion over the world — that is, after the destruction of Carthage and Corinth; and he marks out in particular Sulla as the man who had fostered the very worst qualities in order to obtain supreme power for himself

42 According to the current tradition, the people of the Latins had been formed by a union of the Trojan emigrants with the native Aborigines. Their capital was Alba Longa, and they lived about Alba, on and near the Alban Mount, in a great number of confederate townships. Four centuries after the arrival of Aeneas, the city of Rome was founded by Albans on the extreme frontier of the Latin territory, and near the hostile tribes by which it was surrounded. Sallust passes over the intermediate stages, either because he, like others, thought Rome much more ancient, or because, having to do only with the description of manners, he was unconcerned about historical developments

43 *Una* is the plural. See Zumpt, § 115, note.

44 *t* is indeed wonderful how quickly the Roman people, although consisting of a mixture of different tribes — whether, as Sallust briefly intimates, they were Trojans and Aborigines, or, as the more minute historians relate, Latins, Sabines, and Etruscans — united into one nationality. The language spoken by the Roman people, however, was not a mixture of those of the last-mentioned tribes, but Latin, which, in conformity with Sallust’s notion, appears to be a combination of Greek with some early Italian idiom

45 *Temptare*, the historical infinitive, about the meaning and construction of which see Zumpt, § 599, note

46 *Auxilia portare* is a less common expression than *auxilium ferre*; for *portare* is generally used only to denote the actual physical carrying of something, while *ferre* has a wider meaning. The plural *auxilia*, however, here alludes to the repeated assistance given to friends

47 ‘Their government was a legitimate one’ — that is, the powers of the government were limited by law; ‘and bore the name of a kingly government’ — that is, a king stood at the head of it

48 Chosen men had the care of public affairs, and deliberated about the good of the state; they stood by the side of the kings as a *consilium publicum*, and were addressed by the term *patres*

49 Respecting the meaning of these genitives, for which datives also might have been used, see

Zumpt, § 662

50 *Ubi* — *convertit*, ‘when it had changed (itself).’ For *ubi* with the perfect in the sense of a pluperfect, see Zumpt, § 506; and for the use of *vertere* in an intransitive or reflective sense, § 145

51 In the earliest times they were called *praetores* or leaders, *qui praeceunt exercitui*; afterwards *con sules*. As two were elected every year, Sallust uses *bini*, and not *duo*.

52 In *promptu habere*, ‘to have in readiness,’ and also ‘to bring into action,’ or ‘to make use of.’ Sallust means to say, that in consequence of the introduction of annual magistrates, every one increased his efforts to distinguish himself, and to make his talents shine.

53 *Adepta* is here used in a passive sense, contrary to the usage of the best authors, in accordance with which he might have said *adepta libertatem*.

54 *Brevi*, ‘in a short time.’

55 *Incesserat*; supply in *eos* or *iis*, referring to *cives*, implied in the preceding *civitas*.

56 *Habebant* should have been *habebat*, since *discebat* precedes. But see Zumpt, § 366.

57 *Labos*, a rarer form for *labor*, as *honos* and *lepos*, which are even more frequently found than *honor* and *lepor*.

58 *Eas* agrees with *divitias*, though in English we say, in such cases, ‘This,’ or ‘these things they considered as riches.’ See Zumpt, § 372.

59 *Aliquanto*, ‘by a considerable amount,’ or simply ‘considerably,’ is the ablative, expressing the amount of difference between two things compared. Sallust here considers it to be a mere matter of chance that the wars of the early Romans, as those against the Volscians, Aequians, Etruscans, and Samnites, do not stand forth in history as glorious as the wars of the Greek nations among themselves, and against the Persians. To us it appears that this was not a matter of chance; but it undoubtedly arose from the fact, that the Greeks even then had already attained a higher degree of civilisation. The interest which history takes in wars does not depend upon the vastness of the armies or the extent of countries, but upon the lower or higher degree of civilisation of those engaged in the wars.

60 *Pro maximis*, ‘they are celebrated as if they were the greatest.’ Respecting this meaning of *pro*, see Zumpt, § 394, note 3.

61 ‘The more intelligent any one was, the more business was intrusted to him,’ so that he had no leisure (*otium*) to devote to literary composition. This at least is Sallust’s opinion; but when a man feels it to be his vocation to write history, he can find time for it, however much he may be otherwise engaged — witness J. Caesar and Frederick II. of Prussia. For the construction, see Zumpt, § 710. C.

62 ‘Not more by law than by nature;’ that is, ‘by nature as well as by law.’

63 In *suppliciiis*, ‘in the worship of the gods;’ for as it was customary, in worshipping, to fall down, the word *supplicium* has this religious meaning, which also appears in *supplicatio*. The other and more common meaning of ‘execution,’ ‘capital punishment,’ or ‘severe chastisement,’ likewise originates in the prostration of the person so punished.

64 *Seque remque* is an unusual expression for *et se et rem*.

65 *Quam*; before this word we must supply *magis*, ‘they carried on the government more with acts of kindness than with fear.’ This ellipsis before *quam* is not uncommon.

66 When they had suffered a wrong, they would rather pardon it than take revenge.’ To perse-
qui we must supply *eam* from the preceding ablative.

67 *Propius virtutem*, also *propius virtuti*. See Zumpt, § 411.

68 *Concupivit*, ‘No man in his senses has ever coveted money for its own sake;’ that is, and even now no one does so, nor will any one ever do so. But a *homo avarus* covets money only that he may have it, and not for any ulterior objects.

69 *Bonis initiis* is the ablative absolute, ‘though his beginnings were good.’ Although Sulla’s government began well, it became arbitrary and bad, especially by the unlimited partiality with

which he treated the men of his own party.

70 In civibus. It would have been more in accordance with the common usage to write in cives; but the ablative signifies 'in the case of citizens.'

71 'In order thereby to render him faithful or attached to himself,' quo being equivalent to ut eo or ut ea re.

72 Namely, the charming and delightful places in Asia Minor, near the sea-coast, under a mild climate, abounding in all the means calculated to afford pleasure and delight.

73 Amare, 'to indulge in illicit intercourse with the other sex:' amare is often used to denote an immoral intercourse between the sexes.

74 Vasa caelata, vessels adorned with figures, and wrought with the caelum, the chisel. Caelare and caelatura denote the art of making raised figures in metal, alto relievo.

75 Delubra, 'temples of the gods.' Sallust has chosen this word in preference to the common templa or aedes, because it conveys the idea of antiquity, sanctity, and mysterious seclusion, which is also contained in the word fanum.

76 Ne illi — temperament 'not to speak of their using their victory with moderation;' that is, they were far from using their victory with moderation. Ne is here used in the sense of nedum.

77 'Honest conduct was regarded as malevolence or envy,' inasmuch as an honest and incorruptible man was not praised for these virtues, but rather drew upon himself the suspicion of envying others for their increasing their possessions, and of wishing to prevent them from becoming rich by the base means which in their greediness they considered to be fair.

78 Operae pretium est, 'it is worth while (properly "the labour has its reward") to compare the extensive country-houses of our present aristocracy with the small temples of the gods erected by our ancestors, notwithstanding their intense piety.'

79 This is the same precept as that advanced by Cicero, that in punishing an enemy, we should be satisfied if we have placed him in a position in which he can no longer injure us.

80 'Mountains are levelled, and seas are produced artificially.' In the latter expression, Sallust, as in chap. 20 (maria extruuntur), alludes to the formation of immense basins in the interior of the country, into which the water was conducted from the sea, for the purpose of keeping in them sea-fish and oysters. In this kind of luxury and extravagance all the earlier Roman grandees were eclipsed by L. Lucullus, who had amassed immense wealth in the war against Mithridates. He possessed a very extensive piscina of this kind near the coast of Campania, in the neighbourhood of Baiae.

81 Cultus comprises the whole domestic arrangement, and especially includes costly furniture and dresses.

82 'To the acquisition and to the squandering of money;' for, as we stated before, it was peculiar to the corruption prevalent among the Romans that they squandered their own property, and appropriated to themselves, by violent means, that which belonged to others.

83 The author, after having given a description of the state of morality in the time of Sulla, now proceeds to the life of Catiline himself, and in the following two chapters, describes the associates in whom that criminal placed his confidence, and with whose help he hoped to overturn the constitution. Flagitia and facinora in this passage have the meaning of homines flagitiosi, and facinorosi.

84 anu, 'by playing at dice' (alea), because that game was played with the hand, either with or without the cup containing the dice (fritillus).

85 Difficulter. See Zumpt, § 267, note 2.

86 'In accordance with his (still) youthful age.' Zumpt, § 309

87 Dum for dummodo, 'if but.'

88 Catiline then had a son from a previous marriage, whom he got rid of because Orestilla would not become his wife, from fear of the young man, who was already grown up, and who

would have become her stepson (privignus).

89 'The consciousness of his guilt disturbed his thinking powers,' for this is the meaning of mens as distinct from animus, which has reference to the feelings.

90 Gratuito, 'gratuitously,' 'without any advantage.' Respecting the form of this adverb, see Zumpt, § 266.

91 Sulla had given settlements to the legions with which he had gained the victory over the Marian party in the territory of those towns which had longest remained faithful to his adversaries; and it was more especially in Etruria that this measure had brought about a complete change of the owners of the soil. But the new landowners had acted very recklessly on their new estates, and therefore were inclined to favour any fresh revolutionary attempt which seemed to promise an equally favourable result.

92 Gn. Pompeius. Respecting the orthography of the prenomen Gneius, see Zumpt, § 4. Pompey was then engaged in the war against Mithridates, king of Pontus, and Tigranes, king of Armenia; and in consequence of this war, the extensive country of Syria, which had before been an independent kingdom, became a Roman province.

93 Nihil sane intentus, 'in no way attentive.' For the difference between nihil and non, see Zumpt, § 677.

94 That is, in the year B.C. 64, or 690 after the building of the city.

95 Necessitudo, 'a close connection' or 'friendship' is commonly distinguished from necessitas, 'necessity,' or 'a compulsory circumstance;' but the two words are often confounded with each other, as here, and subsequently in this chapter, necessitudo is used in the sense of necessitas.

96 For the difference between plures and complures, see Zumpt, § 65

97 Juventus pleraque, 'most young men.' Commonly the plural plerique only is used; but see Zumpt, § 103.

98 Ea tempestate, an old-fashioned expression, such as Sallust is fond of, for eo tempore; for in ordinary Latinity, tempestatas is used only in the sense of 'storm' or 'tempest.'

99 M. Licinius Crassus had been consul several years before (B.C. 70), together with Cn. Pompey, and enjoyed considerable popularity both on account of his former practical usefulness in the state, and on account of his colossal wealth, which he used with proper discretion.

100 Antea. Sallust, who has commenced speaking of the conspiracy entered into in the year B. C. 64, considers it necessary, before relating its progress, to go back to an earlier conspiracy, which failed, and in which Catiline had likewise taken an active part. This earlier conspiracy the author relates in chaps. 19 and 20.

101 Qua; supply conjuratione, which is to be taken from the verb conjuravere. This is an irregularity arising from the desire to be brief and concise.

102 That is, in the year B. C. 66, or 688 after the building of the city.

103 Interrogati — that is, accusati, 'taken to account by accusers,' because the beginning of all such accusations consisted in the accused being asked whether they owned having done this or that thing forbidden by law

104 Post paulo is less common than paulo post

105 Repetundarum reus, 'accused of extortion.' Res repetundae, in legal phraseology, signifies the things or money which had been illegally taken by public officers from those subject to their authority; for such citizens or subjects had a right, after the expiration of the official year of their ruler, to reclaim (repetere) their property in a court of law. Those officers who were found guilty had, in addition, to pay a fine, or were otherwise punished. A person who stood accused of extortion was not allowed to come forward as a candidate for any other office before he was tried and acquitted.

106 Profiteri, 'to announce one's self' as a candidate for an office

107 These are the consuls of the year B. C. 65, who had obtained their office after the condem-

nation of the above-mentioned P. Sulla (a nephew of the dictator) and P. Autronius.

108 Hispanias. Ancient Spain was, for administrative purposes, divided into two provinces — Hispania Tarraconensis, or provincia citerior, with Tarraco (the modern Tarragona) for its capital; and Hispania Baetica, or ulterior, deriving its name from the river Baitis (the modern Guadalquivir). Its chief towns were Corduba and Hispalis (now Seville).

109 About the force of quod, when joined to conjunctions, see Zumpt, § 807. Compare p.14, note 6 [note 14].

110 That is, he was only quaestor, but had the powers of a praetor, being commissioned to supply the place of a praetor.

111 Respecting the indicative dicunt, see Zumpt, § 563.

112 The author now continues his account of the conspiracy entered into in B.C. 64.

113 Per ignaviam, 'by means of cowardice,' here means, 'with the assistance of cowardly men,' 'such as you are not, since I have evidence of your valour and trustworthiness.' Vana ingenia are men of untrustworthy character. In both cases the abstract quality is mentioned instead of the person possessing it.

114 Diversi, 'separately;' that is, at different times, and in different places.

115 Tetrarcha is a title which properly belonged only to such princes as ruled over the fourth part of a whole nation. Such a division took place in Galatia, and afterwards also in Judaea. A similar title, ethnarcha, but that of king also, was sometimes granted to powerful princes; or, when they had had it before, the Roman senate sometimes allowed them to keep it.

116 Pro fidem, or proh fidem, is an exclamation, and pro an interjection. The accus. fidem is governed by some such verb as testor or invoco. See Zumpt, § 361.

117 Superare here has an intransitive meaning, 'to exist in abundance.'

118 Lar familiaris, a domestic or family divinity, whose image stood in the interior of the house, by the domestic altar; hence lar, or the plural lares, is sometimes used in the sense of 'a house,' or 'home.'

119 Toreumata are the vasa caelata mentioned in chap. 11; works in metal, especially silver, with raised figures. The instrument called by the Latins caelum, was called by the Greeks τοπος, whence τορευειν, τορευμα.

120 'They cannot master their wealth;' that is, they are not able to spend it.

121 Quin — that is, qui non or quo non? 'why not?'

122 En, as well as ecce, are most commonly construed with the accusative.

123 Tabulae novae are literally 'new registers of debts;' that is, a change or reduction of debts, when, for example, the interest already paid was deducted from the principal, or when the amount of debts was reduced by one-half, or even by three-fourths. Such regulations of debts in favour of debtors were often resorted to in the revolutions of the ancient republics.

124 'If he should be consul with him, he would begin to carry the matter into effect.'

125 Ignominia, 'disgrace' which a person incurs, either because he has been condemned in a court of law, or with which he has been branded by the censors

126 Popularis, properly 'a fellow-countryman,' or 'belonging to the same people;' but Sallust here, and in chapter 24, uses it in the more general sense of particeps, socius, 'associate.'

127 Dictitare, a contraction for dictitavere: 'it was frequently said that Catiline had done it for this reason.' This contraction has nothing that is offensive here, though in form it is the same as the present infinitive; for such an ambiguity of form is not always avoided, provided the context clearly shows what the meaning is. Dictitare contains a repetition of what is implied in fuere qui dicerent.

128 Met is a suffix which may be appended to all the cases of suus, and answers to our 'own.' It is usually followed by ipse. See Zumpt, § 139, note.

129 Stuprum is the name for every unchaste connexion with unmarried as well as with married women; but adulterium is the illicit intercourse with married women.

130 'To behave more ferociously;' for agere and agitare, even without an accusative, signify 'to behave;' 'conduct one's self;' 'lead a life.'

131 Sublato auctore, 'without mentioning the one of whom she had learned it.'

132 'The nobility was boiling with envy;' a figurative expression, taken from the boiling of water over the fire, which is frequently used to describe violent passions. So also incendi, ardere, flagrare cupiditate.

133 A homo novus was at Rome the name for any person, none of whose ancestors had been invested with a curule office; that is, with the consulship, praetorship, quaestorship, or curule aedileship.

134 Post fuere; that is, postposita sunt, 'were put on one side.'

135 'Which fact had at first intimidated the associates of the conspiracy.' The pluperfect here seems to be used for the perfect, but is necessary from the idea, which properly should have been expressed by some such sentence as this: 'which fact, although it had at first intimidated the conspirators, yet did not stop the progress of the conspiracy.'

136 Faesulae, now Fiesole, a town in the northern part of Etruria, not far from Florentia (Florence), which is now the largest town in that district, though it was not so in ancient times.

137 Portare, 'he caused money to be taken.' See Zumpt, § 713.

138 Sumptus tolerare, 'to bear the expenses,' implying the difficulty of defraying them.

139 Haud facile discerneres, 'it was not easy to determine whether she was less concerned about her money or her reputation,' since she was reckless in regard to both. Respecting the imperfect subjunctive, see Zumpt, § 528, note 2.

140 Praeceptis is used of steep and precipitous places, and of persons who fall or throw themselves headlong down from or into anything. Hence Sempronia praeceptis abierat is, 'she had thrown herself headlong into ruin,' which might also be expressed by in praeceptis iverat.

141 Ad hoc is a common expression in Sallust for praeterea.

142 Ad hoc is a common expression in Sallust for praeterea.

143 Pactione provinciae, by coming to an understanding with him about the provinces which were assigned to the consuls after the expiration of their year of office at Rome. Cicero had obtained by lot the lucrative province of Macedonia and exchanged it for Gallia Cisalpina, which had fallen to the lot of Antonius; but afterwards he declined the latter also, in order to be able to remain at Rome, which at that time was considered to be a sign that a man did not care for money — continentia abstinentia.

144 The Campus Martius, an extensive open plain between the city and the Tiber, was the place for the large assemblies of the people; that is, for the Comitia Centuriate, in which the consuls and praetors were elected.

145 Aspera foedaque might also have been expressed by the adverbs aspere foedaque, 'his attempts turned out unfavourably and disgracefully.' Compare Zumpt, § 682.

146 Camers, 'a native of Camerium,' (the capital of the Umbrians), for the inhabitants of that place were called Camertes. Picenum or ager Picenus, was the Roman territory on the Adriatic between the mouths of the rivers Aesis and Aternus with the capitals of Ancona and Asculum.

147 Sicuti salutatum, 'as if to offer him his morning salutation,' for such a morning call before sunrise was a common politeness among the Romans.

148 Or according to the common orthography, intelligit.

149 Exagitatum for agitatam; but the preposition ex gives to the word the idea of something brought out of its obscurity to light. The matter had already been discussed on the ground of certain rumours.

150 About decrevit, with the mere subjunctive, without ut, see Zumpt, § 624.

151 Parare should properly be parandi; but see Zumpt, § 598..

152 That is, 'on the 6th day before the 1st of November,' or on the 27th of October. In such

computations with ante and post, the point of time from which the calculation begins is included. See Zumpt § 867. But we here reckon according to the calendar such as it was subsequently reformed and rectified by J. Caesar.,

153 Portenta are chiefly human beings or animals presenting at their birth anything abnormal or monstrous; prodigia, on the other hand, are strange phenomena in the heavens; and the superstition of the ancients regarded both as signs sent by the gods to warn men.

154 Senati for senatus. See Zumpt, § 81.

155 Hi utrique for horum uterque. Zumpt, § 141, note 2.

156 Both had received the military command (imperium) from the senate and people: Marcius Rex as proconsul of Cilicia, and Metellus for the purpose of subduing Crete. After their return from their provinces, they tarried for a time outside the walls of Rome (ad urbem), because, by entering the city,

157 The intrigues of some influential members of the senate, who had either received bribes from the opponents of the two commanders, or expected some from the commanders themselves, prevented the resolution of the senate here alluded to. Respecting mos erat vendere, see Zumpt, § 598.

158 Supply to the two names of places missus est, which is implied in the preceding sentence.

159 Sestertia centum; that is, centum millia sestertiorum, or the ancient census of the citizens of the first class; for the neuter sestertia was used in calculations as an imaginary coin of mille sestertii or ten nummi aurei.

160 'According to the means of every town.' As the Roman gladiators might easily be tempted to join in conspiracies, they were quartered at a distance from Rome, in the towns of a certain class of Roman citizens (municipia); and the citizens of such places were ordered to watch over those bands of gladiators, that they might not make their escape. Familiae, in its proper sense, signifies the whole body of slaves belonging to one master.

161 Minores magistratus are those officers who did not, by virtue of their office, become members of the senate. The quaestors, accordingly, did not belong to them, but they comprised the masters of the mint, the superintendents of the paving of the roads, and especially the superintendents of all matters connected with prisons, and the decemviri litibus judicandis.

162 Quibus. Sallust more frequently uses the accusative in such expressions. See chapter 8.

163 Afflictare sese, 'they worried themselves.' The expression is properly used of that kind of grief which manifests itself in inflicting pain on the body, by pulling the hair, striking the breast or loins, or by throwing one's self on the ground. So also plangere denotes the physical expression of pain.

164 A law de vi enacted in the year B.C. 89, and aimed at those who might attempt by violence to subvert the existing constitution of the state. On the ground of this law Catiline had already been summoned before a court of law, though no formal charge had yet been brought against him.

165 Sicuti is here used for quasi, velut, or perinde ac si, 'as if.'

166 This is the first of Cicero's speeches against Catiline, which was delivered A.D. 6, Id. Novemb.; that is, on the 8th of November.

167 'When he had sat down;' that is, when he had finished his speech, for those who spoke in the senate did so standing.

168 The imprudence of this speech, independent of the audacious denial of facts, consists in his boasting of his patrician descent, and in the insinuation that Cicero, who was born in the municipium of Arpinum, was only an alien at Rome, although in regard to political rights there no longer was any difference between patricians and plebeians, nor between the citizens of Rome and those of a municipium. Respecting the construction of opus est, with the ablative of a participle, see Zumpt, § 464, note 1.

169 The adjective expers here is joined in the same sentence with two different cases; this is an

unusual construction, though expers may be joined with the genit. as well as with the ablat. See Zumpt, § 437, note 1.

170 From what he quotes as the substance of the law, we see that he means the lex Papiria Poetelia, which had been passed in B.C. 326, and according to which the property of a debtor served as a security to the creditor, while his person or his personal liberty could not be touched.

171 Vestrum; it would be more in accordance with the common usage to say vestri, but the genitive of the personal pronoun also may be used. See Zumpt, §§ 424 and 431.

172 Literally, 'the borrowed silver was repaid in copper;' that is, instead of the ordinary silver coin, the sestertius, the value of four copper ases, only one copper as was paid. By this means debtors gained three-fourths of the capital they had borrowed. This reduction of debts took place in B.C. 86, during the ascendancy of the Marian party.

173 Amittit; that is, missam facit, dimittit or omittit, 'he gives up.'

174 Massilia (the modern Marseilles) was a free and independent city, leagued with the Roman people by treaty. It had been founded about the year B.C. 600, by Greek emigrants from Phocaea in Asia Minor. As Massilia thus was not subject to the civil law of Rome, the Romans who withdraw from the laws of their own country — that is, who went into exile — might choose that city as a safe place of residence, without fear of being delivered up to their own country.

175 Catiline writes that he will not undertake a detailed defence of his new design of taking up arms, but he says that he wishes to justify himself in regard to one point, and that merely because he is not conscious of any criminal act. Satisfactio is nearly the same as defensio, but less formal. A man defends himself against opponents, but before friends he merely gives an explanation, whereby they may be gained over to his side. Ex nulla conscientia, 'in consequence of his not being conscious of guilt.' The expression is rather harsh and artificial, and seemingly in Catiline's own style of writing.

176 Medius fidius, the same as mehercules. See Zumpt, § 361.

177 'I could not maintain the position of my dignity;' that is, I could not maintain my position in society after my enemies had deprived me of the consulship.

178 'Not as if I could not pay my own debts out of my property, since Orestilla has paid even other persons' debts out of her own purse;' she would accordingly have done the same much more for me, her husband. Aes alienum meis nominibus is the same as meum ipsius aes alienum, 'debts on my own account.' Nomen, in money transactions, is something put down to a person's account. Hence aes alienum alienis nominibus is the same as aliorum debita, 'other persons' debts,' aes alienum being understood from the preceding clause.

179 'I felt that I had become estranged by false suspicions,' namely, 'from the Roman people,' who confer the honours which have been obtained by unworthy persons.

180 Hoc nomine, the same as ideo, 'accordingly,' 'for this reason.'

181 This is said in allusion to the consul Cicero, as if he had intended to arrest Catiline, and imprison him. Catiline evidently has recourse to this expedient for the purpose of avoiding his awkward explanation. They are hollow phrases about honour, the republic, and persecution, and well suited to the ruined circumstances of that nobleman.

182 Haveto. It is much more common to use this word in meeting a person, while vale is the ordinary expression in parting from a friend.

183 In agro Arretino, 'in the territory of Arretium,' in the heart of Etruria, near the lake Trasimenus.

184 Sine fraude, 'without injury' — that is, without the fact that hitherto they had been with Manlius, drawing any punishment upon them. Praeter, adverbially for praeterquam; but he might also have used praeter as a preposition: praeter — condemnatas.

185 Praeter, adverbially for praeterquam; but he might also have used praeter as a preposition: praeter — condemnatas.

186 Perditum irent. See Zumpt, § 669.
187 Aliena; supply a republica.
188 Adeo renders the sentence emphatic, 'nay, the common people seemed to do this even according to their custom.' Adeo in this sense is always preceded by a demonstrative pronoun. See Zumpt, § 281.
189 Boni. In the political signification of this word, the ideas of quiet conduct, aversion to innovations, and acquiescence in the actual state of things, are combined with solid wealth. The reason of this is easily perceptible; for he who possesses property, dreads every change, and supports the existing state of things. A still more decided political meaning is implied in the term optimates, which denotes the party in the state which we now call Conservative, but at Rome it implied at the same time the idea of 'faction,' and of a tendency to occasional violence.
190 'Poverty (that is, poor people) maintains itself, or continues in all disturbances without suffering any loss;' for he who has nothing, cannot sustain any loss.
191 Ea vero, 'this in particular. Vero indicates the transition to that circumstance, which in the present case is of the greatest importance. Compare Zumpt, § 348, note.
192 Sentina properly signifies the sediment which, in a vessel filled with water, sinks to the bottom. Hence 'the residue,' or the place where all that is bad or impure is collected.
193 The largesses in money and provisions with which the state supported the needy population of the capital, and by which private persons, anxious to gain partisans, catered numbers of clients, attracted to Rome many people from the country: the city plebs was thus constantly increasing.
194 'They were as much concerned about the good of the state as about their own good' — that is, just as little.
195 Connect quorum with parentes and the following words, bona and jus. Sulla had excluded the sons of those whom he proscribed from all public offices, and thus curtailed their rights of free citizens.
196 In B. C. 70, these consuls restored the power of the tribunes in its full extent, after it had been greatly reduced by Sulla in B. C. 81. The Roman people received this restoration of the tribunician power with the greatest joy; but Sallust does not seem to approve of it.
197 Senatus specie; under the pretence of supporting the senate, the nobiles formed opposition to the tribunes, but in reality it was for their own aggrandisement.
198 Quo for ut eo, 'that the authority of the senate might be the highest in the state.'
199 Innoxius has a twofold meaning, one active, 'one who does no harm' (noxa), and a passive, 'one who is not injured,' 'one to whom no harm is done,' qui non afficitur noxa, and in this latter sense it is used in this passage.
200 'In order that, when in office, they themselves might guide the populace more gently,' since those who excited the multitude would be kept in awe by the terror of the law. Placidius, 'without harshness,' 'without severity,' harshness and severity being applied only against the popular leaders.
201 Dubiis rebus, the ablative absolute; cum res dubiae essent, 'the state of affairs being dangerous.'
202 'A more powerful man would even have wrested their freedom from them.' About quin, see Zumpt, § 542; and about the imperfect in the sense of a pluperfect, § 525.
203 The Allobroges inhabited the country from Lacus Lemannus and the Rhone as far south as the Isara. They were subject to Rome, but, with a certain degree of independence, they governed themselves within their own country. Their chief towns were Vienna and Geneva.
204 Aliena consilii. See Zumpt, § 470.
205 Respecting the orthography of accersit, see Zumpt, § 202.
206 Magnus animus is the usual Latin expression for 'courage,' and amplior is the same as major.

207 Manifestum habeo aliquem, 'I catch a person in the act,' so that he can be convicted of his crime by unexceptionable evidence.
208 Gallia citerior is Gaul south of the Alps, or the province of Cisalpine Gaul. Gallia ulterior is Gaul north of the Alps, as far as the Cebenna mountains. The part of modern France beyond those mountains was not yet subject to Rome, but became a Roman province by the conquests of Caesar.
209 Bruttium is the peninsula of Italy, which extends towards Sicily. It was a mountainous country with many forests.
210 He was legate to his brother L. Murena, who had then already left the province of Gaul, being a candidate for the consulship for the year B.C. 62, which he obtained.
211 Signum, in military phraseology, is the visible or audible signal for a movement which the army is to execute. The attack of the tribune of the people on Cicero during his address to the people was to be the signal. 'After this signal had been given' (eo signo), dato being understood. Conjuratio for conjuratorum.
212 Sed. According to ordinary Latinity, the sentence ought to have been introduced by autem; see Zumpt, § 348, note. But it must be observed that in the historical style of Sallust sed very frequently expresses not only opposition, but also mere transition from one thing to another, which seems to be an affectation of simplicity.
213 The idea expressed by filius familias is 'a son who is not yet independent, who has not yet a household of his own.'
214 Inter haec, &c.; that is, dum haec parantur atque decernuntur.
215 Conveniunt, with the accusative. See Zumpt, § 387.
216 Qui for quis. See Zumpt, § 134, note.
217 He means to say, 'even from the slaves, who, as is now seen, have not been received by Catiline into his army.'
218 Cuncta. Respecting this accusative, see Zumpt, § 391, note 1
219 Pons Mulvius, a bridge across the Tiber, about one mile from the city, outside the porta Flaminia. It still exists under the name of ponte Molle, and is passed by all travellers who go from Rome to the north.
220 Obsidunt. For this verb, see Zumpt, § 189, under sideo.
221 Ad id loci; that is, ad eum locum.
222 He betrayed his treasonable designs even by surrendering to the public authorities, as if they were a foreign and hostile power, and by praying them to spare his life.
223 See Zumpt, § 662.
224 The meeting of the senate was held in the Temple of Concord, close by the Forum. Temples were often used instead of the Curia Hostilia, which was the regular place for the senate to assemble in. Lentulus was taken to the senate by the consul himself; the others were conducted thither by guards, to be brought before the assembly after the business had been opened.
225 'He was ordered to make his statement on the ground of the promise made to him, on behalf of the state, that he should not be punished.' Sallust might have used the more complete expression, fide publica data or accepta; but such expressions are to be completed by the sense rather than by any grammatical ellipsis.
226 Sibylla is the ancient Greek name for a prophetic woman; and at Rome prophecies and counsels (libri Sibyllini) were kept in the Capitol which were believed to have been given as early as the time of the kings by a Sibyl of Cumae. They contained information about festivals, sacrifices, and other religious observances, and the means by which calamities which threatened the state might be averted. They were under the superintendence of a special college of priests, by whom alone they were consulted, on the command of the senate, in cases of public distress or apprehension. This college was called at different times, according to the number of its members, duoviri, decemviri, or quindecimviri sacrorum.

227 The gens Cornelia comprised a large number of families, such as the Scipios, Dolabellas, Merulas, Sullas, Cinnas, Cethegi, and Lentuli. L. Cinna, by repeated consulships, and as the leader of the Marian party, obtained the highest power at Rome after the death of C. Marius, but was slain in B.C. 84 by his own soldiers, whom he intended to lead against L. Sulla. Sulla, after having been consul as early as the year B.C. 88, became dictator in B.C. 82. Respecting the expression *urbis potiri*, see Zumpt, § 466.

228 Haruspices were the interpreters of the signs which were believed to be contained in the entrails of victims sacrificed to the gods, as well as of the phenomena in the atmosphere (*monstra*), and other occurrences in nature, which seemed to be contrary to the ordinary course of things. The system of this kind of superstition had been principally developed by the ancient Etruscans, and the haruspices engaged in the state religion of the Romans were generally natives of Etruria; and the Romans, owing to the uncertainty of their knowledge of things divine, dreaded this kind of superstition rather than practised it.

229 *Libera custodia* is opposed to the *carcer publicus*, in which the prisoners were treated like slaves, and kept in chains. There were at Rome no prisons for those persons whose guilt was not yet established, or whose punishment consisted merely in confinement; but private persons, or the relatives of the accused, were obliged to keep the person of a criminal in their own houses, until the final decision upon his offence was given by the ordinary courts of justice.

230 Such transitions from the historical infinitive to the present or imperfect, and vice versa, are not uncommon in Sallust. See chapters 18, 23, 56, 58.

231 *Erant*; according to the style of Cicero, it would be *essent*. See Zumpt, § 565.

232 For *deprehensio Lentuli et aliorum*, which would be more in accordance with the usage of modern languages.

233 *In tali tempore*. See Zumpt, § 475, note.

234 They demanded that the consul should bring forward the matter, as to whether the statement of Tarquinius was to be believed, in order that the votes might be taken upon it. For without a special *relatio* by the magistrate authorised to make it (commonly the presiding consul, but sometimes also a tribune of the people), no *senatus consultum* could be made.

235 *Potestatem*; supply from the context *indicandi*.

236 *Praedicantem*. See Zumpt, § 636.

237 These two leaders of the party of the optimates had been consuls, Catulus in the year B.C. 78, and C. Piso in B.C. 67; and Catulus had also been censor in B.C. 65. Both were enemies of Caesar, who had defeated Catulus in his canvass for the office of *pontifex maximus*, and had caused a judicial inquiry to be instituted against Piso, about the manner in which he had conducted the proconsular administration of Gaul. Caesar was even then considered as the leader of the popular party, and as an opponent of the senate and its influence in the constitution.

238 It was at that time that Caesar, on going from home to the elective assembly, said to his mother, 'To-day you shall see your son either as *pontifex*, or you shall never see him again.' Caesar, however, is here called an *adolescentulus* only in comparison with the aged Catulus, for he was at that time thirty-six years old.

239 'In public life by the greatest exhibitions;' for *munera* are exhibitions by means of which a private person, and still oftener a magistrate, endeavoured to win the favour of the people. As regards Caesar, that which is said here refers to the brilliant exhibitions in his aedileship, and the games which he gave while invested with that office. But he had thereby got so deeply into debt, that when, after his praetorship — with which he was invested in B. C. 62, the year after the Catilinarian conspiracy — he wanted to leave Rome to go to his province of Spain, he was kept back by his creditors; and he was not allowed to depart until M. Crassus had given security for him.

240 *Dicerent*. Respecting this subjunctive, see Zumpt, § 551.

241 *Mobilitas animi*, 'irritability,' or that state of mind which is easily excited, or upon which it

is easy to make an impression. *Clarius esset* is an explanation of *gladio munitarentur*.

242 *Multitudines*; that is, *catervae*, *factiones*, crowds or bands of men united for the purpose of creating disturbances among the people.

243 This is the customary form of condemnation in a decree of the senate, whereby it is declared that a wrong has actually been done to the state, or that an attempt has been made upon the constitution. The verdict of 'guilty,' therefore, had been pronounced by the senate itself.

244 *Sententiam rogatus*. See Zumpt, § 393, note 1.

245 He had declared that at the voting, which took place after the members of the senate had expressed their opinions, he would vote for the opinion of Tib. Nero; for the voting took place by a division (*discessio*), only one proposal being voted upon at a time, so that those who supported it separated from those who did not support it, but intended to vote for any other opinion (*alia omnia*).

246 This opinion then aimed only at an adjournment of the matter. Its issue was to be waited for; but in the meantime, the posts of guards were to be strengthened, and a fresh proposal was to be made respecting the punishment of the prisoners. The Tib. Nero here mentioned is the grandfather of the Emperor Tiberius, who was raised to the imperial throne in A. D. 14, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

247 *Male consulere*, 'to form bad' or 'injurious resolutions.'

248 *erse*. Respecting the forms of this name, see Zumpt, §§ 52, 54.

249 An *must* be explained by supplying another interrogation before it, such as *alone?* 'had that speech any other object, or had it this one?' for an *is* is used only in the second part of a double question.

250 'To be sure words will fire him on, whom the thing itself did not move' — that is, words are sure not to rouse him whom the thing itself did not move; for *scilicet* has an ironical force.

251 *Injuriae suae*, 'the injuries done to him.'

252 'Many have taken them more seriously to heart than was necessary.' It is more common to say *gravius tulerunt*. The perfect, *habuere*, in expressing a general truth, has the sense of a present, or rather of a Greek aorist, denoting that which once happened, and still continues to happen. Compare p.22, note 2 [note 68].

253 *Vitam habent* for *vitam agunt*, which is more common. Sallust is very fond of the verb *habere* in certain phrases. See Jug. 10.

254 *Equidem ego* for *ego quidem*. See Zumpt, § 278.

255 *Inimicitiae*. About this plural, see Zumpt, § 94. The singular *inimicitia* is not used at all.

256 'Such I know to be the character of the man.'

257 *Subigere* here, as in many other passages of Sallust, has the meaning of *cogere*, *invitum impellere* ('to force a person to something'), followed by an infinitive instead of a clause with *ut*.

258 *Id quod res habet*, 'that which is in the nature of the thing.' Caesar hereby means to represent his opinion as philosophically correct, and in accordance with nature. *Id quod* belong together.

259 Such had indeed been the custom in former times. The condemned person, previous to being beheaded with the axe, was bound to a post and scourged. This barbarous punishment continued to be inflicted sometimes even at a later period, when it was expressly mentioned in the verdict that the criminal should be punished more *majorum*. *Animadvertere* is the proper expression for the infliction of bodily punishment by a lictor, who has to pay attention to his orders; but it is also used of the person who gives the order, and causes it to be carried into effect, just as *interficere* is said both of the executioner and the person who orders a man to be put to death.

260 This law, proposed by one Porcius, and passed by the people, forbade the scourging of Roman citizens on the naked body; so that, after the passing of that law, an execution consisted simply in beheading a criminal with the sword; and if he was a soldier, flogging took the place of

scourging. The celebrated M. Porcius Cato, about B. C. 160, recommended this bill to the people; but it was not he who proposed it, but an unknown person of the name of Porcius, probably a tribune of the people.

261 There were no Roman laws forbidding capital punishment, or substituting exile in its place, and for this reason Caesar does not refer to any such law. He supports his view only by the circumstance that, in all the more recent laws, especially in the criminal law of Sulla, exile (*interdictio aquae et ignis*) was fixed upon as the extreme penalty; and that according to the usual indulgence (not sanctioned by any law), accused persons, if they denied being guilty, and were defended by some one, remained in the enjoyment of their freedom until the sentence was passed. Thus it happened that a person, foreseeing his condemnation, might quit the Roman territory, and take up his abode within the territory of some town or city where the Roman law was not in force, and where the Roman state placed no obstacles in his way.

262 'How is it consistent?' Respecting *qui for quomodo* or *quo pacto*, see Zumpt, § 133, note. The *minus negotium* is the scourging, and the *majus negotium* the execution.

263 *At enim* introduces an objection raised by the orator himself. *At* represents the objection, and *enim* introduces an explanation of it. See Zumpt, § 349.

264 Caesar means to say that the present senate, which, as he flatteringly says, consists of worthy men, will not abuse the power of putting Roman citizens to death; but that a subsequent senate, taking such an example as a precedent, might abuse its power. It must be observed that the Roman senate possessed the power over the life and death of citizens, not by virtue of legal enactments, but only by ancient custom. This power legally belonged only to the people assembled in the *Comitia Centuriata*, or to those to whom the people expressly intrusted it — namely, the ordinary and extraordinary courts of justice. It may seem surprising that Caesar does not express himself more energetically against the right claimed by the senate; but he would certainly have spoken in vain, for it was every senator's interest that the power of the senate should be recognised in its greatest extent, even though it should not be exercised in every particular case.

265 That is, the so-called thirty tyrants in the year B. C. 404.

266 *Ea*; for this accusative, see Zumpt, § 385.

267 *Damasippus* was only a surname of the praetor M. Junius Brutus, who in the year B. C. 82 put to death a great many Roman nobles of the party of Sulla.

268 Namely, by Sulla, after he had been made dictator.

269 *Pleraque*; most of the ensigns and distinctions by which the magistrates were distinguished from private persons, especially the *toga praetexta*, *sella curulis*, *fasces* (which were carried by the lictors), and, above all, the splendid procession of the triumphatores.

270 *Legibus* is here a pleonasm, and might have been omitted. We must here repeat that Caesar makes an artful application of the circumstance that, in all the late criminal laws, the *interdictio aquae et ignis* was fixed as the severest punishment, as if thereby a person had been simply permitted to withdraw from the republic. The *interdictio* was a much more severe punishment, inasmuch as the person on whom it was inflicted lost all his rights as a citizen, and as every one was forbidden to receive him into his house, so that he was a complete outcast. Wherever these regulations were not carried into effect, and even in case a criminal made his escape before the sentence was pronounced, we can see nothing but an abuse of clemency.

271 *Quominus* is here used because the leading clause conveys the idea of a hindrance; but *ne* also might have been written.

272 *Per municipia*, 'among the municipia.' See Zumpt, § 301

273 Cato says, 'When I consider the danger of our situation, I form quite a different view from what I do when I reflect upon the opinions expressed by some about the punishment of the criminals; for the present danger demands energetic measures of defence, while some of you are speaking only about the punishment of a crime already committed. But such a view is incorrect, for we

are still surrounded by the greatest dangers.'

274 *Pluris facere*, 'to esteem higher.'

275 *Capessere rem publicam*, 'to take part in the administration of the state,' or 'to devote one's self to its service.'

276 *Verba facere*, 'to speak,' or 'to make a speech.'

277 'I who had never connived at any of my bad acts' — that is, I who had never given way to my own weaknesses. About this subjunctive expressing the reason why the orator does not allow the faults of others to pass unnoticed, see Zumpt, §§ 555, 558.

278 'The strength of the state bore the negligence' in restraining the arbitrary proceedings in which individuals indulged.

279 'And here any one will speak to me of clemency and mercy!' alluding to Caesar. The negative pronoun *quisquam* is used because the meaning implied is, that no one ought to have done so. See Zumpt, § 709.

280 *Equidem* for *quidem*, as often in Sallust, but never in Cicero. The meaning is: 'We have indeed (*quidem*) long since lost the habit of calling things by their true names, but this erroneous application of the word *mercy* is not to be borne.'

281 *Eo*; Cicero would have said *ea re*.

282 Instead of *et*, the author might have used *neve* (*neu*), since from the preceding clause we have to supply *ne* to *et*. This is not a very common mode of speaking; but it occurs most frequently when, after a negative clause, *et* introduces a kind of antithesis, and thus acquires the power of *sed*.

283 *Et non* corrects the untrue supposition, that there were no rebels except at Rome. In such a case we can neither use *non* without *et*, nor *neque*. See Zumpt, § 334.

284 'If Caesar alone is unconcerned, it is more requisite (necessary or important) that I should be concerned for me and for you.' About *refert*, see Zumpt, §§ 23, 449, note.

285 *Habetote*; this future imperative denotes that something is to be done when something else shall take place. Zumpt, § 583.

286 The meaning is: 'All will be there immediately' — that is, they will rise to make the attack.

287 Cato means to say, 'It is a wrong opinion that our state has become great by arms; for if this were true, it would now be in the most flourishing condition, as our military power is now greater than it ever was. The republic has become great much more by the activity of the citizens, and by the justice of the government, and it is this activity and stern justice that must be restored.'

288 *Obnoxius*, 'subject to a punishment,' or 'to be injured (*noxa*);' hence, figuratively, 'bound,' 'dependent.' Our ancestors, says Cato, could deliberate and judge without bias, for their minds were not crippled either by crimes they had committed, nor by immoderate desires and passions — a hint intimating that those who were in favour of lenient measures were conscious of their own guilt, and not free from bad intentions.

289 *Hic* — that is, in the senate, in discussing matters of public importance, you allow yourselves to be guided only by your desire to gain money and popularity, being anxious not to offend any one who may be in your way.

290 *Vacuam* — namely, a *defensoribus*, 'defenceless,' 'helpless.'

291 *Incendere*, a free use of the infinitive for *ad patriam incendendam*.

292 A question expressive of wonder, in which the interrogative particles are commonly not used. See Zumpt, § 351, note.

293 Ironically: 'I am of opinion that you should have mercy, and dismiss the criminals.' The subjunctive without *ut* depends upon the verb *censeo*; it is not a subjunctive for an imperative.

294 'Assuredly this clemency of yours will end in misery.' Respecting *nae*, see Zumpt, § 360; and on the transitive sense of *vertere*, § 145.

295 The sentence beginning with *scilicet* is again ironical. The sense, without the irony, is: 'Nor can it be supposed that you consider the matter indeed difficult, but that you are without fear. You

are, on the contrary, full of fear, but you hesitate.’

296 Immo vero, ‘oh no; on the contrary.’ See Zumpt, § 277.

297 Respecting this form of hypothetical sentences, see Zumpt, § 524, note 1. The verb in the apodosis might be implorabis, without altering the meaning.

298 This statement differs in two points from the current tradition of history. First, the praenomen of this Manlius is commonly Titus, and so we must no doubt correct here, even though the manuscripts have Aulus. Secondly, he did not show his severe military discipline towards his son in the Gallic war, but in the great Latin war, which ended, in B.C. 340, with the subjugation of Latium. Manlius ordered his son to be executed in presence of the army; and to characterise that harsh severity, the orator uses the word necare instead of interficere or occidere.

299 Quidquam is stronger than siquid — that is, the expression of the negative is more strongly marked in the protasis.

300 ‘If there were room for a mistake’ — namely, in the resolution to be come to. The meaning is: ‘No time is to be lost, since, if you come to a wrong determination, you will be ruined before you have time to correct your decision’

301 ‘Is upon our necks,’ a figurative expression, properly applied to a wrestler who seizes another by the throat.

302 ‘What has chiefly helped in carrying out such great undertakings.’ Negotium sustinere, ‘to be able to carry out a business,’ representing the negotium as a burden.

303 Sallust states that, after mature consideration of all the circumstances, he has come to the conviction that the merit of individual citizens had raised Rome to its supremacy over the world, but that afterwards there were no men of importance, or excelling others by mental superiority, and that the state, as a whole, alone made the faults of individuals bearable. We must honour the judgment of Sallust, but cannot agree with it; we must rather believe that the unvarying ability of the whole Roman people, notwithstanding the not very prominent minds of individuals, was the cause of the rapid progress of the Roman dominion. In the later times, on the other hand, we meet a Scipio the younger, a Marius, a Sulla, a Pompey, and a Caesar, all of whom were men or generals of eminent talent, while all those who served under them were persons of inferior abilities.

304 Effeta parentum, the same as effeta parens, ‘a mother who has had children, but can have no more.’ Respecting the partitive genitive (as in aliqui militum for aliqui milites), see Zumpt, § 430. The author in the progress of his sentence abandons the construction with which he began, and which ought to have been continued thus: Roma haud sane quemquam virtute magnum protulit, for which he says, Romae haud sane quisquam virtute magnus fuit. This deviation from the construction may be explained still more easily, if in our mind we add facit to the words sicuti effeta parentum, ‘as is the case with an aged mother.’ Multis tempestatibus, ‘during a long time. The singular tempestatas in the sense of ‘time’ is not uncommon, but the plural tempestatas in the sense of ‘periods of time’ occurs only in Sallust in this passage, and Jug. 73, 96, and 108.’

305 Quin is used regularly for ut non after a negative clause: ‘I would not pass them over in silence, without unfolding their characters.’

306 ‘But the one a different one from the other.’ The Latin custom of repeating the same word obliges the author, having once said alia, to use alii, which, strictly speaking, should be alteri, as he is speaking of only two persons.

307 The less he strove after fame, the more it followed him of itself, so that gloria must be supplied.

308 Dicessit; that is, after the senate, a division having taken place, had decided in favour of Cato’s opinion. Compare p. 50, note 2 [note 245].

309 Read tresviros; each one by himself was called triumvir ‘one of the college of the three.’ These officers belonging to the magistratus minores, had the superintendence of the public prison, and the carrying of the sentence into execution; whence their complete title was tresviri capitales.

The singular, triumvir, does not justify the plural triumviri, since the ordinary grammatical laws require tres viri. In manuscripts, we usually had III. viri. Compare Zumpt, § 124.

310 The preposition de in this compound adds to the idea of the simple verb ducere, that of the place to which a person is led, and in which he is to remain; hence it is frequently used in the expression domum deducere, ‘to take’ or ‘lead a person home.’

311 Locus, quod. Respecting the gender of the relative pronoun, see Zumpt, § 372.

312 The whole structure was called carcer Mamertinus, and its main parts still exist, being changed into a Christian church, San Pietro in carcere. It is situated not far from the ancient forum Romanum, to the north-east, at the foot of the Capitoline hill. According to Sallust’s description, persons on entering had to go down a few steps leading to the entrance of the Tullianum, a subterranean apartment cut into the rock, and covered over with a roof; and this was the place where prisoners were executed. Their corpses were afterwards publicly exhibited in the adjoining Scalae Gemoniae. The name Tullianum is derived by the Romans from their king, Tullius Hostilius.

313 ‘The roof is bound together by arches of stone,’ to make it strong, for otherwise, wooden beams were used for such purposes.

314 Incultus, a substantive of rare occurrence, denoting ‘want of cleanliness,’ ‘the absence of care.’

315 Punishers of capital offences’ is only a paraphrase for carnifices, ‘executioners.’

316 Cornelius Lentulus had been consul as early as B.C. 71, but the year after, he had been ejected from the senate by the censors, on account of his base conduct. In order to be able to re-enter the senate, he caused himself to become praetor a second time in this year, B.C. 63, in which he ended his life so disgracefully. It is mentioned that he was of a manly and handsome appearance; but the baseness of his character is attested also by other authors.

317 The only one among the others who was a member of the senate was Cornelius Cethegus; Gabinius and Statilius were men of equestrian rank, and Caeparius was a native of the municipium of Terracina.

318 A regular military force is more commonly called copiae, but the singular, copia, also occurs in the sense of ‘army,’ especially when it consists of an irregular mass of troops.

319 Cohortes complet cannot mean in this passage, ‘he makes the cohorts complete,’ for such a completeness (consisting of at least 420 men) is incompatible with the addition pro numero militum, ‘according to the number of his soldiers’ in each cohort was not the usual number of a complete cohort. Complet refers to the number of cohorts, ten of which made a legion. Translate therefore, ‘he makes the full number of cohorts.’

320 Duobus milibus, Sallust might have said duo milia, with the ellipsis of quam so customary with plus, amplius, and minus. See Zumpt, § 485.

321 Sparus is said to be a wooden kind of weapon, resembling a shepherd’s staff, turned at the top; and lancea a spear with a handle in the middle. Both these weapons were not used by Roman soldiers, for the latter, besides the short and broad gladius, used the pilum, as long as a man is high, and as thick as a fist, the upper end of which was strongly provided with iron, and sometimes the hasta, which was still longer, and had an iron point.

322 L. Antonius, the colleague of Cicero in the consulship, B.C. 63.

323 Servitia, cujus magnae copiae; a singular construction, which cannot be explained otherwise than by taking cujus as a neuter, ‘slaves, of which large numbers flocked to him.’ This explanation, however, is supported by the consideration that slaves were regarded as things, and were designated by names of the neuter gender, as servitia, mancipia. In ordinary language, we should say cujus generis, ‘of which class of men.’

324 Videri for se videri, ‘he thought it contrary to his interest to appear to have maintained the cause of citizens with the aid of runaway slaves.’ Respecting the omission of the subject of the infinitive when it is a personal pronoun, see Zumpt, § 605.

325 The territory of Pistoria, in the north of Etruria, not far from Faesulae, and to the north of Florentia, is in the Apennines. The regular road from Pisae to Genoa, and thence across the Alps into Transalpine Gaul, ran along the sea-coast. Cisalpine Gaul was likewise protected against Catiline by Metellus, so that he could reach his goal (Transalpine Gaul) only by mountain passes.

326 Antonius followed the bands of Catiline, which were not inconvenienced by baggage, as they were fleeing (in fuga; that is, fugientes). Antonius's army marched on smoother roads, but had to carry heavier baggage. From all this, we see why Antonius, though not far from the enemy, yet could not reach him. Respecting the adverb utpote, see Zumpt, § 271. Utpote qui, 'the which,' is used as a conjunction for quippe qui, generally with the subjunctive, and indicates the cause of the preceding statement

327 Officere is properly 'to oppose,' 'obstruct,' aliquid alicui rei; then omitting the object (aliquid) with the dative alone, 'to be an obstacle to,' or 'to hinder,' therefore, officia famae tuae, 'I oppose something to your fame.' 'Internal fear is a hindrance to the ear,' so that admonitions are either not heard at all, or do not penetrate into the mind.

328 Catiline assigns the circumstance that he had expected aid and succours from Rome itself, as the cause of his not having set out for Gaul earlier, when he might have accomplished his end. Opperior, 'I wait for,' or expecto dum aliquis veniat.

329 Quo in loco, 'in which situation.' The preposition in might have been omitted. See Zumpt, § 481.

330 gestas, 'want,' with the genitive of the thing wanted, is of rare occurrence for inopia or penuria. Egestas is commonly used absolutely in the sense of 'poverty,' 'neediness.'

331 Haec is here used in the general sense of 'these circumstances;' that is, this honourable but difficult war. This we must infer from the haec following.

332 For the construction of mutare, see Zumpt, § 456.

333 Quis for quibus. Ea, not id. Zumpt, § 372.

334 'Give me courage,' or 'give me hope,' for hortari is applied to persons doing good things, and admonere to persons doing bad ones: hortamur properantem, admonemus cunctantem.

335 Cavete — amittatis, neu trucidemini for cavete, ne amittatis, neve (neu) trucidemini. See Zumpt, § 586.

336 Canere is used in different ways: tubicen canit signum, 'the trumpeter blows the signal;' tubicen canit, 'the trumpeter blows (his instrument);' signa canuntur, 'signals are blown' or 'given;' and lastly, signa canunt, 'the signals sound.' The last expression is the one used in our passage.

337 Rupe aspera, &c. 'For in accordance with the nature of the plain between hills on the left-hand side, and on the right a rugged rock, he drew up (only) eight cohorts in front.' A simpler construction would have been et rupem asperam a dextra, but the manuscripts are decidedly in favour of the ablative, which must be considered as an ablative absolute, and as forming a distinct clause. Other editions have the correction rupis aspera, 'the rough part of a rock' (aspera being the neut. plur.), but this is a poetical expression. See Zumpt, § 435.

338 Literally, 'The signals (vexilla) of the other cohorts he places in the rear as a reserve, more closely together.' Signa here denotes the separate divisions of the troops; that is, the cohorts and the three maniples in each cohort, which are distinguished from one another by their flags or banners (vexilla). When an army was drawn up in a spacious plain, a space was left between the several divisions, but in this case, the plain being too narrow, there were no such spaces.

339 'From among these who were drawn up as a reserve, he draws, for the purpose of strengthening the van, all centurions, picked men (in apposition), and the volunteers who had not been enlisted, as well as the ablest of the common soldiers who were provided with arms.' The word lectos belonging to centuriones, shows that Catiline had appointed to the office of centurions only chosen men who were personally known to him as able soldiers. Evocati were those soldiers in a Roman army who did not serve in the ranks of the other common soldiers, but as a separate corps,

and were exempt from the ordinary military duties of standing as sentinels, making fortifications, foraging, and the like. They derived their name from the fact that they were invited (evocare) by the general to serve in the army as volunteers; they, moreover, were generally more advanced in years than the regular troops.

340 Curare, 'to command'

341 Catiline himself stood nearest the standard (eagle) with his most faithful followers, whose personal fate depended upon him; that is, the freedmen of his family and the tenant farmers of his estates. The Roman nobles, as early as that time, used to parcel out their estates in small farms, which were tenanted especially by their freedmen, who were thus patronised by their former masters.'

342 Pedibus aeger. He had the gout. Dion Cassius, a later historian of Rome, who wrote in Greek, states that Antonius only pretended to be ill, in order not to have to fight against his friend Catiline.

343 A legatus, in this sense (for it also means 'ambassador'), supplied, in a Roman army, the place of a commander possessing the imperium. Accordingly, consuls and praetors, when intrusted with the command of an army, had one or more legates, according to the number of legions which they had under their command. The office of legate was given by the senate to such men as had held a magistracy, generally the praetorship, or at least the quaestorship, and the senate appointed them on the proposal of the commander-in-chief. When there were several legates, the commander-in-chief might intrust one of them with the command of the whole army; but the commander-in-chief was answerable for all the acts of his legate.

344 Tumulti for tumultus, as senati for senatus.

345 Ferentarii are light-armed troops fighting at a distance with javelins.

346 The banners being turned hostilely against one another. Respecting cum, see Zumpt, § 473; for we also find infestis signis concurrere, without cum, as an ablative of the instrument.

347 The cohors praetoria was a battalion which, in forming an army, was composed of the ablest and most tried soldiers, as the bodyguard of the commander-in-chief. They had to protect him, and assist him in contriving to bring any engagement to the point where he wished it to be. Under the emperors, the cohortes praetoriae, nine or ten in number — the emperors having several armies under their command — formed the body-guard of the emperor and the garrison of Rome.

348 There you might indeed have seen.' See Zumpt, § 528, note 2.

349 In the centre of the army where they were drawn up.

350 Adversa vulnera, 'wounds in the breast,' or 'in the front part of the body' generally. Adversa vulnera, on the other hand, are 'wounds in the back,' such as are inflicted on cowards that run away.

351 Quisquam for ullus. See Zumpt, § 676.

352 Juxta, 'equally little.' They had spared the life of their enemy as little as their own. Compare p. 41, note 3 [note 194].

353 These four substantives form contrasts, though intentionally not in the regular way, for gaudium and moeror denote a joyous and sad state of mind, 'joy' and 'sadness;' laetitia and luctus at the same time express the audible expressions of joy and grief. Accordingly, laetitia contrasts with luctus, and gaudia with moeror. Respecting the omission of the conjunction in describing contrasts of this nature, see Zumpt, § 783.

ENDNOTES FOR BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

- 354 Aevi brevis, 'of short duration.' Aevum, in the sense of aetas, is rather poetical, and does not occur till a rather late period; whence the common expression medium aevum, 'the middle ages,' is not exactly in accordance with the best Latinity
- 355 Invenias; supply quam naturam humanam.
- 356 Grassatur, the same as ingreditur, 'advances towards;' but grassari has the additional meaning of power and vehemence, whence it is often used to mark the progress of something bad.
- 357 Paulisper, 'for a short time.'
- 358 Auctores contains a whole clause — 'every one transfers his own fault, though he himself is the author of it, to circumstances;' that is, to the things which he himself has done.
- 359 Quodsi, 'if, however.' Zumpt, § 807.
- 360 'And at the same time very dangerous.' In many cases one feels inclined to assign to the adverb multum the meaning of 'often,' but with adjectives, it is used only to strengthen their meaning.
- 361 Reherentur; supply casibus.
- 362 Eo magnitudinis; that is, ad eam magnitudinem, 'to that greatness.' See Zumpt, § 434.
- 363 According to the common arrangement of words, it would be alia corporis, alia animi; but Sallust abandons this order just because it is common. For the same reason he prefers alii — pars to alii — alii. Naturam corporis (or animi) sequuntur, 'they follow the nature (that is, they are of the same kind) of body and mind.' Regarding the change of anima into animus, it must be observed that anima is 'the soul,' the seat and basis of animus (mind), which is the activity of the anima.
- 364 'But the mind is not subject to corruption' (that is, to dissolution and annihilation), for a perfect participle with the negative prefix in frequently denotes a passive impossibility, which is usually expressed by adjectives ending in ilis or bilis; as invictus miles, an invincible soldier.
- 365 The mind possesses all things, but itself is not possessed;' that is, it is free. This is an imitation of a well-known Greek phrase, εχω, ουκ εχομαι.
- 366 Admirari signifies not only 'to admire,' but also 'to wonder,' at anything which is surprising or displeasing; and in the latter sense it is the same as mirari.
- 367 Respecting ceterum as an adversative conjunction, see Zumpt, § 349.
- 368 Hac tempestate, the same as hoc tempore. Sallust frequently uses tempestatas in this sense, though certainly the time which he paints in such dark colours — namely, the period after the murder of Caesar, in B.C. 44 — was an agitated and stormy one.
- 369 'Who have obtained by fraud an honour or honourable office,' quibus honos contigit.
- 370 Honestus, 'honoured,' or 'honourable;' for honestus (from honor) is both the one who is intrusted with an honourable office, and in general he who is worthy of an honour. The persons here spoken of were honesti in the first, but not in the second sense.
- 371 It might seem doubtful as to whether parentes here means 'obeying persons' — that is, subjects of the Roman state — or 'kinsmen,' 'relatives.' We believe the latter to be the case, because to control subjects by force was not deemed improper by the ancients. Sallust elsewhere also combines patria et parentes (Catil. 6, Jug. 87), thereby expressing the idea of a free and equal civitas, which is to be convinced, not forced, and to be governed by magistrates chosen by itself, and not by a despotic ruler. The word importunus properly characterises the rudeness and unbearableness of a despot or tyrant.
- 372 Portendere is here the same as 'to bring with one's self,' or 'to be followed by.' It is a very sound remark, that by violent changes in a constitution, improvements may indeed be effected, but that at the same time these are accompanied or followed by many acts of injustice and crime.

- 373 Frustra niti, 'to strive in vain (namely, to effect improvements), if, after all, nothing but hatred is incurred by it, is extreme folly.'
- 374 Nisi forte, 'unless perhaps' — which surely cannot be the case with any sensible man. Respecting this use of nisi forte, expressing an improbable supposition, see Zumpt, § 526.
- 375 Libido — gratificari, 'the inclination to gratify;' for libido tenet is only a paraphrase for libet. This statement is striking, and but too true, for there are men who think it an honour to sacrifice their own conviction and independence for the purpose of pleasing persons in power.
- 376 Memoria rerum gestarum, 'the recording of events;' that is, the writing of history, the usefulness (virtus) of which is acknowledged.
- 377 The words per insolentiam belong to laudando extollere, and the meaning is, 'that no one may believe me to extol my own occupation with excessive praise.' Per insolentiam is the same as insolenter, per expressing manner.
- 378 'At least those to whom it appears to be a lofty occupation,' &c. Respecting the omission of the demonstrative pronoun before the relative, even when they are in different cases, see Zumpt, § 765.
- 379 'And what distinguished men were unable to attain such a distinction.' Sallust here boasts of having obtained a seat in the senate, and a high magistracy, at a time when it was a matter of difficulty, and when even men of great merit were unable to gain either. But at the same time he adds the remark, that afterwards many undeserving persons were introduced into the senate, to co-operate with whom was no honour. Quae genera hominum refers to the filling up of the senate with persons from the lower classes, and even with such as were not free-born. This connivance at ambitious upstarts, or rather this recklessness in filling up the vacancies in the supreme council of Rome, was shown not only by the dictator J. Caesar, but by his successors in power, M. Antony and Octavianus. In consequence of such things, Sallust adds, it will be evident that he was justified in withdrawing from public life.
- 380 That is, the celebrated Fabius Maximus, surnamed Cunctator, who distinguished himself by his prudence in the second Punic War. P. Scipio is the elder Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal. We might indeed imagine that Sallust is speaking of Scipio Africanus the younger, but his being mentioned along with Fabius Maximus must lead every reader to think of the elder Scipio.
- 381 The images (imagines) of ancestors might indeed be statues, but from the mention of wax in the next sentence, it is evident that we have to understand the wax masks which constituted the greatest ornament in the vestibule of the house of a noble family. The busts (portraits) of those ancestors who had been invested with a curule office were made of wax, and their descendants used these wax portraits to dress up persons representing in public processions the illustrious deceased, adorned with all
- 382 Scilicet, in this passage, is not a conjunction as usual, but, as in the earlier Latinity of Plautus and Terence, it is used for scire licet, 'one may perceive,' or 'it is self-evident,' and is accordingly followed by the accusative with the infinitive.
- 383 'The flame of their noble ambition did not become extinguished until their merit had obtained the fame and glory' (namely, of those ancestors).
- 384 His moribus, 'in the present state of morality;' an ablative absolute.
- 385 Instead of neque, the author might have used aut, for both particles are used to continue a negative statement. See Zumpt, § 337.
- 386 Homines novi, 'new men,' so called by the Romans, were those persons who were the first of their family to rise to curule offices, as Cato Censorius, and at a later time Cicero. In former times, Sallust says, such homines novi distinguished themselves by their ability, while now they rise by base means, especially by party strife and party interest, which he contemptuously calls latrocinium.

387 Proinde quasi, 'just as if,' and afterwards perinde habentur ut, 'they are considered as of equal value.' Compare Zumpt, §§ 282 and 340.

388 Respecting the special meaning of this periphrastic conjugation, see Zumpt, § 498. Sallust states that he wishes to describe this war separately, because during its progress there was kindled at Rome that struggle between the populares and the optimates, which was in the end carried on with such senseless vehemence, that only the devastation of Italy put a stop to the civil discord (studiis civilibus), and that only a military despotism (first of Caesar, and afterwards of the triumvirs) was able to restore peace. This part of the description of the Jugurthine war, accordingly, is of the greatest importance, in forming a correct idea of the history of Rome at that time.

389 The same meaning might have been expressed by ut omnia ad cognoscendum illustriora et apertiora sint. See Zumpt, § 106.

390 That is, 'after the Roman name had become great;' for in earlier times the Roman people had suffered still greater reverses, especially when the Gauls took and burned the city of Rome itself. But the

391 Africano. See Zumpt, § 421.

392 About et after multa, see Zumpt, § 756.

393 Magnum atque late, the connection of an adjective and adverb is somewhat singular — 'the dominion of Syphax existed as a large one, and had a wide extent;' for he possessed the whole of western Numidia, being the hereditary king of the people of the Massaesyli, while Masinissa had only the smaller, eastern, part, and the tribe of the Massyli.

394 'He had left him behind in a private station;' that is, he had not appointed him in his will ruler of any portion of his dominions. But his uncle Micipsa gave him that which his grandfather Masinissa had refused to him; namely, he recognised him as a prince of the royal family.

395 Luxu for luxui. See Zumpt, § 81.

396 'The favourable opportunity of his advanced age, and of the tender age of his children.'

397 Opportunities are apt to lead ordinary persons (not endowed with great mental powers) away from the right path. Transversus, 'that which turns away to one side.'

398 'In the war against Numantia.' Numantia was the capital of the Arevaci, a tribe of the Celtiberians in Spain, and was situated on the upper Durus (now Duero), in the mountainous district whence the Durus and Tagus flow westward, and other rivers eastward, into the Iberus (Ebro), and southward into the Mediterranean. This city carried on a desperate war against Rome to defend its own independence. After a brave resistance of many years, it was taken and destroyed, B. C. 133, by Scipio the younger, the destroyer of Carthage. Its ruins are believed to be in the neighbourhood of the modern Soria.

399 Qui tum erat — that is, quem tum Romani imperatorem habebant.

400 Difficillimum in primis, like difficillimum omnium; that is, the most difficult among those that were the first or foremost in difficulty.

401 The one — namely, to be good in council — usually produces timidity; the other — namely, to be bold in battle — rashness. Alterum — alterum, takes up the things mentioned before, but in an inverse order; respecting which, see Zumpt, § 700, note.

402 Erat for the usual subjunctive esset.

403 'To whom wealth was of more importance than that which is good and noble.'

404 For the meaning of pro in this and similar expressions, see Zumpt, § 311.

405 Not to make presents to individuals, quibus being used for aliquibus. Scipio must have seen with displeasure the intimacy between Jugurtha and certain young ambitious Romans of an equivocal character.

406 'In his own mode of acting,' must be understood here of his honourable mode of acting; though there are also malae artes, such as faithlessness, cunning, flattery, and the like.

407 Certo scio; we also find certe scio. See Zumpt, § 266, note.

408 Verba habere is sometimes used in the sense of orationem habere.

409 Me falsum habuit for me fefellit. We remarked before (Cat. 51) that Sallust is fond of using habere in certain phrases.

410 Amicissimos. See Zumpt, § 410.

411 Per regni fidem, 'by the conscientiousness which is observed in governing, and must be observed;' so that it is almost the same as per regiam fidem, or per fidem regum, which kings owe to one another.

412 Adjungere; supply tibi, 'connect yourself with strangers,' as opposed to supporting and maintaining friendly relations with his friends and kinsmen.

413 Sallust here changes his expression. He might have said parantur, but parere also occurs in other authors in the sense of parare, or 'to acquire.'

414 Ante hos, 'in preference to these.'

415 Observare has a sense similar to that of colere, 'to honour' and refers to the observance of all the duties of devotedness, especially in the external relations of social life.

416 Reguli may be petty kings with small dominions as well as young kings — that is, princes. We here take the latter to be the meaning.

417 Adherbalem assedit, or Adherbali assedit, 'he sat himself down at the right-hand side of Adherbal.' See Zumpt, § 386, note. There accordingly remained for Jugurtha only the place on the left of Adherbal — that is, the least honourable of the three places.

418 Fatigatus is commonly construed with an ablativus, which is here to be supplied (precibus); but without such an addition, fatigare signifies 'to importune a person with prayers and requests.'

419 'Within the last three years;' but as the author is here speaking of the time at which something happened, it is used instead of ante triennium, or triennium ante.

420 Cum animo habere, the same as cum, or in animo agitare, vovere, reputare. Here, again, we must attend to the use of habere.

421 Alius alio, 'one in one direction, and the other in another.' See Zumpt, § 289.

422 Proximus lictor is the one of the lictors who, when they precede the praetors or consuls, walks last, and is therefore nearest to his commander; and this lictor, according to Roman custom, had the highest rank among his fellow-lictors. The customs of the Romans were imitated at the courts of allied princes

423 Claves adulterinae, 'imitation keys.'

424 Respecting the quum in descriptions, where it is commonly preceded by interea, or interim, see Zumpt, § 580.

425 Parat, in the sense of se parat, 'he prepares himself,' or 'sets about,' and thus parare is not unfrequently used by Sallust absolutely in the sense of statuere and instituere.

426 Provincia here is the Roman province of Africa, consisting of the territory of Carthage which had been destroyed, and containing the towns of Leptis, Hadrumetum, Utica, and Carthage, which was gradually rising again as a Roman town. That territory now belongs to the dey of Tunis, a vassal prince of the Turkish sultan. Numidia, in the west of the Roman province, was bounded in the west by the kingdom of Mauretania, and comprised the modern Algeria which is possessed by the French.

427 Paucis diebus, 'within a few days;' that is, a few days after. See Zumpt, § 480.

428 Singulos ambire, 'to go about addressing individual persons,' has at the same time the meaning of 'attempting to gain them over by intreaties or promises.'

429 'That no severe decree might be passed against him,' ne gravius consilium in eum caperetur.

430 Adherbal says that only the administration of Numidia belongs to him, but that the legal title and supremacy belong to Rome — the language of abject servility, by which he wishes to recommend himself to the protection of the senate.

431 Affines are those connected with one another by marriage, whereas cognati are relations by blood.

432 Sustinere is here the same as ferre.

433 'As I was to come to such misery;' that is, as it had been ordained by fate that I should come to such misery. See Zumpt, § 498.

434 Adherbal wishes to be able to solicit the aid of the Romans, in consequence of his own services, rather than those of his ancestors; he then again divides that wish, considering it as most desirable that the Roman people should owe him services without his being in want of them, and next in desirableness that the services which he requires should be performed as services due to him. By this latter sentiment he returns to the point from which he set out — namely, his wish to have done good services (beneficia) to the Romans. Vellem in this sentence is followed twice by the accusative with the infinitive (posse, to which me is to be supplied, and beneficia debere), and then by a clause with ut (uti; that is, ut — uter). Secundum ea, 'next to,' or 'next after this,' according to the etymology of secundum from sequor.

435 In manu fuit, an expression not uncommon in the comic poets; in manu alicujus est, 'it is in a person's power.'

436 'At a time when the good fortune of the Romans did not render it so desirable to enter into connection with them as their fidelity and trustworthiness.'

437 'Do not allow me in vain to pray for your assistance.' Me in this sentence is accompanied by two accusatives in apposition, first progeniem, and then nepotem Masinissae.

438 Observe the unusual combination Romani populi for populi Romani, which is to be explained by the fact, that here Romani is the more emphatic word, placing the Roman people in contrast with other nations.

439 'O I, unfortunate man! to what result, father Micipsa, have thy good services led!' For the accusative me miserum, see Zumpt, § 402; and for the double suffix in hucine, § 132.

440 'Never, then, will our family be at peace!' an exclamation to which afterwards an interrogative sentence with ne is appended. The former also might have been expressed by numquamne ergo, &c.

441 The subjunctive jussissetis indicates a repeated action. See Zumpt, § 569. The senate and people of Rome had the right to make war and peace throughout the extent of the Roman dominion, so that the allied nations and kings were obliged to regard those against whom the Romans declared war as their own enemies; as, for example, not long since, the Numantines.

442 'Who being a brother, was at the same time a relation.' Respecting this use of the pronoun idem, when the two predicates are added to one subject, see Zumpt, § 697.

443 Non queo; that is, nequeo, or non possum.

444 Extorris (from terra), as exsul from solum, 'homeless.' Respecting the ablative denoting separation or privation, see Zumpt, § 468.

445 Tutius; the adjective tutior also might have been used. Respecting the use of adverbs with esse, see Zumpt, § 365.

446 Maxime tutos; that is, omnium tutissimos..

447 'Whatever was in the power of our family;' quod per familiam nostram stetit.

448 This inserted clause belongs to the following propinquus. The demonstrative id (or is) is omitted, and the relative clause precedes the word to which it refers. See Zumpt, §§ 765, 813.

449 Pars — pars; that is, alii — alii; whence the verb is in the plural.

450 Exigere vitam for agere vitam, but implying a long and sorrowful life.

451 'Which out of friendly things (circumstances), have become hostile.' The neuter necessaria also comprises the persons who are termed necessarii, 'persons connected by ties of relationship or friendship;' such as in particular Jugurtha, the adoptive brother of the speaker.

452 'Whither shall I turn myself? whom shall I call to my assistance?' Donatus, an ancient

grammarian, in his commentary on Terence, quotes from Sallust quo accidam? 'whither shall I turn myself for assistance?' but none of the manuscripts has that reading in this passage

453 He alludes to the nations and kings who were still independent and had not yet been incorporated with the Roman empire, especially the kings of Syria and Egypt, and perhaps also the king of Mauritania.

454 Sallust might have said hujus imperii, but he prefers the dative, which is a dativus incommodi.

455 Secundus, 'favourable,' according to its derivation from sequor, is especially used of a favourable wind, but also in the general sense of 'assisting,' or 'devoted to.'

456 Fatigare, 'to importune a person with prayers.' See note chap. 3.

457 Quodutinam connects this sentence in an animated manner with the preceding, otherwise utinam alone might be used. 'Yes, would that I could but see Jugurtha feigning these very things.'

458 Nae ille — reddat; as far as the sense is concerned, this sentence forms the apodosis to the preceding wish: 'would that I could see him in like circumstances, and would that at length the gods opened their eyes; then he would surely have to pay a heavy penalty for his impiety, for the death of my brother and for my sufferings.' The present subjunctive in the apodosis corresponds with the same tense in the protasis, and differs very little from the future indicative. See Zumpt, § 524, note.

459 'Although life has been taken from thee before the age of maturity, and by a person who should have done it least of all.' Unde, the more general relative, is here used for a quo homine. In like manner the Romans, in legal phraseology, called the defendant unde petitur; that is, the person of whom payment is demanded.

460 Doleo, 'I grieve at,' is construed with de, as de casu tuo, with the ablative alone, casu tuo, and also as a transitive verb with the accusative, doleo casum tuum. Laetari here follows the construction of doleo, for it is generally followed by de, or the ablative alone. See Zumpt, § 383.

461 Namely, the life and death of the persecuted Adherbal depends upon the power of Jugurtha.

462 Adherbal wishes two things: first, that a speedy death may terminate his misfortunes; and second, not to be obliged to live in contempt, if he should yield to Jugurtha. But neither of these things, says he, can be done. Jugurtha will continue to lay snares for him, and if he yields, and gives up to him his kingdom, he must live despised. These two wishes are here uttered to move the hearts of the senators, expressed as they are by a king

463 Per vos liberos atque parentes vestros. The words per liberos belong together; to vos supply oro. See Zumpt, § 794. Adherbal intreats the senators by their children and parents, because Jugurtha has so criminally trampled on the sacred rights of the family. Others read per vos per liberos vestros; but this is wrong, and the repetition of per is bad: we never intreat persons by themselves, but by something that is dear to them.

464 Tabescere, 'to waste away,' 'perish;' the proper meaning is, 'to be consumed by some disease.'

465 Ante facta, &c. It would have been more common to say factis suis anteponerent. In Cicero, ante is not used to denote preference as in Sallust, Cat. 53: Graeci ante Romanos fuere for Graeci Romanis praestabant

466 According to Sallust's mode of speaking, we should have expected depravati, pars being only another form for alii. But nothing can be said against the grammatical agreement pars depravata, it being that form which, according to grammar, should be used.

467 Scaurus dreaded the stained audacity of those who accepted bribes from Jugurtha without any scruple or shame, and would have liked to stir up against them the hatred and envy of others. Licentia is the conduct of a man who thinks he is allowed to do anything, and accordingly here signifies to accept bribes by which statesmen disgrace themselves. The adjective which properly re-

fers to men (*pollutus*) is here transferred to *licentia*. Sallust describes Aemilius Scaurus, one of the most eminent men of his age (he was twice consul and *princeps senatus*), as a prudent aristocrat, anxious to keep up a respectable appearance, and to avoid suspicion as much as possible; although in secret he, too, had recourse to unfair means to obtain influence and wealth. The events which Sallust has related hitherto, the murder of Hiempsal, the expulsion of Adherbal by Jugurtha, and Adherbal's flight to Rome, belong to the year B.C. 116, a time when, if we except some trifling wars against barbarous tribes on the frontiers, the Roman Republic was not engaged in any military undertaking.

468 Opimius had been consul in B.C. 121, and in that year he had, with the authority of the senate, crushed the democratical party of G. Gracchus by force of arms. In consequence of that victory, several very harsh measures had been adopted by the aristocracy to strengthen and increase the power of the senate and the nobility. Opimius, too, was a statesman of loose principles, as is clear from the narrative of Sallust.

469 Fide for *fidei*. See Zumpt, § 85, note 3

470 Possedit, 'he took possession of.' The present *possideo* only means 'to possess;' but the past tenses, *posse*, *posse*, at the same time have the meaning of 'taking possession,' as if they were formed from a present *possideo*, *possideo*. Compare the similarly-formed compounds of *sido*, *sidero*, in Zumpt, § 189.

471 *Frequentata sunt*, 'they have been frequented.' The participle is in the neuter, the subjects being both animate and inanimate. *Asperitas* refers to the inaccessible nature of mountainous districts.

472 Other editions have *in partem tertiam*, and this deviation from the common mode of speaking (which is to use *pono* with *in* and the ablative) commentators explain by the remark, that the division was not yet made, but only supposed. But the Latin language knows of no such distinction.

473 In the earliest times, before the earth was divided into three parts, it was rather customary to consider Africa, especially Egypt and the countries about the Nile, as belonging to Asia. To connect Africa with Europe could only have been an idea of those who divided the earth into an eastern and a western half, and did not know the vast extent of Africa to the south..

474 *Fretum, &c.*; that is, the *Fretum Herculeum*, or the Straits of Gibraltar. It is clear that Sallust wants to state only the northern frontier of Africa on the Mediterranean, and the frontiers in the east and west. The extent of Africa southward was too little known to him to speak about it. '

475 'The inclined plain,' or, as the geographer Mela says, 'the valley which inclines towards Egypt.' The length of this valley extends from south to north as far as the Mediterranean, and in the upper part it separates the immense desert in the west from the oasis in the east, which is considered as a part of Egypt. The easternmost country in Africa on the Mediterranean was Cyrenaica. It is therefore quite clear that Sallust does not include Egypt in Africa.

476 Sallust wants to give a short account of the original inhabitants of Africa, and their amalgamation with new immigrants, such as it was translated for him from the Punic books of King Hiempsal. This Hiempsal is not the same as the one already mentioned, who had been murdered by Jugurtha, but a later descendant of Masinissa, who ruled after Jugurtha, and was still alive in the days of Cicero, about B. C. 60. *Interpretatum est*, in a passive sense. See Zumpt, § 632.

477 Within the clause expressed by the ablative absolute (*multis — petentibus*) there is inserted another stating that each did so for himself, and that in the nominative case, because *multis petentibus* is, after all, only a different form for *quum multi peterent*. Grammatically speaking, it ought to be *sibi quoque*; but no Latin would have understood this, since he would have taken *quoque* as an adverb. See Zumpt, § 710. *Passim*, 'in different places,' 'scattered everywhere,' but not 'here and there.' The tradition of the immense conquests extending to the western extremities of the known earth, which are ascribed to Hercules (Heracles), who occurs in the traditions of various nations,

runs through the whole of ancient history.

478 *Nostrum mare* is the Mediterranean, the African coast of which was occupied by the parts of Hercules' army here mentioned; and the *Persae*, it is farther stated, occupied that coast which is more within (that is, 'on this side,' as a person writing at Rome would say) the ocean.

479 *Gnarus* and *ignarus* have most commonly an active meaning, denoting 'one who does know,' or 'one does not know;' but sometimes, and especially in Sallust and Tacitus, they have a passive meaning, 'he who is known,' and 'he who is not known.' So here *ignara lingua* is the same as *ignota lingua*.

480 'They tried the fields;' that is, 'the soil,' as to whether it was fruitful, and in this manner they sometimes inhabited one place, and sometimes another. *Alia, deinde alia*, is the same as *alia atque alia*, as in chap. 26. Hence they were called in Greek *Νομάδες*, and the Greek accusative of this word, *Nomadas* for *Nomades*, is used by Sallust in the next sentence. See Zumpt, § 74.

481 The Medes and Armenians in the army of Hercules joined the Libyans, the ancient inhabitants of Africa. *Libyes* is the accusative, for *accedere* is joined with the accusative as well as the dative of the person whom one joins. See Zumpt, § 386, note.

482 This derivation of the name *Mauri* is very improbable. The *Mauri* are the inhabitants of the western part of the African coast of the Mediterranean. They lived to the west of the mouth of the river *Mulucha* (which separated them from the *Numidians*), opposite *Malaga* and *Cadiz*, and also on the coast of the ocean extending southward as far as those countries were known to the ancients. The modern name of *Moors* is derived from the ancient *Mauri*.

483 *Utrique* refers to *parentes* and their descendants, the *Numidae*. One part of the nation trusted to the other (*alteris freti*), and was supported by it.

484 To *aliis* — *avidis* supply *sollicitatis*.

485 All three are cities in the territory of Carthage, which afterwards became the province of Africa. *Hippo* with the surname of *Diarrhytus*, (there being another town, *Hippo Regius*, on the coast of *Numidia*,) is said to be the modern *Bizerta*; *Hadrumetum*, southeast of Carthage, and *Leptis*, surnamed *minor* (there being another town, *Leptis magna*, more to the east), are now in ruins.

486 'To their origin;' that is, to their mother country *Phoenicia*, whence the settlers had come.

487 The transition to Carthage by the conjunction *nam* presupposes the ellipsis of some such sentiment as — 'I only meant to mention these Phoenician settlements on the African coast, for it is well known that Carthage also was a settlement of the Phoenicians.'

488 *Secundo mari*, 'along the sea,' is said according to the analogy of *secundo flumine* (see *Caes. Bell. Gall. vii. 58*) *secundo flumine ad Lutetiam iter facere coepit*. The sea has indeed no current like a river, but the direction is determined by the person travelling on the coast, and in this case it is the direction from east to west. *Theraei* are the inhabitants of the island of *Thera*, in the Greek Archipelago, south of *Peloponnesus*, whence the first Greek settlers at *Cyrene* proceeded in B. C. 631, under the leadership of *Battus*. Respecting the Greek genitive *on*, instead of *orum*, see Zumpt, § 52, 1.

489 *Syrtis major* and *Syrtis minor* are two large sandbanks near the coast of Africa between *Cyrene* and Carthage. They were very dangerous to navigation, and between them lay the route to *Leptis magna*, a city of considerable importance. Compare chap. 78, where Sallust describes these sandbanks and the bays named after them.

490 The origin of the name of this place is stated by Sallust, chap. 79. As it was situated above the great, that is, the eastern *Syrtis*, it is clear that *deinde* is used somewhat vaguely, since only the great *Syrtis*, but not the town of *Leptis* and the small *Syrtis*, precede the place *Arae Philaenon* in the order of succession.

491 'Above *Numidia*;' that is, southward, towards

492 *Novissime*, 'latterly;' that is, at the beginning of the third Punic war, the result of which

was, that Carthage and its territory became a Roman province.

493 *Cetera ignarus*, 'otherwise unknown.' Compare p. 87, note 4 [note 127]; and on *cetera*, Zumpt, § 459.

494 *Questum*, the supine, 'in order to complain'

495 'The war previously undertaken had turned out unsuccessfully.' About *secus*, see Zumpt, § 283.

496 *Cirta*, the capital of Numidia, situated in that part of the country nearest to Carthage, or the Roman province. It is said to be 'not far from the sea,' only in consideration of the vast extent of Numidia to the south. *Cirta* is the modern Constantina, which name it received in honour of the Emperor Constantine, and is situated at a distance of four days' march from *Bona*, the ancient Hippo Regius.

497 *Plerumque* for the more common *plurimum*, 'the greater part.' See Zumpt, § 103.

498 As Sallust in other passages connects *pars* and *alii*, so here *partim* and *alios*, *partim* being the same as *partem*.

499 *Togati* are Roman citizens, for they alone wore the peculiar and privileged dress called *toga*. But it may be that other Italians also are comprised under the name; for Romans and Italians resided in great numbers in all the towns subject to the Roman dominion, for the sake of commerce, and in them they formed a distinct *conventus*. *Moenibus prohibere*. See Zumpt, § 468.

500 It would be more in accordance with the ordinary usage to say, *et se et illis*. See Zumpt, § 338.

501 Literally, 'but this report was mild;' that is, it spoke of the battle and siege as if they had been mild or moderate; which was not the case, as Jugurtha carried them on with all his energy.

502 *Pro bono facere*; literally, 'to act in accordance with what is good,' and hence 'to act well,' *bene agere*.

503 *Utrique* refers to both parties — the Roman ambassadors on the one hand, and Jugurtha on the other. The ambassadors were not allowed to speak with Adherbal.

504 *Arrigere*, the same as *excitare*; hence frequently *animum arrigere*, 'to rouse courage.'

505 *Nisi tamen intellego* refers to the preceding *plura scribere nolo*, and expresses an exception, as is always the case with *nisi* after a negative: he will write nothing else, but still add the remark that Jugurtha aimed at something beyond the kingdom of Adherbal; namely, that he intended afterwards to attack the Romans themselves, because he saw that the acquisition of the kingdom of Adherbal was irreconcilable with the friendship of Rome. *Plura non scribam nisi hoc intellego* is an elliptical expression, equivalent to *plura non scribam, nisi hoc scribam, me intellegere*.

506 'Whatever may have been our mutual acts of injustice, it is no concern of yours;' that is, they must be indifferent to you. Consider only the fact, that he has taken possession of the kingdom of your ally.

507 Adherbal, for the purpose of exciting the sympathy of the senate, represents it as a fact that he is born only to exhibit (endure) the crimes of Jugurtha. Respecting the dative *ostentui*, see Zumpt, §§ 90 and 422.

508 Adherbal prays the senate to prevent (*deprecor*) his enemy from acquiring the sole sovereignty, and from killing him amid tortures.

509 *Consuleretur*; supply *senatus*; 'that the subject of the disobedience shown by Jugurtha should be brought for decision before the senate.'

510 *Enisum est*, 'it was carried.' Observe the passive meaning of the deponent verb.

511 *Quam ocissime*, 'as speedily as possible.' The positive of *ocissime* is not in use in Latin. Zumpt, § 293, note.

512 *Cirtam irrumpere* is a peculiarity in the style of Sallust, the common expression being, in *urbem irrumpere*. See Zumpt, § 386, note.

513 By engaging the enemy's troops in different places, and thus dividing them. This is the

meaning of the inseparable particle *dis* or *di*.

514 'Although he considered everything else to be of more weight than the faithfulness (promise) of Jugurtha.' The conquest of *Cirta*, and the putting to death of Adherbal, belong to the year B. C. 112.

515 *Interpellando*, 'by interrupting the speakers, and introducing other topics.'

516 By this law of the tribune G. Sempronius Gracchus, in the year B. C. 122, it had been ordained that every year previous to the election of the consuls for the next year, the senate should determine those provinces which should be assigned to the consuls about to be elected, after the expiration of the year of their office. As two provinces were thus fixed upon, the consuls afterwards determined by lot which should have the one, and which the other. The object of this law was to prevent intrigues in the senate, which would be carried on by the ruling consuls if they had to choose their own provinces.

517 *Obvenit*, 'fell to the lot.' Whenever Italy is called a province, it is implied that the consul undertaking its administration was to remain at Rome, and was to be ready for any other war which might break out. For in the first place, there were now no wars in Italy, and in the second place, Italy was not a province in the ordinary sense of the term. The consuls here mentioned entered upon their office on the 1st January, B. C. 111.

518 *Venum eo*, or contracted *veneo*, infinitive *venire*, 'to go to be sold,' or 'to be sold;' the passive of *vendo* (I sell) is not in use. Zumpt, § 187.

519 *Adventabant*, with the accusative, see Zumpt, § 489.

520 In *diebus*, &c.; for *in*, with words denoting time, see Zumpt, § 479. *Deditum* is a supine.

521 *Legare* properly signifies 'to despatch,' and 'to add to;' whence the word *legatus* means both 'an ambassador,' and 'a person added to an officer,' who, when necessary, supplies his place. See *Catil.* chap. 59. It was the business of the senate to supply such legates to a magistrate (*senatus legat aliquem alicui*), but as this was commonly done on the proposal or recommendation of the magistrate himself, we also read *legat sibi*, 'he chooses some one to be his legate.'

522 *Supra*. See chap. 15..

523 Respecting the omission of *in* before *Siciliam*, see Zumpt, § 398, note 1.

524 *Aeger avaritia*, 'sick with avarice;' a very appropriate expression, describing moral defects as a disease.

525 *A principio*; that is, in *principio*. See Zumpt, § 304. The faction of Scaurus is that of the nobility or aristocracy.

526 *Vaga*, a considerable town in Numidia, to the south-east of *Cirta*.

527 'A truce was observed on account of (or during) the delay of the surrender,' which Jugurtha had promised, but which could not yet be carried into effect.

528 *Secreta* refers to *reliqua*, so that the other negotiations were secret, whereas the proposal to surrender had been made in presence of the war council. It would have been more in accordance with ordinary usage to employ the adverb *secretum* belonging to the verb.

529 The opinions of the persons invited to the war council were asked only *en masse* (*per saturam*). The Latin expression is taken from *lanx satura*, a dish offered as a sacrifice to the gods, and containing different kinds of fruit. Its figurative application to other mixtures is here indicated by *quasi*.

530 *Pro consilio*; that is, in *consilio*. See Zumpt, § 311.

531 To cause the magistrates for the year B.C. 110 to be elected. The president in the elective assembly *rogat populum* (requests the people) to appoint new officers; hence *rogare*, the usual term.

532 *Parum constabat*, 'was not firmly determined upon;' namely, *iis, patribus* — that is, they had not yet made up their minds.

533 *Dehortantur a vobis* — that is, *ad causam vestram suscipiendam*, 'many things dissuade me to undertake your cause.' According to the context, the expression might, or rather should be,

multa me dehortantur, ni superaret; but the present represents the act of superare as an actual fact, and is at the same time more impressive.

534 The number XV., which is found in all good manuscripts, points to the year B. C. 125, in which the aristocracy gained a decisive victory through the praetor L. Opimius, who destroyed the town of Fregellae, and thereby crushed the first attempt of the Italian allies (socii) to obtain the Roman franchise. It may be supposed that this attempt of the allies was even then supported by the Roman plebs, as was the case afterwards in the time of Marius

535 Ab ignavia is to be taken in the sense of 'in consequence of,' or 'on account of your cowardice.' See Zumpt, § 305.

536 When your political enemies (in consequence of the crime which they have committed) are deserving of punishment, and in your hands.'

537 Animus subigit. 'My feelings compel me to stand out against the faction (of the optimates), in spite of your lukewarmness.'

538 Ob rem, 'effectually,' 'with success.'

539 'They must ruin themselves.'

540 'I will grant that everything has been done with justice, which cannot be punished without again shedding the blood of citizens;' that is, the cruelties then committed by the optimates in crushing Tib. and G. Gracchus may be considered as legitimate, since the perpetrators cannot be punished without fresh executions. Ulciscor, usually a deponent, is here used in a passive sense, just as the participle ultus is sometimes used in the sense of vindicatus. For the same reason, the passive form nequitur has been chosen; respecting which, see Zumpt, § 216.

541 Parum habuere, 'they considered it too little' (this is the meaning of parum): it was not enough for them that they had committed such disgraceful acts.

542 Incedere per ora hominum, 'to walk in the eyes' or 'in the sight of men.'

543 'The cruelties committed against the defenders of the plebs, serve them as a bulwark;' that is, make them only the more audacious.

544 About quam maxime — tam maxime, expressing a proportionate increase, see Zumpt, § 725.

545 A complicated expression — 'they have transferred their fear, which they ought to have on account of their crime, to your cowardice;' that is, to you who are cowards, or whom they consider as cowards.

546 In unum coëgit; that is, conjunxit, copulavit. The infinitives here are the subjects of the sentence: the same fear and the same greediness have united all your opponents into one league. Compare Cat. 20: idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.

547 Beneficia vestra; that is, honores, magistratus, imperia.

548 The speaker refers to the two most important secessions of the Roman plebs — the one in which they obtained their tribunes in B.C. 510, and the other, which was undertaken in B.C. 449, to restore the consulate and the tribuneship after the overthrow of the tyrannical rule of the decemvirs. Both led to the establishment of a legitimate state of things (jus), and the latter, in particular, to the establishment of the decisive authority of the people against the magistrates and the patri-cians. This sovereignty of the Roman people was termed majestas. These secessions, according to the statements of the ancients, were made to the Mons Sacer, and not to the Aventine; but Sallust here follows other ancient authorities; and it is probable enough that the plebs may have occupied both hills.

549 Respecting the form of this sentence, see Zumpt, § 781. The answer to this question is contained in the clause atque eo vehementius, to which we must supply nitendum vobis est. Atque introduces the answer with emphasis.

550 Vindicare is construed with in and the accusative, as well as vindicare scelus in aliquo and vindicare aliquam rem. Vindicare in aliquem, 'to use force against a person for the purpose of tak-

ing revenge.' Vindicare sibi rem, 'to claim a thing for one's self,' or 'to appropriate a thing.'

551 Quaestio, 'a judicial inquiry into a crime,' 'a criminal trial.'

552 Nisi forte supposes, with a strong irony, a case which cannot be conceived. See Zumpt, § 526.

553 Quantum importunitatis habent, 'according to the high degree of impudence and arrogance which they possess.' Sallust might have said, quae eorum importunitas est, or pro eorum importunitate. See Zumpt, § 705.

554 Rex, according to Roman notions, always contains the idea of an absolute ruler, and is therefore frequently used in the sense of 'a tyrant.' The idea of a constitutional or limited monarchy was not known in antiquity, except perhaps at Sparta.

555 Perditum eat; that is, perdatis. See Zumpt, §669.

556 Practically, it is quite correct, that in the administration of a state it is more necessary to punish criminals than to reward good services; for it is impossible that all good citizens should be rewarded with external distinctions; but if a criminal remains unpunished, he does harm by his example, and undermines the organism of the state.

557 Arcessere, 'to summon before a court of justice,' governs the genitive of the thing for which a person is summoned.

558 Rogatio, 'a proposal to the people,' because, in making a proposal, as well as at elections of magistrates, the people were requested (rogabatur) to pass a resolution.

559 Per sese, 'as far as lay in him,' 'as much as he could,' as in the phrase per me licet.

560 Respecting Romae Numidiaequae, where Numidiae by a kind of attraction takes the same case as Romae, instead of in Numidia, see Zumpt, § 398, note 1.

561 'He (Jugurtha) would not, indeed, thereby be a safety to his accomplices, but destroy his own hope (of obtaining pardon).'

562 The words quae ira fieri amat are very surprising, but were regarded by the ancients themselves as a Graecism of Sallust, from whom Quinctilian quotes the words quae vulgus amat fieri, which occurred in a work of Sallust that is lost. In both cases, we must construe ira (vulgus) amat with an accusative with the infinitive after it: 'anger likes that this or that should happen.'

563 Animus augecit, 'courage grows' or 'increases.' For the plural animi, see Zumpt, § 92.

564 We here enter the year B.C. 110.

565 Urgueat, 'presses Jugurtha;' that is, he is hindered by the indignation on account of his past crimes, and at the same time by the apprehension with which the Roman people regard him.

566 He would like best that it should be done in secret; but if this should not succeed, he would like it to be done in any way, whatever it might be. Instead of maxime, the author might have said potissimum. See the same expression chap. 46.

567 Profiteri indicium, 'to declare that you will state everything.' We must understand that in the defective administration of justice at Rome, the index (informer) received a promise of impunity.

568 Manifestus, with the genitive of the crime, is a person qui mani festo tenetur, or against whom there is most decisive evidence.

569 Animum adverto, the same as the compound animadverto, like venum eo for veneo.

570 Jugurtha had given fifty sureties in the name of Bomilcar, in order that he might remain at liberty. These sureties were of course fifty Roman citizens. As Bomilcar fled, those sureties had to pay the money with which each guaranteed his appearance, and there can be no doubt but that Jugurtha secretly paid the money.

571 Paucis diebus. See Zumpt, § 480.

572 This season was usually the middle of the year, but was frequently delayed until the autumn. The consul Albinus seems to have been commissioned to preside at the elections, because his colleague, who had obtained Macedonia, was at a still greater distance.

573 Jugurtha protracted the war, delayed the negotiations for peace, and in this manner thwarted the consul. We have here restored the active form *ludificare*, because it exists in all the manuscripts. It is found also in Cicero, though the deponent *ludificari* is more frequent.

574 Some were convinced that after the hurry which the consul had shown at the beginning, the war was protracted, not so much by his carelessness, as by his cunning designs. *Non magis quam* is expressed in modern languages as if the Latin were *dolo magis quam socordia*: 'they believed that the war was protracted by his cunning designs rather than by his carelessness.' See Zumpt, § 725.

575 *Continuare magistratum*, 'to continue for another year in a magistracy which has been given for only one year.' In the case of some magistracies this was forbidden by law; in that of tribunes of the people, it occurs rather frequently in the early times, that they were re-elected twice or oftener in successive years. The last instance of a tribuneship lasting for two years is that of G. Gracchus, in B.C. 123 and 122; and even then this re-election was the cause of violent commotions, and it was impossible to carry it for the third year.

576 Around the wall, which had been built on the extreme edge of a precipitous rock, the clayey soil had formed a marsh. Respecting *extremum* used substantively, see Zumpt, § 435.

577 Respecting the frequentatives *ductare* and *missitare*, which last is a secondary derivative from *mittere* (as *currere*, *cursare*, *cursitare*), see Zumpt, § 231; and about *vitabundus*, § 248.

578 The usual arrangement of the words would be: *corrumpere, ut alii (partim) transfugerent, alii — desererent*. The *ut* is here repeated in the second clause, which is rather unusual.

579 *Trepidare*, in its proper sense, is, 'to run about with fear and trembling.'

580 *Anceps*, 'twofold,' on the part of the enemy and of that of nature.

581 The author here distinguishes the infantry (*cohors*) and cavalry (*turma*) of the auxiliaries, and the common soldiers from the Roman legions.

582 The *primus pilus* in a Roman legion is the first company (*manipulus*) of the third class of legionaries, who were called *pilani* or *triarii*, and were employed in battle as a reserve, while the two other classes of legionaries, the *hastati* and *principes*, began the engagement. A legion thus contained ten maniples of every class; that is, altogether thirty maniples, each of which consisted of two *centuriae*, and each *centuria* was commanded by a *centurio*. Out of these sixty centurions of a legion, the two commanding the *primus pilus* (they themselves also were called, like their companies, *primi pili*) were the first in rank, and again the *ductor prioris centuriae primi pili* was the principal centurion in a legion. The treachery of such an officer, therefore, is the more surprising. To the pronoun *ea* supply *via*; *ea*, with this ellipsis, is used as an adverb in the sense of 'there.' See Zumpt, § 207, 288.

583 In accordance with the rules on the *oratio obliqua*, Sallust ought to have written *teneat*

584 A *jugum* was formed by two lances fixed in the ground, and a third fastened across them so as to form a gate. When an army confessed itself to be conquered, and after capitulating, was allowed to depart, the troops had to march under a yoke of this description.

585 *Dolere pro gloria*, 'to be grieved for reputation,' that is, as they were interested in the glory of their country, they were grieved at the disgrace (*dedecore* or *propter dedecus*) they had suffered. *Timere libertati*, 'to be afraid of losing one's freedom,' it appearing to be in danger. See Zumpt, § 414.

586 *Nomen Latinum* is the same as *socii Latini*, or *Latini* alone. The expression properly signifies those who are called Latins; for this class of people comprised not only those who really belonged to the nation of the Latins — such as the inhabitants of the ancient Latin towns of Tibur and Praeneste — but those also whose towns subsequently received the same privileges. The latter were termed *coloniae Latinae* — such as Alba in the country of the Marsians, Beneventum in Samnium, Cremona and Placentia on the Po.

587 *Ex copia rerum*, 'according to his present resources,' 'according to the state of affairs.'

588 In a few manuscripts we read *neglegisset*, respecting which see Zumpt, § 195.

589 *Quin faterentur*, 'without confessing.' See Zumpt, § 539.

590 M. Scaurus, who, as Sallust stated before, was himself bribed by Jugurtha, had availed himself of the time when the people were rejoicing at his victory, when the city was still under apprehensions respecting the war, and when many other nobles, from a consciousness of guilt, kept back; and there can be no doubt that, through the influence of his friends, he contrived to be himself elected one of the commissioners who had to institute inquiries about these bribes, and thus escaped being tried himself.

591 *Ex* here signifies 'with respect to.' The people after this victory were insolent, so that the commissioners yielded to the wishes of the multitude

592 'The custom of (forming) parties among the people, and of factions in the senate;' the people are divided into *partes*, the senate into *factiones*; the latter evidently implies intriguing combinations.

593 'From the abundance of those things which mortals deem of the first importance.' *Prima* is used substantively, and with it the relative pronoun (*quae*) agrees. Sallust might have said *quas — primas*.

594 *Scilicet*, 'naturally,' is used here as an adverb. See Zumpt, § 271.

595 The annexation of small free farms to the adjoining large estates, is described by all the ancient authors as the cause of the great misery of the Roman state, and, as Sallust remarks, it was facilitated by the absence of many of the free citizens who were serving in the armies; for their fathers or children, who were left behind, were easily induced to sell their small farm to a wealthy and powerful neighbour. For force was certainly not always applied, and *pellere* here signifies 'to displace,' rather than 'to expel.' The large estates thus formed were called *latifundia*.

596 *Permixtio terrae* is said figuratively, as is indicated by *quasi*, 'a chaos — a mixture of elements.'

597 Tib. Gracchus was slain in B.C. 133, and his brother, G. Gracchus, in B.C. 121. Sallust here states that the faction of the optimates threw obstacles in the way of the two brothers, sometimes by means of the *socii* (in Italy), and sometimes by means of the Roman equites, who had been drawn into the senate by the popular party. This refers, in the first place, to the opposition made, through the instrumentality of the Latins, to the scheme of the Gracchi to settle poor Roman citizens in Latin colonies; and secondly, to the ingratitude of the equites, to whom G. Gracchus had transferred the administration of justice, after having taken it from the senate. Respecting *modo — interdum*, instead of *modo — modo*, see Zumpt, § 723.

598 Sallust admits that the Gracchi went somewhat too far, but blames the violence with which the faction of the optimates took vengeance upon them; 'for,' says he, 'a good man prefers being conquered, to taking revenge for injury done to him in a violent manner' — intimating that the optimates ought to have borne the injury done to them by the Gracchi, rather than avenge it with murder and assassination.

599 *Acerbius*; that is, *nimis acerbe*, or *acerbius quam par est*.

600 *Omnis civitatis* for *totius civitatis*, in opposition to the *patres*. *Parem*; that is, *velim*, which is followed in the *apodosis* by the same subjunctive present, or the future indicative. See Zumpt, § 524, note 1. *Res*, the same as *materia*, *argumentum*, 'subject.'

601 The consuls here mentioned entered upon their office on the 1st of January, 109 B.C. The preparation for the campaign accordingly belongs to the latter part of the year 110.

602 'An opponent of the popular party;' *adversus* being used as a substantive, in the sense of *adversarius*; as an adjective, it is construed with the dative.

603 *Cum collega*, a short expression for *conjuncta cum collega*, 'everything else he considered as common between himself and his colleague, but to the Numidian war he alone directed his attention, as though it was his own exclusive business.'

604 Praesidia is generally 'resources;' but here the same as auxilia, 'auxiliary troops.'
605 Contusae, from contundere, for imminutae, debilitatae, fractae.
606 Praedator, belonging to exercitus, is the same as praedas agens, 'carrying off booty.' See Zumpt, § 102, note 2.
607 Aestivorum tempus is the time suited for the campaign. To aestivorum supply castrorum, 'a summer-camp,' and 'a campaign made in summer; hence, also, 'a campaign' in general, inasmuch as warlike operations were but rarely carried on in winter.'
608 Albinus, during a portion of the summer of the year 109 B. C., continued to command as proconsul, while the consul Metellus was detained at Rome by the election of the consuls for the year B. C. 108.
609 Odos for odor. See Zumpt, § 7.
610 Cum mercatoribus, 'in intercourse with merchants.' The merchandise, in return for which another commodity is given, is expressed by the ablative. See Zumpt, § 456.
611 Ambitio, 'courting favour;' hence here in the sense of 'indulgence,' 'connivance,' these being the ordinary means to obtain the favour of the multitude.
612 Ceteris arte modum statuere still depends upon comperior, 'I learn (that is, we are informed) that for the rest (of the wants) he fixed the measure in a close (niggardly) manner;' for arte is the adverb of artus, which is frequently, though not correctly, written arcte. It must not be confounded with arte from ars. Sallust might have said, ceteris (rebus) artum modum statuere.
613 Supplicia here, as elsewhere, are supplices preces, 'humble prayers,' or 'petitions.' Compare chap. 66.
614 'He applies to the ambassadors one by one;' that is, he tries them one by one, temptat singulos.
615 Maxime, the same as potissimum. Compare chap. 35.
616 'What would be in accordance with his wish;' namely, the granting of his request.
617 The plural equitatus is rare; here it refers to different troops of cavalry, as in Caesar, Bell. Civ. i. 61. To propulsarent supply eos. See Zumpt, § 766.
618 'Most frequented;' for celeber, bris, bre, is commonly used of densely peopled or much frequented places.
619 Metellus placed a garrison in the city, partly to test the sentiments of the inhabitants, and partly on account of the advantages offered to him by the nature of the place, in case the inhabitants should not object to a garrison of the Romans. The common reading, si paterentur opportunitates loci, must be rejected, for the words si paterentur must refer to the inhabitants of the place, and explain the preceding temptandi gratia. Another reading, opportunitatis, to which gratia must be supplied by the mind, has the same meaning as opportunitate, the ablative of cause.
620 'He believed that the great number of merchants (in the town) and the corn would be of use to the army, and protect the provisions (of the Roman army) already accumulated,' so that the Roman stores might be saved.
621 Impensius modo; that is, praeter modum, 'beyond measure,' 'immoderately;' literally, 'stronger than the measure observed in such matters.'
622 Exercitum antevenit. See Zumpt, § 386, note.
623 'In an equal direction;' that is, likewise extending from south to north.
624 In the midst of this range there arose another group, extending far and wide; and, as will be seen hereafter (chapter 49), in a transverse direction (transverso itinere) from the range to the river running parallel with it. In immensum, however, must be understood relatively of a very great extent, and not absolutely of an infinite extent.
625 'On dry and sandy ground' is a very singular expression, and has been noticed as such by the Roman grammarians themselves; for humi (on the ground) is otherwise used without an adjective as an adverb. The adjective is here put in the ablative, to denote the place where, and in

the neuter gender, humi being regarded as indeclinable. In ordinary language, it would be in humo arida.

626 'The battle-line being long, but not deep.'
627 Montem, the same as monti. See Zumpt, § 411.
628 Decuerint. Sallust might have written decuerit in the singular. Compare Zumpt, § 226.
629 Quum interim Metellus — conspicitur, is the apodosis. 'Then, in the meantime, Metellus appears.' Respecting this use of quum with the present indicative, see Zumpt, § 580, 2; for the circumstance of interim being used here, where we might expect subito, does not alter the case, and only expresses that Jugurtha was yet engaged in encouraging his army when Metellus became visible.
630 Incerti is here used passively and personally, 'uncertain what it might be,' for de quibus incertum erat, quidnam esset; and the neuter quidnam is used in the sense of the masculine plural, 'it was uncertain whether they were men, and what sort of men.' In like manner we have seen (chapter 18) ignarus used passively.
631 'With an alteration in the ranks,' those soldiers who had before marched by the side of one another now being placed behind one another, as the man who had till then been on the right wing of his detachment suddenly turned to the right, with his face towards the hill. On the right of the whole marching army, he now formed the front towards the enemy (aciem), and strengthened by a threefold reserve.
632 'The principia standing transversely' (to the direction in which till then the column had been). The march of the Roman army was from east to west; the enemy appeared on the right flank, and the Roman vanguard (principia) therefore turned round to face them (that is, turning its face to the north), and it is this direction which is expressed by transversus. Principia is the vanguard, because in a Roman legion the ten companies of principes formed the front line, while the hastati constituted the second, and the triarii the third. In this manner the principes here faced the enemy, while the other divisions of the army drew up behind them as a reserve.
633 Transversis proeliis, 'by attacks on the flanks' — namely, if the Roman army should resume its march westward.
634 Temptare lassitudinem militum, the same as lassos milites aggredi.
635 The army was drawn up in battle array facing the north, so that, if it resumed its march westward, the part which formed the left wing became the head of the column (agmen).
636 Priores; that is, superiores, 'superior.'
637 Ea, 'on this road,' or 'there.' Evadere, 'to ascend.' Vero in the apodosis renders it strong and emphatic. See Zumpt, § 716.
638 Respecting the omission of et, see Zumpt, § 782. Arma and tela are the two kinds of arms, the one being used in a close contest, and the other at a distance; the use of either of them depended on chance (fors regebat). Itaque in the next clause is the same as et ita, and not the conjunction itaque = igitur.
639 They had no camp, no fortifications into which they could retreat. Illis refers to the Romans addressed, and is rendered by the emphatic they; instead of illis, the speaker might have used ipsis whereby he would have included himself, whereas now he is speaking only of the soldiers. Compare Zumpt, § 702.
640 Diei; other editions have die, an obsolete form of the fifth declension. Adverso colle evadunt, 'they worked their way up the opposite hill.' The author might have said in adversum collem, 'they ascended it.'
641 The neuter predicate tutata sunt here refers to two feminine nouns, instead of tutatae sunt; but it is quite in accordance with the custom of Sallust. See Zumpt, § 377
642 'What the enemy were doing in every place;' for ubique signifies 'in every place;' not absolutely, but in every one of the places where anything was done by the enemy. Ubiq̄ue stands to

ubivis in the same relation as quisque to quivis. Compare Zumpt, § 710..

643 'He had drawn up his corps close together.' About arte, see Cat., chap. 59, and p. 110, note 4 [note 261].

644 They held out only so long as they believed that they had an assistance in their elephants.' When they were disappointed in this hope, they took to flight; for fugam facere is here the same as fugere, though generally it is equivalent to fugare

645 'Tired and worn out.' '

646 The two detachments of the Roman army approaching each other, threw each other into fear and confusion by the noise of their march, as they imagined that the enemy was approaching. We have retained adventant, the reading of the early editions; the one now generally received, adventare, must be rendered, 'when they were not far from one another, they approached in a noisy manner, like enemies, (and) filled each other mutually with fear.' But here the verb adventare is offensive, it having already been said that they were not far from one another; so also is the mere ablative strepitu adventare and the omission of et, for which we cannot see any reason.

647 Supply esset.

648 'Misfortunes lower even good men;' that is, diminish their reputation.

649 Duration of time is properly expressed by the accusative, but the ablative also is not unfrequently employed. See Zumpt, § 396.

650 Sunt here changes the oratio obliqua into the oratio recta; according to the grammatical rule, it ought to be sint or essent.

651 Gentium is added to increase the expression of uncertainty. See Zumpt, § 434.

652 A bold combination of terms: soldiers who were in the habit of being more concerned about the cattle and the field than about war. Respecting the substantive cultor, instead of the participle colens, see p. 109, note 5 [note 255].

653 Ea gratia, a concise expression for ejus (rei) gratia, 'on this account.' In like manner we find hac, ea causa.

654 'Which could not be carried on otherwise than according to his pleasure;' because, considering the number and condition of his irregular troops, he had it in his power both to attack and to retreat, and thus to draw the Romans hither and thither.

655 Temere signifies that which is done without any lasting effect, without serious consideration, or what is suggested by mere accident or chance.

656 Sua loca are 'convenient' or 'favourable places;' aliena, 'inconvenient;' that is, such as he would not have chosen himself.

657 'According to circumstances,' as in chap. 39: ex copia rerum, 'according to the state of circumstances.'

658 Magnificus, 'boasting,' 'insolent,' as in chap. 31: incedunt per ora, vestra magnifici.

659 Such a public thanksgiving ordered by the senate is commonly called supplicatio, and was a sign that the general was likely to be honoured with a triumph.

660 Necubi for ne alicubi, 'in order that not somewhere.' See Zumpt, § 136..

661 Post insidias Jugurthae, 'after he had once experienced attacks made from an ambushade.'

662 Zama, a town celebrated for the victory gained, about one hundred years before, by Scipio over Hannibal. It was situated, according to Polybius, five days' march south of Carthage.

663 In tempore, 'in due time,' 'in proper time.' Zumpt, § 475, note.

664 Proelium facere in manibus, the same as pugnare cominus, manus conserere, 'to be engaged in close combat.'

665 'Torches mixed of burning pitch and sulphur;' that is, burning torches of pitch and sulphur. The singular taedam is used in a collective sense for the plural taedas.

666 'Those who had been left behind to protect the camp being remiss' (careless, unconcerned); a figurative use of remissus, taken from a bow when it is not stretched.

667 'As they, being few, less missed in throwing their darts among the many.' The deponent frustari here has a reflective meaning, 'to exert one's self in vain,' 'to deceive one's self,' and must be conceived to come from the active frustrare, 'to frustrate.'

668 'Then, indeed (in truth), they showed,' &c. Respecting vero in the apodosis, see note on chap. 50.

669 'The Numidian horsemen would not have resisted any longer, had not their infantry mingled with the cavalry caused a great carnage' (among the Romans). Respecting the imperfect in the protasis, though the apodosis contains the pluperfect, see Zumpt, § 525. The Numidian horse, accordingly, here did not follow their usual custom of making a sudden attack, and then retreating; on the contrary, they fought in such a manner that their own horses and those of the Romans stood head to head, and thus gained an almost complete victory, by procuring a respite for their struggling infantry.

670 'There they exerted themselves most actively,' eo having the meaning of eo loco, or ibi.

671 'More upon themselves than upon others.' See Zumpt, § 725..

672 'One might observe them.' Zumpt, § 528, note 2

673 Sicuti — possent, 'just as if,' as sicut, like quasi, is used for velut. See chap. 31. For it is not possible that the two places of the struggle, near the walls of Zama, and on the other side of the Roman camp, should have been so near that the men could hear one another, or even distinctly see the separate charges.

674 Niti corporibus, 'to exert one's self bodily,' inasmuch as the body of the combatants is sometimes moved forward, and sometimes backward. The plural corpora is as common in Latin as animi, when several persons are spoken of.

675 Sine tumultu, 'without disturbance' or 'hindrance.'

676 Astrictus, 'fixed intent,' whose attention was entirely directed to the contest at a distance. Occupatis also might have been used.

677 Ad eum, or ad illum, would have been strictly grammatical; and as Sallust uses ad se, it would have been more consistent to use the subjunctive defecissent; but the indicative is necessary, because a fact is to be expressed. All doubts would have been removed by ad ipsum, for this pronoun would turn our attention away from the secondary subject, urbes, and direct it to the leading subject, Metellus. But the ancient authors do not very often use this pronoun where is or sui, sibi, se, can be employed. Compare chap. 66, and Zumpt, § 550.

678 That is, Bomilcar ingenio infidus erat et metuebat.

679 Ne illo, &c. refers to Jugurtha, 'if he hesitated still longer.'

680 More majorum refers to the custom according to which Roman generals were not allowed to fix the terms of treaties and peace according to their own discretion, but had to assemble and consult a council of war. This council of war consisted of the superior officers, the legates, the quaestor, the tribuni militum, and the praefects of the allies. Sometimes the centuriones primipilares also took part in it, especially when the subjects of discussion were of a purely military nature.

681 Pondo, 'pound,' properly librarum pondo (depending upon milia). See Zumpt, § 87. As in the time of the Roman republic eighty-four denarii were coined out of one pound of silver, and twenty-five denarii (or 100 sesterces) constituted one Roman aureus, the amount of silver here mentioned is equivalent to 672,000 nummi aurei.

682 'When he himself was summoned to receive his orders.' There is an ancient military expression, Ad imperium vocari, or adesse, by which a person present receives a command which he has to carry into effect. See Zumpt, § 658.

683 Digna, 'what is due to him;' here of course bodily suffering or punishment.

684 We are here already at the beginning of the year B.C. 108, in which Metellus was no longer consul; but the senate had prolonged his imperium, which accordingly he continued to hold for

this year as proconsul.

685 Agitabat does not express the sentiment of the haruspex; for if so, the verb would be in the subjunctive.

686 Marius accordingly possessed every qualification required of a candidate for the consulship in a very high degree, but he was not a member of an ancient family, being a Roman eques of the municipium of Arpinum. The term 'ancient family' means one which had imagines, or images of ancestors who had been invested with the highest offices of the state. A Roman eques answers pretty nearly to a modern country gentleman, and was, generally speaking, a person who had property enough to enable him to serve on horseback in the army. In point of rank he was far below a senator; and no services that he could render to the state as an eques could raise him to the senatorial rank, which was attainable only through the high offices to which he might be elected by the people, and by virtue of which he became a member of the senate. Marius himself had been a senator long before this, as he had been tribune of the people and praetor, and after his praetorship, he now was legatus (lieutenant-general) with Metellus.

687 Belli; that is, in bello, on account of the following domi.

688 Altus; that is, alitus. See Zumpt, § 198.

689 That is, quamquam plerique faciem ejus ignorabant, facile tamen notus factus, &c.; namely, by the report of his distinguished services in the war, which, in the assembly of the people, was communicated by one person to another.

690 Ad id locorum, 'until then,' 'until that time,' as in chap. 72: post id locorum. See Zumpt, § 434. Marius did not venture to aspire to the consulship; for appetere is not the same as petere, the latter denoting the actual suit or canvass. His ambition had not yet been directed to that highest of all offices, until religious superstition suggested it to him, and encouraged him.

691 The nobiles transmitted the consulship to one another per manus; that is, after one nobilis had been invested with it, it was, as it were by agreement, given to another, care being taken that no homo novus should come forward as a candidate.

692 His dismissal from the post of legate. If he had wished to return to the service, he would have asked comitatus, 'leave of absence.' He was confident that in his canvass for the consulship he would be successful.

693 Superabant; that is, supererant, abunde erant. Metellus had all the other qualifications in a great degree, but at the same time he had a haughty contempt for all who were not nobly born.

694 'He would grant him his dismissal as soon as he could do so consistently with the duties he owed to the republic.'

695 Contubernio patris for in contubernio patris, as contubernalis of the commander-in-chief. It was the custom for young Roman nobles to perform their first military service as equites in the suite, and as attachés (adjutants) to a general, whereas other less favoured Romans served in ordine; that is, enlisted in some detachment of cavalry or infantry.

696 Pro, 'in regard to,' 'in consideration of.'

697 Grassari, 'to go on,' 'proceed;' but at the same time contains the idea of excitement or vehemence.

698 Ambitio, 'courting favour;' ambitiosum, something the object or consequence of which is to gain favour; hence 'winning,' 'captivating.'

699 Inanis, 'empty.' Of persons, signifies a man devoid of substance, one who has only the appearance of something, and is satisfied with it; hence 'vain,' 'superficial.' Vanus also is used in the same sense. Regia superbia. See chap. 31.

700 Secundus heres is the person who is pointed out in a will to supply the place of the real heir, in case of the latter being unable or unwilling to accept the inheritance, especially in case of his death without leaving any issue.

701 in eos; that is, in equites Romanos, referring to what follows.

702 Imperatori, a dativus incommodi, cui poena imponantur, 'that with his assistance he should endeavour to find punishments for the general in return for the insults offered to him.'

703 'This might happen even very soon.' Adeo points out that which is essential in a thing. See Zumpt, § 281.

704 The words milites et negotiatores are in apposition to equites Romanos, and describe the two classes of Roman equites existing in the province, some serving in the army, and others carrying on business (negotiabantur) in the towns. If the sentence were to be understood otherwise, the copulative conjunction would not have been omitted before milites. See Zumpt, § 783. The milites gregarii and their sentiments are not mentioned, probably because such persons had little or no communication with their friends at Rome.

705 Suffragatio, the inclination to give one's vote in favour of a person, and the effort to procure him the votes of others; hence 'the support given to a person's election.' A vote is suffragium, and suffragari, to vote for a person.

706 This decree of the people, instituting a criminal investigation into the acts of bribery committed by Jugurtha, was mentioned in chap. 40, where it was farther observed that the whole nobility was terrified by it.

707 Affectare, 'to try to obtain a thing,' 'to exert one's self for a thing.'

708 Voluntate alienati; that is, sua sponte alienati.

709 Discordiosus, 'quarrelsome;' a very rare word, but formed with perfect correctness. Zumpt, § 252.

710 'The day promised (beforehand) recreation and enjoyment, rather than apprehension and terror;' namely, to the Romans or the Roman garrison.

711 In tali die. The preposition here is unusual, but is justified by the addition tali, indicating the particular circumstances of that day of joy. See Zumpt, § 475, note. Inermos is much more rare than inermes. See Zumpt, § 101, note.

712 Pro tectis, 'on the edge of the roofs.'

713 Anceps malum, 'the double attack;' namely, the one made on even ground, and that from the roofs.

714 Respecting the connection of nisi — videtur, instead of the complete expression nisi hoc constat — eum videri, see p. 92, note 2 [note 153]. Intestabilis, properly, 'a person unfit to give his evidence, and incapable of making a will;' hence, according to Roman usage, equivalent to 'infamous;' detestabilis, which also properly signifies 'one deserving to be excluded in the will,' or 'to be disinherited.'

715 'Declining everything;' that is, refusing to obey any order that was given them.

716 Passuum might also be passus. See Zumpt, § 116, note.

717 In primo, 'at the head,' or 'in front,' the line being spread out (late), so as to conceal the infantry marching behind the cavalry.

718 'The whole town was given up to punishment or booty.' We cannot say urbs poenae fuit alone; but the dative poenae is explained by the common expression praedae fuit, with which it is connected.

719 'Ordered to defend himself' against the charge of treachery which was brought against him. For a reus (a person standing accused of a crime) causam dicit; that is, conducts his case, or defends himself. Turpilius was condemned by the war council, and paid the forfeit with his life, after having previously been scourged. This ancient severity, according to which the condemned was bound to a post, and scourged with rods on his naked body, had been abolished by a lex Porcia for Roman citizens. See page 52, note 5 [note 260]. For this reason Sallust adds the remark, that Turpilius was a citizen from Latium; that is, he did not possess the full Roman franchise, but only that part of it which was not incompatible with his retaining the franchise in some Latin town. Such half-citizens or Latins, to whom the Roman franchise was given in this manner, that thereby

they acquired the right to settle in the territory of Rome, and become members of a Roman tribe, provided they renounced their Latin franchise, were at that time still very numerous; but they ceased to exist in B.C. 91, when what were called the Latin towns received the Roman franchise.

720 'He tormented himself day and night with the thought.' Respecting this paraphrase of one's own person by the word *animus*, see Zumpt, § 678.

721 *Quae Jugurthae* — *superaverant*, 'which had been left for Jugurtha;' that is, which he himself had not been able to accomplish.

722 'That the open country might not be laid waste by the enemy in such a manner as to leave the enemy unpunished' (*inultis*)

723 *Metusque* — *impediebat*. The imperfect describes the lasting condition of the matter, while the perfect, *venit*, expresses the momentary act, and the clause *metus impediebat* represents an inserted clause denoting cause: *metus enim rem impediebat*.

724 *Bomilcar* was seized with fear in consequence of the timidity shown by *Nabdalsa*.

725 *In quibus* — *accusare*. The historical infinitive in a relative clause is very rare, but in *quibus* here supplies the place of *et* in his.

726 The question only was, whether *Jugurtha* should perish by their (that is, *Bomilcar* and *Nabdalsa's*) valour, or by that of *Metellus*, since his doom was fixed at all events. *Id agitari* for *id agi*, which in this sense is far more frequent.

727 *Allatae*; supply *essent*, an ellipsis, which is not very common after a conjunction, governing the subjunctive.

728 *Solet*, supply *capere*.

729 *Repperit*; for the orthography of this word, see Zumpt, § 22.

730 *Res praevenitur*, 'a thing is anticipated,' or 'something is done previously,' is found very rarely instead of *occupatur*. *Homo praevenitur*, 'a person is anticipated in a thing,' is more common.

731 *Super*, the same as *de*. See Zumpt, § 320.

732 'Differently from what he carried in his mind;' that is, from what he intended in his mind.

733 A beautiful and vivid description of a man who is conscious of his guilt, and is pursued by all: it is a situation which would have paralysed the mental energy of even the most enterprising barbarian.

734 *Indicio patefacto* is a kind of pleonasm, as *indicio facto* would be sufficient; for *indicium fit*, *res ipsa* (that is, *conjuratio*) *patefit* — 'the denunciation is made, the conspiracy is revealed.'

735 *Plebs* — *acceperant* for *acceperat*, *plebs* being a collective noun. Zumpt, § 366.

736 'However, the party-zeal was in both men more decisive than either their virtues or their faults.' *Moderata sunt*, from the deponent *moderor*, 'I determine,' 'I guide;' as in *Cicero*, *mens moderatur omnia*, 'the mind determines everything.' *Sua bona aut mala*, 'their own virtues or vices,' in apposition to the party-zeal of others. *Suus* here is not reflective, but only designates something as opposed to that which belongs to another. See Zumpt, § 550.

737 *Arcessere*, 'to summon before a court of justice,' with the genitive of the crime or punishment. The forms *arcessere* and *accersere* have the same meaning, but *arcessere* is more frequent in the sense of 'to summon,' or 'to accuse.'

738 *Res fidesque*, 'property and credit.'

739 'Crowded around *Marius*,' whenever he appeared in public, to show him their attachment. *Post honorem Marii ducerent*, the same, as *postponerent honori Marii*, the preposition in this sense being commonly joined to the verb. Compare *Cat.* chap. 23.

740 From this instance, we see that the popular assembly was sovereign in the Roman state; that is, when the people were called upon to decide a question, which happened but rarely, since it was customary to leave to the senate the provinces and the current administration of foreign affairs.

741 *Bocchus*, king of *Mauretania*, west of *Numidia*, and extending as far as the Ocean, opposite to *Spain*. It accordingly comprised the modern empire of *Fez* and *Morocco*.

742 'The Romans gained possession of a considerable number of standards.' The adjective *aliquantus*, with the exception of the neuter in an absolute sense, is rarely used. We have here to observe the varying construction of *potior*. See Zumpt, §§ 465, 466. *Sallust* often prefers variety to uniformity.

743 *Tuta sunt* might also be *tuentur*; for the perfect is here used of things which usually happened, and still happen. *Tuta* is less common than *tuita* or *tutata*, which in this passage is found in some good manuscripts, and must perhaps be received into the text.

744 *Impensius modo* may be 'still more strongly,' his despondency having already been mentioned; or *modo* is the ablative, and *impensius modo* is stronger than the (ordinary) measure; that is, beyond measure, *ultra modum*.

745 *Cultus* is everything belonging to the regulation of life, apart from eating and drinking; so that *pueritiae cultus* comprises the regulations for a youth's residence, his education, and the things and persons by whom he is surrounded.

746 'And other things fit to contain water;' probably vessels to keep water in, and apparatus to purify and mix water, for example, with vinegar, a beverage usually drunk by the soldiers.

747 Where they should be assembled.'

748 *Modo* is commonly used only to denote that something is less than it might be, but has here the unusual meaning of 'that alone,' or 'even that alone.'

749 'That for *Metellus* nothing was now impossible,' the perfect participle with the negative prefix denoting impossibility — as *invictus*, *invincible*; *incorruptus*, *incorruptible*; *inaccessus*, *inaccessible*. See Zumpt, § 328.

750 *Ex copia*, 'according to circumstances,' here referring especially to the different nature of the locality. *Vinea*, properly 'a bower formed of vines;' hence 'a protecting roof,' under which the soldiers attacked the fortifications of the enemy.

751 'After they had previously worn themselves out by great exertions;' *ante* here is superfluous.

752 *Poenas pendere*, the same as *poenas solvere*, 'to pay a penalty.' In *corrumpunt* we may notice a *zeugma*, as out of *corrumpunt* we have to take *interficiunt*. See Zumpt, § 775.

753 [402] *Illorum*; that is, *Romanorum*. Respecting the situation of *Leptis magna*, see chap. 19.

754 *Nave* or *naviter* ('actively') is the correct orthography, for which other editions have *gnave*. See Zumpt, § 12. Its case is the same as that of *natus*, which in composition takes the *g* — as *cognatus*, *agnatus*; and also *narus*, *ignarus*.

755 *Alta*; supply in *alia tempestate*, 'sometimes deep, and sometimes shallow.'

756 'They have been called *Syrtes* from this current, which draws other things along with it;' for the Greek *συρτειν* signifies 'to draw,' or 'drag along.'

757 It was only the language of the inhabitants of *Leptis* that had experienced a change, in consequence of their matrimonial connections with the *Numidians*, otherwise they had for the most part preserved their *Sidonian*, that is, *Phoenician*, laws and habits, being separated from the inhabited part of *Numidia* by extensive deserts, which was also the reason of the *Numidian king's* seldom residing at *Leptis*, although the town belonged to his kingdom.

758 *Admonere* is here construed in an unusual manner with two accusatives, one of the person, and the other of the thing, the latter being expressed by a substantive; for the neuter of a pronoun in the accusative is not uncommon — as *hoc*, *id*, *illud te admoneo*.

759 *Imperare* and *imperitare* are construed with the dative of that over which one rules, or take the preposition in with the accusative or ablative.

760 *Sponsionem facere* here has the general sense, 'to make a contract,' otherwise it signifies a contract at which security is given, which is lost by him who is condemned.

761 They hastened to get through their journey.' The intransitive *pergere* (like *ire*) containing

the notion of an uninterrupted continuance, takes a substantive of the same meaning, or of the same derivation, in the accusative, and thus acquires a transitive meaning. See Zumpt, § 384.

762 Retinere; supply proficiscentes or iter facientes.

763 'Devoid of,' or 'without products;' for gignere is used of those things which, like plants or animals, produce other things like themselves.

764 'Because they had spoiled the affair;' as by quick travelling they might have traversed a considerable extent of country.

765 Conturbare, 'to disturb,' or 'to try to throw into confusion;' namely, the agreement.

766 'The Greeks give the Carthaginians the choice,' for dant optionem Carthaginiensibus. The genitive Carthaginiensium occurs in most, and in the best manuscripts.

767 Ibi; that is, in illis finibus.

768 The Nomades of the great desert Sahara, and of the oases in it, in the south of Numidia and Mauretania, as far as the southern countries inhabited by real negroes.

769 Pronum, that which, when once commenced, proceeds without obstacle or difficulty. This is a figurative sense taken from an inclined plane.

770 The Roman rulers thus demanded money from Bocchus before they would grant his request to be declared a friend and ally of the Roman people, although Bocchus no doubt considered his offer of friendship as a matter of no small value to the Romans.

771 'But kings so much the more;' namely, surpass others in the numbers of their wives.

772 'None (no wife) maintains her position as a sharer;' that is, none is recognised as sharing with her husband all the relations of life and rank.

773 In locum placitum, 'at a fixed place,' at a place where it had been agreed to meet. The participle placitus is formed irregularly from the neuter verb placeo, as such verbs generally have no passive voice. But placeo is used also as an impersonal verb, placet, and, as such, its perfect is either placuit or placitum est, 'it pleased,' or 'was decreed.' The same is the case with other impersonal verbs; and as in this manner the regular passive form gradually ceased to be offensive, placitus, a, um, came to be used in the sense of is qui, ea quae, id quod placuit. Compare Zumpt, §§ 142, 225.

774 'Of an insatiable avarice;' for profundus is often used figuratively of passions and desires which have no bottom or end.

775 Quis (quibus) refers to the preceding illos; that is, Romanos.

776 um, sese; supply hostem Romanis esse, which infinitive must be taken from the following fore. The tum must be rendered in English by 'now,' as it refers to present time. See Zumpt, § 732; and regarding Persen for Perseum, § 52..

777 Capta urbe, 'if the town were taken,' it would be worth while.

778 Pacem imminuere, to disturb or spoil the peace with Bocchus intended to conclude with the Romans.

779 'According to his advantage;' that is, if a favourable opportunity should offer.

780 'More than is just and fair.'

781 According to the language of Cicero, the dative linguae would have been used in this sense. See Zumpt, § 414.

782 Alii; supply from what precedes interpretabantur, 'they accounted for his sensibility by,' &c.

783 Injuria sua has a passive sense; 'by the injustice done to him.'

784 Stultitiae might have been stultitia for the genitive. See Zumpt, § 448, note 1.

785 Tum. See page 137, note 3 [note 425].

786 Incerta mutare, 'to obtain uncertain things in exchange for others, or for certain things;' but it might also mean, 'to give uncertain things for certain ones.' See Zumpt, § 456, note.

787 Desinere is used here for the sake of variety, instead of finire, deponi.

788 'If the same power were granted to him' (Jugurtha), namely, to conclude peace, 'an agreement might easily be come to.' Res convenit inter nos is the same as convenimus de re, 'we agree

upon the matter.'

789 'The plebs being most desirous.' The participle cupiens, with its degrees of comparison like an adjective, is rare, but not contrary to grammar

790 Multus instare is rather a poetical phrase for multum, 'greatly,' or 'repeatedly.'

791 Ambiundo cogere, 'to oblige a person by flattering words;' a very expressive phrase, signifying that kind of compulsion which is effected by flattery and intreaties.

792 For the expression aliquid mihi volenti est, 'a thing accords with my wishes,' see Zumpt, § 420, note. Neque corresponds with et: on the one hand, it was not believed that the service in the army was agreeable to the plebs; and on the other hand, it was believed that Marius, owing to the aversion of the people to military service, would either do without a numerous army, or that he would lose the popular favour if he should compel the common people.

793 Traho animo, or cum animo meo, 'I am incessantly occupied in my mind with something.'

794 From what precedes, supply mihi videtur.

795 Marius, according to the ordinary usage of the Latin language, calls his appointment to the consulship a beneficium, 'a favour,' of the Roman people.

796 'Is more difficult;' namely, than is commonly believed, quam opinio est.

797 Procedunt, 'benefit the state,' 'promote the general good.'

798 Vertit, intransitively, 'has become changed;' the same as vertit se, or versum est. See Zumpt, § 145.

799 Prosapia for familia, an ancient and obsolete word, and intentionally put into the mouth of Marius to ridicule the pretensions of the nobility.

800 Marius calls those nobles who do not make themselves acquainted with the duties of public offices, until they have obtained them, praeposteri

801 'I consider, indeed, all men to be equal by nature, but I make this distinction, that the bravest is the most noble.' By quamquam, Marius breaks off the question about noble or ignoble birth (Zumpt, § 341); sed introduces a new distinction between men; namely that of merit.

802 Faciant idem, 'let them despise their own ancestors likewise.'

803 Hujusce rei; that is, commemorationis

804 Meamet, commonly with the addition of ipse. Zumpt, § 139, note.

805 Militaria dona are presents which a general gives publicly to brave soldiers, and which they either wear as honourable distinctions, or which they kept and preserved in their houses. Such presents were with the ancients what orders are in modern times. Among them are frequently mentioned lances, bridles, chains worn round the neck (torques), bracelets (armillae), pins or brooches (fibulae) to fasten the cloak, and crowns (coronae). It was less common, but very honourable, to receive a flag (vexillum) attached to a pole.

806 'I consider this as something too unimportant.' Parum is used substantively.

807 'Greek literature has not benefited its professors (that is, the Greek nation) in regard to political virtue;' inasmuch as the Greek states had been unable to protect their political liberty either against kings and tyrants, or against foreigners. Virtus signifies especially 'bravery,' 'valour;' but it has also a more general meaning, comprising justice, abstinence, and the sacrificing of one's own advantages.

808 Praesidia agitare, 'to keep watch,' to maintain the posts intrusted to us for the protection of friends against the attacks of enemies.

809 Arte colere, 'to keep close;' opulenter colere, 'to treat liberally.'

810 To compel by bodily punishment.'

811 Celebravere; that is, extulerunt, auxerunt. Celebrare properly signifies 'to make or render frequent;' that is, to bring into repute, and therefore to fill with men, buildings or other objects.

812 'I have no cook worth more than a steward.' Marius here assails the luxury of others, who considered a clever cook worth more than a clever steward. Both kinds of people were slaves; the

villicus was the principal and overseer of all the servants engaged in agriculture on the estate (villa) of a Roman noble. Coquus is also spelled cocus. See Zumpt, § 5.

813 Quin ergo — faciant, 'why, then, will they not do?' This form of expression contains an exhortation to do something. The subjunctive, therefore, does not depend upon quin, but upon the optative meaning of the sentence. See Zumpt, § 542.

814 Ereptum eunt, 'they endeavour to snatch away,' or 'they snatch away.'

815 Cladi sunt, 'they are a destruction;' the same as calamitosae, perniciosae sunt.

816 That is, 'you have removed (deposed) the greedy, inexperienced, and haughty commanders.' Marius alluding to his predecessors, Bestia, Albinus, and Metellus.

817 Attrito, 'worn away,' 'annihilated,' 'sacrificed.'

818 Serve the republic,' 'devote yourselves to the public good.'

819 Both as an adviser and sharer in the danger.' Idem indicates the union of two predicates belonging to one subject. See Zumpt, § 697.

820 'I shall treat myself and you in the same manner.'

821 Decebat, a peculiarity of the Latin language for deceret. See Zumpt, § 518.

822 In this way Marius introduced a great change in the military affairs of Rome. Previous to his time, only the citizens of the first five property classes were enlisted to serve in the legions.

Those persons whose property did not come up to the lowest estimate of the fifth class, were excluded from the honourable service in the legions. They were capite censi, because, when the censors made out their lists, those persons had only to give in their personal for deceret. See Zumpt, § 518.

86.

[472] In this way Marius introduced a great change in the military affairs of Rome. Previous to his time, only the citizens of the first five property classes were enlisted to serve in the legions. Those persons whose property did not come up to the lowest estimate of the fifth class, were excluded from the honourable service in the legions. They were capite censi, because, when the censors made out their lists, those persons had only to give in their personal existence or name for registration. Their being called 'the sixth class' is an improper application of the term, as, strictly speaking, classis signifies only 'a property class.' As the number of persons of this kind was at that time (B.C. 107) already very considerable, and as there were among them many both able and willing to serve in the army, and lastly, as Marius was opposed to all exclusive privileges, he enlisted those poor people who voluntarily offered themselves in the legions, and thus created an army of able men, and accustomed to endure hardships. The higher orders did not object to this measure, because it lightened their burdens connected with the service in the army. But however useful this arrangement was at the time, it contained the elements of a body of soldiers distinct from the citizens; for when the time of their military service was over, those men did not feel inclined to return to a quiet citizen's life, and thus became a very powerful and ready instrument in the hands of ambitious generals, such as Sulla and Caesar.

823 Sua curae; another reading is cura sunt, the sense of which is nearly the same. Sua, 'a person's own property,' or 'all that belongs to him,' including the state itself.

824 'With a considerably larger army.' About this meaning of aliquanto with a comparative, see Zumpt, §§ 108, 488.

825 Utica, the most important city in the province of Africa: it was a more ancient Phoenician colony than even Carthage. In the second Punic war, after it had revolted from Carthage, it was rewarded by the Romans with freedom and independence. Its present name is Biserta, north-west of Tunis.

826 'Laden with booty;' that is, filled with things which can be taken as booty.

827 Pugnae adesse belong together, 'to take part in the battle.' Marius's plan was well calculated, as he inspired his soldiers with courage before leading them to labour and hardship.'

828 Futuros; supply esse, 'they would behave;' hence the adverbs. See Zumpt, § 365.

829 'Contrary to his expectation;' for spes is often used in the general sense of 'expecting,' or 'looking forward to' anything, whether good or bad.

830 Armis exuere, 'to disarm;' here the same as 'conquer' or 'defeat,' intimating that the enemies take to flight, leaving their arms behind.

831 'Not calculated to bring the war to a close.' See Zumpt, § 662.

832 Adversum se erant is a combination of two constructions — adversum se essent and adversum eum erant — of which we have already observed several instances. Compare chap. 66, and p. 122, note 1 [note 326].

833 To nudatum supply fore, which is to be taken out of the following esse; 'he hoped that Jugurtha would either be deprived of his fortified places, or be compelled to fight.'

834 To nudatum supply fore, which is to be taken out of the following esse; 'he hoped that Jugurtha would either be deprived of his fortified places, or be compelled to fight.'

835 In manus venire, 'to come within reach,' 'engage in close combat;' for manus conserere, which is much more frequent

836 'It seemed to be time;' that is, it seemed to be a favourable moment, or it seemed to be advisable; hence the infinitive aggredi. Zumpt, § 659, note.

837 Capsa, a town in the eastern part of Numidia, between the river Bagradas, which empties itself into the sea not far from Carthage, and lake Tritonis: it is believed still to exist under the name of Cafza, and to have been founded by the African Hercules; that is, by Phoenicians; for the Phoenician conquests are ascribed to a Phoenician Hercules, and the north coast of Africa was the principal scene of the enterprises of those seafaring conquerors.

838 Immunis, 'exempt from taxes.'

839 Other editions have quarum instead of quorum. See Zumpt, § 78, note..

840 Jugis aqua, 'running water,' or 'a well perpetually flowing.' The other water which they used was rain water, and to pluvia we must supply aqua.

841 Africa — incultius agebat, 'Africa, which was in a state of greater want of cultivation;' an unusual transfer of the verb agere (to be in a condition) from the inhabitants of a country to the country itself.

842 'He was brought into danger' or 'difficulty.'

843 'They take more care about pastures than cultivated fields.'

844 Exornat; supply rem, expeditionem, 'the undertaking or campaign.'

845 Per implies an equal distribution among the centuries and turmae.

846 Duum for duorum occurs most frequently in connection with milium. See Zumpt, § 115, note 2.

847 Res trepidae, 'a dangerous situation.'

848 Sallust feels that he must excuse or explain the destruction of a town which had surrendered at discretion.

849 'All things, not only his good arrangements, were interpreted as good services,' so that to non we have to supply modo. For the phrase in virtutem trahere, see chap. 85: ducere in conscientiam.

850 'He was either himself endowed with a divine mind, or everything was revealed to him by divine inspiration.'

851 Capsensium; supply res, 'the undertaking against Capsa;' for the name of the inhabitants of a town is often used for that of the town itself.

852 'For it was on all sides steep, as if made so by human hands, and purposely.' The accusative omnia is to be taken adverbially, 'on all sides,' just as we frequently find cetera and reliqua. See Zumpt, § 459. Other editions and inferior manuscripts have per omnia, omni parte, omnis, all of which are only attempts to explain the true reading.

853 The road of the inhabitants of the castle;’ that is, the only road which led up to the castle.
854 ‘Do their work ;’ namely, break through the wall. ‘
855 Aestuans is here used figuratively of one who is in care and anxiety.
856 Ligus, ‘a Ligurian,’ belonging to the country of Liguria, which was then not yet considered as belonging to Italy, and the capital of which was Genoa. Four cohorts of Ligurian auxiliaries in the Roman army were mentioned in chap. 77, and those auxiliaries were no doubt of great service to the Romans in this war, since they were accustomed to climbing, ascending heights, and other hardships, from their own mountainous country. Livy, too, praises the quickness, perseverance, and adroitness of the Ligurians in the petty warfare in which they were engaged for many years against the Romans.
857 Egressus est, the same as escendit or evasit, ‘he got up.’
858 ‘The desire to accomplish difficult things changed his mind,’ inasmuch as he gave up collecting snails, and planned an attack upon the castle.
859 ‘He drew an accurate plan of the area of the castle,’ as from his high position he could survey the whole. It is indeed hard to suppose that the Ligurian had with him the necessary drawing materials; but perscribit may possibly mean only to mark such points as would enable the soldier to make an accurate drawing of the locality after his return to the camp.
860 ‘The Numidians were most intently observing the combatants, being with them.’
861 ‘Marius despatched some of his followers to test the promises of the Ligurian.’
862 ‘Out of the horn-blowers and trumpeters he chose five in number.’ Numero is almost superfluous.
863 Pergit; namely, Ligus.
864 ‘That it might proceed more easily.’
865 ‘In order that, if they stumbled against anything, they might make less noise.’
866 ‘And the roots which, owing to their old age, were standing forth;’ for the roots of old trees rise out of the ground, and such knots remain on the surface even when the trees no longer exist.
867 ‘He himself foremost (potissimus) tried those places which it was doubtful (dangerous) to climb up.’
868 ‘And then immediately withdrawing;’ namely, in order to make room for those who followed.
869 ‘The inconsiderate boldness of Marius (of attacking an impregnable fortress), when it became adjusted (justified, correct) by chance, found praise instead of blame.’ The sudden terror of the Numidians on their hearing the military music of the Romans in their rear, was, according to Sallust, most advantageous to the Romans; for if the Numidians, while engaged in fighting, had despatched fifty men, they might easily have thrown down the few Romans who had found their way up; for the number of four centurions for the protection of the trumpeters is indeed surprisingly small, and we might almost be inclined to suppose that these centurions were followed by their centuries at some distance
870 Quos refers to the equites implied in the word equitatus. This is a construction ad sensum, of which many examples occur in Sallust (compare Cat. 7), though the present case is rather unusual.
871 Res, ‘the subject,’ ‘the present discussion,’ or ‘the context of the narrative.’
872 Persecutus; supply Sullae naturam cultumque. L. Sisenna, an early contemporary of Cicero, had written a history of the civil war between Marius and Sulla; he was himself a partisan of Sulla, and therefore not quite unbiassed in his judgment.
873 The patrician gens to which Sulla belonged was the gens Cornelia. The statement that the family of Sulla was almost extinct, in consequence of the inactivity of the ancestors of the great Sulla, applies to their loss of power and influence rather than to a physical decay of the family.
874 Atque doctissime, ‘and that very profoundly;’ the same as et doctissime quidem.

875 Nisi quod adds a limitation or exception to something stated before. Here the preceding praise is qualified or limited by the remark, that in his matrimonial relation he might have behaved better; for he was married several times, and chose his wives at the spur of a momentary passion. Potuit consuli; supply ab eo; that is, potuisset consulere.
876 Amicitia facilis, ‘pleasing and agreeable in his friendship or friendly intercourse.’
877 Altitudo animi, the unfathomableness of a man’s character and designs — a character which shows nothing outwardly of what is going on within. Such a character has all the requisites to become hypocritical, ad simulationem et dissimulationem.
878 ‘His good fortune was never greater than his activity;’ that is, his activity was equal to his good fortune, and he therefore deserved all praise. But his doings after his victory in the civil war are utterly condemned by Sallust, who then assigns to him neither good-luck nor activity.
879 For intra breves tempestates, see note 3, page 59 [note 304 in Cat.].
880 Id laboro. See Zumpt, § 385. Ut illi deberent should properly be sibi or ipsi; but see Zumpt, § 550.
881 Multus adesse, ‘he was present in many places,’ multiplying, as it were, his own person. Compare chap. 84.
882 Rationes trahere implies slow and careful deliberation, as in chaps. 34 and 93.
883 Die for diei. See page 115, note 3 [note 289].
884 ‘The night would not be an obstacle to them’ (in their pursuit). Nullo obsolete for nulli. See Zumpt, § 140.
885 Simul cognovit — et hostes aderant, ‘he at once learned — and the enemy was there;’ that is, between the receiving of the information and the actual attack of the enemy there was no interval. Sarcinas colligere; the baggage was laid down before an engagement, and put together in a heap, as in Caes. Bell. Gall. vii. 18.
886 Signum here is ‘the watchword,’ which is given out by the general, and is communicated among the soldiers by one man telling another. Sometimes signum is the signal given by a cornu or tuba. To make the former known throughout an army required some time, but not so the latter. Signa afterwards are the standards of the maniples, cohorts, and legions.
887 Latrocinium, ‘a predatory attack,’ as opposed to a regular battle.
888 Obtruncare in opposition to caedere (cut down) signifies ‘to mutilate by cutting off a limb or limbs.’ The word multos is chosen here only for variety’s sake, instead of alios.
889 The words veteres novique express a whole sentence: ‘as old and new soldiers were united in the several divisions (maniples and cohorts) of the army;’ and it is to this meaning that ob ea (for this reason) refers. The scattered Romans, as old and new soldiers were everywhere mixed together, profited by the experience of the old ones, and formed dense circles (we should say squares), which was, in fact, the only safe means of warding off the attack of a superior enemy.
890 Quam tamen — nihil remittere, ‘while the barbarians nevertheless did not leave off.’ For quum with the historical infinitive, see Zumpt, § 582. Pro se, ‘favourable to them.’
891 Marius occupies two hills close by each other, the one only to have the command of water, but the other to pitch his camp on, as it required only to be slightly fortified. Quaerebat for requirebat, which is more common in this sense.
892 ‘As the enemy also had fallen into no less confusion;’ so that neque, being properly used for et non, must here be taken for etiam non or ne — quidem.
893 Pleno gradu, ‘at a quick pace,’ which, however, is not running. This retreat up the hill is, after all, a proof that the Romans had been worsted in the attack.
894 Fugere, ut pro, is the reading of the manuscripts, ‘as they did not flee, they acted as though they were the victors.’ Ut pro signifies ‘both as victors and as if they were,’ the ut and pro signifying nearly the same thing.
895 ‘Not even the signals were to be sounded, which were usually heard at the different night

watches.' The night was divided by the Romans into four watches (*vigiliae*), the beginning of which was announced by a horn (*buccina*). *Canere* is here used intransitively, 'to sound,' as in *Cat.* chap. 59 Below, it is used transitively, in the sense of 'to blow,' or 'give a signal. makes people mad, whence the addition *quasi vecordia*.'

896 The superlative *dextimus* does not differ in meaning from the positive *dexter*. See Zumpt, § 114, note 1.

897 *Minime cari*; that is, *maxime viles*, 'who were most indifferent,' or 'valueless to him,' whose lives he was least inclined to spare.

898 'As if he had not placed (there) any commander.' *Imponere*, used absolutely, 'to appoint; namely, in the place spoken of. *Nulla for nemine*, the ablative as well as the genitive of *nemo* not being in use.'

899 *Cogebat*; supply *armatos intentosque esse*.

900 *Construe neque secus castra munire, atque iter facere*; that is, his care in securing the camp was as great as that which he displayed in marching.

901 The singular in *porta* is here used because the author is speaking especially of that gate which faced the enemy (the *porta praetoria* opposite the *porta decumana*). At this gate a strong body of outposts (*excubitores*) was stationed, consisting of the most trustworthy soldiers.

902 *Futurum, quae imperavisset*, an old-fashioned mode of speaking for *futura esse, quae*. Besides this passage, there is no other certain instance of such an expression in the classical writers of Rome; but the grammarian Gellius has proved, by many examples, that in the earlier times it was by no means uncommon.

903 *Malum* is here the same as 'punishment,' or *poena*.

904 *Nisi tamen* introduces a modification or limitation of the doubt expressed before respecting the real motive of Marius's indulgence. Compare p. 92, note 2 [note 153].

905 *Hostes adesse intellegitur* is a nominative with the infinitive, for *intellegunt hostem adesse*. See Zumpt, § 607. It is, however, not impossible that *hostis* may be the accusative plural for *hostes*.

906 *Aeque*, 'equally;' for Jugurtha hoped that at any rate one of his detachments would attack the Romans in the rear; but as he did not know to which part the Romans would direct their front, each of his detachments might equally reach a position in the rear of the Romans.

907 The meaning is — Sulla caused the cavalry which he commanded on the right wing, on the whole, to keep quiet, and only to repel individual enemies that might approach; but he himself and other commanders alternately galloped forth with single *turmae* forming close bodies, and attacked the enemy.

908 *Neque* — *affuerant*, without repeating the relative pronoun, which, being the subject, should be in the nominative, for *sed* — *qui non affuerant*, or *neque ii* — *affuerant*. The omission is singular, but not without other examples. See Zumpt, § 806. The prior *pugna* is the one described in chaps. 97-99.

909 'He rode secretly, with few companions,' to another place, where the Mauretanian infantry were attacking the rear of the Romans. *Convertit* for *convertit se*. See Zumpt, § 145.

910 Respecting the position of *quos adversum*, instead of *adversum quos*, see Zumpt, § 324.

911 That is, *ipsius comitibus*.

912 'By making a skilful movement with his body,' *dum corpore evitat tela*.

913 A very graphic description of a field of battle after the fighting is over. *Afflicti*, 'thrust down to the ground,' implying the notion of persons being severely wounded. *Niti*, 'to attempt to rise.' *Qua visus erat*, 'as far as one could see.'

914 *Post ea loci*, 'afterwards.'

915 'Whither he had at first directed his march. 'Profectus might have been omitted, but its meaning is, 'having once set out on his march.'

916 'About what was useful to him and to the Roman people.'

917 *Placuit*; supply *eos*, which might also have been expressed by the relative pronoun, *quos placuit*. See Zumpt, § 804. The ambassadors, having been summoned by the king himself to hear his proposals, were not under the necessity of addressing him; but they probably had orders to speak first, in order that, if he were not favourably inclined towards the Romans, they might try to win him over, or if he were favourably disposed, to strengthen him in his designs.

918 *Rati*; namely, *Romani*, which must be taken out of *populo Romano*.

919 The manuscripts have *esses*, which can be explained only by an amalgamation of the two clauses, and might be conceived as a form of politeness which is not contained in *peressus es*.

920 The infinitive *placuisse* depends on *scilicet*, which is here quite the same as *scire licet*, as in chaps. 4 and 113. In ordinary language, *scilicet* is a mere adverb, 'evidently,' 'forsooth.'

921 'You have many opportunities;' consequently the same as *magnam opportunitatem*. See Zumpt, § 756.

922 *Demittere in pectus*, 'to impress upon one's mind,' *sibi persuadere*.

923 This is a diplomatic falsehood, as hitherto Bocchus had committed no act of hostility towards Jugurtha, and had occupied no part of Numidia against his will; but it may be that Jugurtha had promised to give up to him a part of Numidia, if he should succeed in recovering the whole. That Bocchus actually wished to have a part of Numidia, is clear from his negotiation with Sulla, chap. 111.

924 *Tum*, 'now.' See Zumpt, § 732.

925 Namely, *legates mittendi*, 'after he had obtained permission to despatch an embassy to Rome.'

926 *Hibernacula*, 'a winter-camp;' the same as *hiberna*, 'winter-quarters;' for in chap. 100 it was stated that Marius ordered quarters to be taken in the maritime towns. It is, however, doubtful whether he placed the whole army in those towns, or whether he ordered a portion to spend the winter in barracks, or leathern tents made for the purpose. If the latter — in *hibernaculis* is used in its proper sense.

927 *Turrim* is here the same as *castellum*. *Perfugae omnes* are not 'all the deserters,' but 'nothing but deserters,' or 'all deserters;' for all the soldiers of the garrison consisted of deserters.

928 *Venerant* has the meaning of *evenerant*. Respecting *sibi* for *ipsi*, see p. 121, note 2 [note 320].

929 *Reliquerat*, not 'he had left them behind,' which is the usual meaning of *relinquo*, but 'he had left them unbribed:' that is, he had neglected to bribe them.

930 That is, he had given him the praetorian imperium during his absence, and thereby appointed him independent commander.

931 'He did not treat them as untrustworthy enemies;' for they were still enemies engaged in war with the Roman people, no peace having yet been concluded. The epithet *vani* belongs to them, because their master had hitherto shown himself irresolute, sometimes suing for peace, and some times carrying on war. Accurate, 'with care,' 'with respect.'

932 *Volens* expresses a hearty inclination to do that which one does.

933 'Were considered as acts of kindness,' as parts or proofs of a kindly disposition.

934 *Benevolentiae sunt*, 'are calculated to produce good-will' towards the king.

935 Sulla undoubtedly had his quarters near the Mauretanian frontier; that is, in the extreme west; as the ambassador of Bocchus fled to him. Marius summoned him to his head-quarters, Cirta, whither he also summoned the praetor Bellienus from Utica. This praetor was no doubt propraetor of the province of Africa, sent thither from Rome to undertake the regular administration, but he was at the same time placed at the disposal of the consul Marius; for as a propraetor had the *jus praetorem* in his province, he was sometimes simply called praetor; thus Verres is often called praetor of Sicily. All the other military commanders who happened to be in the province, and were and were of senatorial rank, were likewise summoned to Cirta, in order to give weight and dignity

to the preliminary negotiations for peace, for its real conclusion rested with the senate.

936 Ea, the neuter plural, though referring to induciae.

937 Namely, when previously they have been successful, as had hitherto been the case with the Roman war.

938 The manuscripts have Rufone, which unusual name must be corrected either into Rufo or Rusone. We prefer Rufo, because Suetonius, in his life of Octavianus, mentions the Octavii Rufi as a senatorial family of the time here spoken of.

939 Deprecati sunt; that is, deprecantes dixerunt; for deprecari properly signifies 'to avert something by prayers.'

940 Gratiam facere, 'to grant pardon for something.' To quoniam poenitet we must supply eum.

941 'By whose decision a final determination might be come to respecting the common affairs.' Respecting the ablative arbitrato, see Zumpt, § 190.

942 The infantry which, besides an escort of Roman cavalry, was sent to accompany Sulla, consisted of light-armed troops, who were prepared both to march through uncultivated districts, and to fight with the barbarians. Roman infantry could not have kept up with the cavalry. The inhabitants of the Balearian Islands (Majorca, Minorca, and Iviza) were celebrated in antiquity as slingers; and as socii of the Romans, they furnished slingers for the Roman armies. Their weapon was a leathern sling, by which leaden balls were thrown, with great skill and accuracy, at a distance of 500 paces. The Pelignians are a people of central Italy, not far from the Adriatic, with two important towns, Corfinium and Sulmo. All the Italian nations which had then not yet received the Roman franchise furnished their auxiliary cohorts of 400, 500, or 800 men to the Roman army. Whether the Pelignians always bore arma velitaria (a round shield, a short sword, and a light javelin), or whether they did so only on this occasion, is doubtful; but it seems that this was their proper armour.

943 Non amplius. See Zumpt, § 485.

944 'They tried (tested) their arms and darts, and directed them against the supposed enemy,' but without making actual use of them.

945 'As was in reality the case,' namely, that the approaching cavalry had no hostile intentions.

946 To this and the following infinitive we must supply dicit, which is to be taken out of the preceding negat. See Zumpt, § 774.

947 Mansurum potius, quam — vitae parceret is correctly said, though it might also be quam vitae parsurum. See Zumpt, § 603, 2. The indicative quos ducebat is a remark of the historian; quos duceret would be a remark of the speaker, which would here have been the regular form. Coenatos esse, 'they were to have finished dining.' See Zumpt, § 148.

948 Ante eos, 'before them,' that is, on the road along which they had to march.

949 'He protects the Mauretanian against violence.'

950 A dative. See Zumpt, § 419.

951 The same as inermibus. See Zumpt, § 101. Nudum et caecum corpus, 'the undefended part of the body, and not provided with eyes;' that is, the back, which a person ought not to turn towards the enemy, if he wants to be safe.

952 'It seemed to him to be the most advisable.' Instead of factu, other editions have factum, 'it seemed to him to be the best thing.'

953 'As the matter stood,' a limitation suggesting that, under other circumstances, that dangerous way would not have been chosen.

954 'As they had come upon him unexpectedly;' for Jugurtha had not imagined that the Romans would thus, without negotiation, pass through his lines.

955 'As ambassador with a public commission,' though at the same time he privately acted the part of a spy.

956 'That he kept firmly and unalterably everything which had been previously determined

supposing that the historian abandons the character of a narrator of past events, and transfers himself to the present. upon with Sulla.'

957 'In order that the common business might be conducted the more carelessly.' The laying aside of fear in the presence of Jugurtha's ambassador was to induce Sulla to carry on the negotiations for peace more openly, frankly, and incautiously, since, under the influence of fear, he would have been cautious and mistrustful. Non pertimescere are joined together as one idea, somewhat in the sense of contemnere, 'he should disregard' the ambassador, and accordingly act with Bocchus more confidentially.

958 The infinitive of the impersonal passive cavetur ab insidiis, 'precaution is taken against snares.'

959 Punica fides is proverbially the same as mala fides, the Carthaginians being generally regarded by the Romans as perfidious double-dealers. Attinere is the same as morari, 'to detain.'

960 'His inclination.'

961 'And says (which must be taken from the preceding jubet) that as yet he had determined upon nothing.' As past time is here spoken of, it should properly not be etiamnunc, but etiamtunc; and it is doubtful as to whether the reading of some manuscripts tum etiam ought not to be received into the text. If etiamnunc is correct, we must explain it by supposing that the historian abandons the character of a narrator of past events, and transfers himself to the present

962 'A conscientious (trustworthy) man, and acceptable to both' (Sulla and Bocchus).

963 The king calls the quaestor Sulla a private person, being unwilling, as a king, to allow any one a public character who is not, like himself, a king. But in the opinion of the Romans, the quaestor Sulla was by no means a private person

964 'I have assisted many at their request, and others of my own accord (unasked), while I myself was in need of no man's assistance.'

965 Fuerit mihi eguisse, the concessive mood: 'granting that it was the case that I needed,' might also have been expressed simply by eguerim.

966 'This you may try at once.' For this meaning of adeo, whereby that which precedes is confirmed by the result, see Zumpt, § 281.

967 'Unimpaired,' 'in the same condition.'

968 We should express the same idea rather thus: regem munificentia vinci flagitiosius est, quam armis.

969 About factum volui, see Zumpt, § 611.

970 Your wish will not be refused by me.' Bocchus no doubt here alludes to the surrender of Jugurtha, but he is yet doubtful as to whether it is worthy of himself.

971 'What he promised them, they would not consider as a favour (as a thing for which they owed him gratitude); that he must do something beyond, something that might appear to be their interest more than his.'

972 'Would then come to him,' implying an advantage gained without exertion.

973 Negitare, a rare word, but very expressive; for the simple negare, in a case like this, is stronger than a repeated assertion that you cannot, or will not, do a certain thing. The affinitas (connexion by marriage) refers to what is mentioned chap. 80, a daughter of Bocchus being married to Jugurtha. Respecting their cognatio (relation by blood) nothing is known, but there must have been a family connexion between the neighbouring kings. Intervenisse — that is, factum esse — referring especially to foedus.

974 'That the war could be brought to a close by mutual concessions.'

975 Pax conventa, 'the peace which is agreed upon.' Observe the rare use of the passive participle; for convenire is commonly intransitive — as pax convenit, a 'peace is concluded.'

976 In potestatem habere is ungrammatical for in potestate habere, but is found now and then.

See Zumpt, § 316.

977 The expression is somewhat contorted; for the inserted clause *non sua ignavia sed ob rem publicam* should have a verb of its own, which, however, would be a part of the leading verb — namely, *qui in hostium potestate esset*

978 ‘In contradiction with themselves,’ ‘contradictory.’

979 ‘The king first summoned his councillors, then dismissed them immediately, and for a long time meditated by himself.’ *Ceteris* refers to the preceding *amicis*, but is used instead of *his*, to form antithesis to himself: ‘after the removal of all the rest, he deliberated by himself.’

980 *Vultus*, chiefly ‘the look of the eyes,’ but also ‘the features of the countenance,’ by which the inward emotions are manifested; hence Sallust here, by the addition of *corporis*, opposes the outward expression to the emotions of the mind: ‘He changed (varied) in the expression of his bodily features as much as in his sentiments.’ *Quae scilicet patefecisse*, ‘which, as could be seen, revealed his mental emotions.’ *Quae* is the neuter plural, and *scilicet* contains the leading verb.

981 That is, *ut praeceptum erat*, and not *dictum* in the sense of *edictum*; for according to the deceitful agreement, the *condiciones pacis* were to be determined peaceably

982 Sallust passes very rapidly over the catastrophe of a king who had worn out, by simulation and war, the Roman armies for six years. He was taken prisoner in B.C. 106, when Marius was no longer consul, but yet remained in Africa as proconsul. Sulla considered the capture of Jugurtha to be an event so important, and to himself so glorious, that he had it engraved on his sealing ring.

983 ‘During the same time,’ that is, the time during which Marius, as proconsul, was still in Africa, occupied no doubt with the regulation of the affairs which, owing to the long war, had fallen into disorder. Bocchus received a part of western Numidia, as far as the river Ampsaga; and Numidia was divided between Hiempsal and Hiarbas, two princes of the family of Masinissa. These and other matters detained Marius in Africa during the year B.C. 105, in which the Romans under the consul Gn. Manlius and the proconsul Q. Caepio, suffered a great defeat from the Cimbri, on the river Rhodanus. This led to the second consulship of Marius, in B.C. 104. The people whom Sallust here calls Gauls (*Galli*) are the Cimbri and Teutones, German tribes coming from the countries about the Elbe. This mistake must be accounted for by the general difficulty of distinguishing Celtic (*Gallic*) from Germanic tribes, and also by the circumstance that the Cimbri had for many years been wandering about in Gaul.

984 *Illique*; that is, the Romans then living, as opposed to those in the time of Sallust. *Sic habuere*, ‘entertained this opinion.’

985 *Certare*; supply *se*; unless we read *certari*, to which it is easier to supply a *se*.

986 On the 1st of January B.C. 104. We may here observe, that Jugurtha, after he had adorned the triumphal procession at Rome, was put to death in the public prison near the Forum — which is described by Sallust, *Cat.* 55 — at the same hour in which Marius offered up his thanksgiving to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the Capitol.

End