

NOTES

1. **genus humanum**: "mankind", "men", subject of the deponent verb *queritur*. **quod** introduces the reason for the complaint and is the equivalent of the English "on the ground that": it is best translated here simply by "that". When *quod* has this meaning, that is, it gives not a reason vouchsafed by the author but a reason given by others (here, "mankind") it governs a subjunctive, *regatur*: this is known as the subjunctive of virtual *oratio obliqua*. **inbecilla**: "weak", and refers to *natura*; **aceti brevis**, genitive of quality also referring to *natura*: Sallust often uses a genitive of quality (or ablative of quality) coupled with an adjective for the sake of variety (cf. *homo inanis et regiae superbiae*, 64, 5). Literally, the clause from *quod* is rendered: "that, being weak and of short duration, it is controlled . . .", but it is best translated by "that it is weak . . . and is controlled". **forte**: ablative of *fortis* "chance", and is an ablative of means.

2. **contra**: adverb, "on the contrary" which answers to *jauso*. **reputando**: gerund "by reflecting": "if you were to reflect". It supplies the condition to *invenias* ("you would find"). **magisque . . . deesse**: *invenias* governs first the accusative *diuidi* and then the accusative and infinitive construction *industriam . . . deesse*: lit. "that the diligence of men is lacking to their nature more than strength or time"; "that man's nature is deficient more in the will to work than in strength or length of days". Notice that *vim* and *tempus* answer to *inbecilla* and *aceti brevis*.

3. **grassatur**: from *grasso*, frequentative verb from *gratio*, and means "makes its way": Sallust is fond of using frequentative verbs in place of the regular verb (cf. *pollucituri* in 8, 1). **abunde pollens potensque et clarus est**: lit. "is abundantly powerful and mighty and famous"; "has power, might, and fame in abundance": the juxtaposition of synonyms, especially when they are of similar sound, is a common practice of Latin writers. **fortuna**: ablative governed by *egit*. **quippe quae**: "for it (fortune)": when *quippe* is used with the relative it gives the pronoun a causal force and is in most writers followed by the subjunctive. However, Livy and Sallust use it with the indicative. **artes**: "qualities", as often in Sallust.

4. **pesum datus est**: *pesum* is an accusative of a noun not found in other cases meaning "bottom", and it is used after verbs of motion and after *dare*; *pesum dari* means "to be sent to the

NOTES

bottom" or "to sink". **usus**: "giving way to"; governs the ablative *lubidine*. Translate from *sen* "but if the mind, captivated by base desires, has sunk to idleness and sensual pleasures by giving way for a short time to a ruinous indulgence, then when strength, time, and talents have been frittered away through lack of effort, the weakness of human nature is blamed". **vires tempus ingenium**: Sallust often omits the conjunction *et* between nouns when two or three come together; see note 13, 3. **quisque**: this is in apposition to *actores*; *quisque* is used regularly in the singular even though the word to which it is in apposition is plural; *actores* means "the real culprits", "the guilty": "those who are really responsible shift the blame from themselves (*suam*, the blame which is their own) to the force of circumstances (*negotia*)".

5. **quod si**: "but if". **hominibus . . . esset**: lit. "but if there were to men"; i.e. "if men had"; *asset* subjunctive in the protasis of a hypothetical condition: *regentur*, *regent*, and *procederem* are all verbs in the apodosis. **quanto studio . . . petunt**: "as they show eagerness in seeking". The *quanto* answers to *tanta*, and the expression *quanto studio* is an ablative of manner (lit. "with what great eagerness they seek"). **aliena ac nihili profutura multaque etiam periculosa**: "things that are foreign to their interests, that are likely to be of no profit at all to them and often (lit. 'many things') even dangerous". This is a good example of Sallust's ability to condense a great deal of meaning into a few words. **regentur**: *homines* (to be understood from *hominibus* above) must be taken as the subject of *regentur* and *regent*. **casus** has to stand also as *casibus* with *regentur*: in translation it is better to take the active verb first and say "they would control circumstances rather than be controlled by them". **eo magnitudinis**: *eo* is an adverb literally meaning "thither"; here it has the meaning of "to that degree": translate the phrase "to such a height of greatness". *magnitudinis* is a paritive genitive, that is, it expresses the larger whole of which something forms a part: such a genitive may qualify a noun, pronoun, or adjective, or even adverb (as here) which denotes a part. **ubi . . . ferent**: *ubi* a relative adverb, is sometimes used, as here, to introduce a consecutive clause; it is equivalent to *ut ibi* "that there", but in translation the "place" idea can be abandoned and *ubi* translated as if it were *ut*. The place idea is of course referring to the "height of greatness". **pro**: "instead of": *gloria* is ablative. Translate the whole clause: "as to become immortal in fame instead of being mere mortals".

PART I

2

1. *uti*: "as". *genus hominum*: "mankind"; variation on *genus humanum* (1, 1). *anima* is the breath of life, the vital principle, and *animus* is the rational soul, the mind. Here Sallust seems to be using *anima* with a meaning not far removed from *animus* as being the principle of intelligence that distinguishes men from animals: translate it here as "soul". *res cunctae*: supply from animals: translate it here as "interests". *corporis*: "nostrae", "all our actions". *studia*: "interests". *corpore*: "secutus": "partake of the nature of either the body or the soul"; (lit. "some, the nature of the body, others, the nature of the soul"); *secutus* = *sequuntur*: for the spelling see Note on Spellings, page 46.

2. *igitur*: In most writers of classical prose *igitur* stands as second word in the sentence, but in Sallust it is used like *itaque* as the first word in the sentence; see notes 69, 1 and 73. 1. *praeclara facies*: "remarkable beauty", *ad hoc*: an expression in Sallust meaning "moreover". *huiusce modi*: -ce in a participle sometimes added to those forms of *hic, ille, and iste* which end in *s* but mostly in early Latin; *huiusce modi* is common in the classical period. *brevi*: adverb, = *brevi tempore*, "soon". *ingenti*: is the usual genitive singular ending of Second Declension -*itis* and -*ium* nouns until the first century A.D. when it became -*is*. *facinora*: "achievements"; *facinus* is usually a bad deed or crime (as in 13, 1) and here it requires an adjective like *atragia* to give it a good meaning.

3. *postremo*: "in short", "to sum up". *bonorum*: "of good things" and is governed by *initium*; lit. "just as there is a beginning to (of) the good things of the body and of fortune"; there is an end". *aucta*: "when they have reached maturity"; the sentence from *omninoque* to *senescunt* is a good example of Sallustian brevity where he uses participles to play the part of clauses, *orta* instead of a relative clause *quae orta sunt*, and *aucta* instead of a temporal clause *ubi aucta sunt*. *agitur atque habet*: "agit", "puts in motion"; "animates"; *habet*, "sways"; "governs"; translate to *habetur*, "animates and governs all things without being itself governed".

4. *quo magis*: "all the more"; *quo* is an ablative of the measure of difference. *quo*: ablative of comparison, lit. "than which". *cum praesertim*: "especially since"; relating back to *admiranda* and giving the particular reason why their unnatural behaviour is to be wondered at. *sint*: the regular subjunctive after the causal *cum*. *artes animi*: occupations that engage the intellect.

78

NOTES

"intellectual pursuits". This is somewhat different from the common meaning of *artes* in Sallust, i.e. "qualities" as in 1, 3.

3

1. *ex eis*: *eis* refers back to *artes animi*: "of these pursuits". *magistratus et imperia*: placed in contrast here, these two words have the meaning of "civil offices" and "military commands". *magistratus* was the power possessed by those who held the higher magistracies (such as dictators, consuls, praetors, and censors), to exercise military authority, especially in the provinces. *postremo*: "in short" (cf. 2, 3). *omnis cura rerum publicarum*: "any employment in (lit. 'charge of') public affairs"; "all public offices". *minime, cupidanda*: for the spelling see Note on Spelling, page 46. *honos*: i.e. the honour of being elected to a public office. Sallust is probably playing on the two meanings of this word (1) magistracy, public office, and (2) honour. *quibus per fraudem eis fuit uti*: There are several alternative readings for this clause; Kurfess' text (*Talbot*, 1954) has been adopted as the most reasonable, where *eis* refers back to *magistratus* and *imperia* and is the ablative governed regularly by *uti*: the clause is then rendered literally "to whom it has been (the lot) to enjoy them through fraud"; "who have attained these offices wrongfully". *eo magis honesti*: "the more honoured on that account" or "any the more honoured".

2. *nam, etc.*: Sallust now gives the reasons why magistrates are not safe or more honoured because of their position. If they use force they are acting like tyrants and such a course is attended by many evils, but, on the other hand, if they try to govern constitutionally they will grow weary with effort and only become unpopular. One would have to be a fool to desire this, says Sallust. The alternatives of tyranny or wearisome constitutional rule (implicit in the context) are shown by the use of *quidem* and *autem* (3), virtually equivalent to "on the one hand" and "on the other" respectively. *parentes*: There is some dispute as to the meaning of this word. If it is the present participle of *parere* ("obey") it may be taken to mean "those who obey", i.e. "subjects"; but it seems most likely that it is from *parens, -entis*, and means "parents". Cicero frequently uses the expression *parva parente* to mean one's "country and parents". Here the meaning is that a man should not use force against his country any more than against his parents. (cf. 87, 2, where again it means "country and parents"; but *parentes* in 102, 7 is from *pareo* and

79

PART I

does mean "subjects"), *quamquam et possis* et... *corrigas*: potential subjunctive, and the clause should be translated "even though you would be able to correct, and indeed would correct abuses". Notice that *delicia corrige* must be supplied with *possis*. *importunum*: "oppressive"; "tyrannical". This adjective is regularly used of the actions of tyrants. *mutationes*: the text indicates that the meaning of this word is "attempts to introduce changes". *hostilia*: "horrors of war". *portendant*: subjunctive in a causal clause where *cum* means "since".

3. *neque aliud... nisi... quaerere*: "and to gain nothing but...". *extremae dementiae est*: this is an idiomatic use of the possessive genitive used in the predicate with *esse* to express a characteristic of someone or something: "it is the mark of extreme madness"; *i.e.* "it is the height of folly"; *dementiae* being used as a strong form of *stultitiae*. *nisi forte*: "unless perhaps" and here introduces, ironically, a third possibility. *quem*: "anyone"; after *si, nisi, num, or ne* the regular word for "anyone" is *quis*. *inhonesta et perniciosa*: to entertain for "anyone" would be "dishonourable and fatal". The third alternative would be "Octavian, Antony, and *potentiae paucorum*: In 43 B.C. Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus were appointed as a Second Triumvirate for five years to set the State to rights again. In fact, it gave them a free hand to prosecute further wars of their own making, and to upset the rule of the Senate and the power of the ordinary magistrates. Sallust is clearly thinking of these three as the "few"; *i.e.* the rule of an oligarchy (cf. the similar use of the Greek *ὀλιγία*). *gratificari*: "to sacrifice"; this infinitive is used after *libido tenet* instead of the more usual genitive of the gerund (*gratificandi*) because *libido tenet* is equivalent to *libet* (*libet*) which regularly governs an infinitive.

4

1. *ex aliis negotiis, quae ingenio exercentur*: lit. "among the occupations which are carried out by the intellect"; translate simply by "among intellectual pursuits"; *aliis negotiis* means those pursuits other than the *cura rerum publicarum* (3. 1). *magno usui*: predicative dative "as a great use"; "of great service". *memoria rerum gestarum*: "the recording of great events". 2. *virtute*: here used of a thing rather than of a person and is to be translated as "value". *praetereundum puto*: supply *esse* with this: lit. "I think that it must be passed over"; "I consider nothing need be said". *simul*: introduces a second

80

NOTES

reason why nothing need be said. *per insolentiam*: is to be taken with *exollere* and means "through vanity". *memet*: the suffix *-met* is often added to cases of the personal pronouns except the nominative *tu* and the genitive plural of *ego* and *tu*. *laudando*: must be taken closely with *exollere*, and the two words rendered "to eulogise".

3. *fore qui... nomen inertiae*: "that there will be those who will assign the name of idleness...". *procul a re publica*: "aloof from political activity". *certe quibus*: *et* is to be supplied before *quibus* to pick up the thought of the *qui* clause, "certainly those (will think me idle) to whom...". *salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam quaerere*: *salutare* means "to court"; it was the practice for a candidate for office to greet those citizens whose votes he considered important. For this purpose he was accompanied by a man called a *nomenclator* whose task it was to point out such persons. *conviviis gratiam quaerere*: "to curry favour with feasts". A candidate would provide "free meals" for the supporters of his candidature. Strictly he was expected to confine this act to members of his own tribe (*i.e.* the territorial division of the State, in which a man was registered, for purposes of supplying the State with quotas of soldiers or money), but few limited themselves so narrowly. When Crassus, the millionaire contemporary of Cicero, canvassed for the conship he is said to have dined the whole Roman people at ten thousand tables!

4. *reputaverint*: future perfect indicative, "if these men reflect". the future perfect is used because the men to whom Sallust refers will only "consider" (*existimabunt*) when the future action of reflecting is completed. English always uses the present because there was no true future in Old English: the auxiliaries "shall", "will", and "shall have", "will have" tend only to be used in main clauses. *quibus... temporibus*: "the times in which", *i.e.* the circumstances of those times. *magistratus*: for the offices held by Sallust (see Introduction, Chapter I, D). *adeptus sim... nequiverint... perverserint*: subjunctives in indirect questions. *quales viri: i.e.* eminent men who failed to attain high office. *quae genera hominum in senatum perverserint*: There is a certain bitterness in these words. Sallust had himself been expelled from the Senate in 50 B.C. (by the censor Appius Claudius Pulcher) for alleged immorality. Caesar had admitted many men of low rank, both foreigners and soldiers, into the Senate, thus raising its numbers in 45 B.C. to about 900. Mark Antony is said to have gone still further in this direction. *merito*:

81

PART I

"justly", "from good motives". *ex otio meo*: "from my retirement".

5. *Q. Maximus*: Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator (the "Delayer"), the famous opponent of Hannibal during the Second Punic War, whose policy of avoiding battle with the Carthaginian general (217-14 B.C.) was bitterly opposed by many Romans but won Hannibal down. *P. Scipionem*: Publius Scipio Africanus, the younger contemporary of Fabius who finally defeated Hannibal in 202 B.C. at the Battle of Zama. *praeterea... praefatos viros: alios* must be understood in translation, "besides other eminent men". *soltos*: supply *esse*. *imagines*: These were waxen masks of distinguished Roman ancestors who had held a curule magistracy, that is, one of the higher offices in the State. These masks adorned the Roman house, especially the atrium and on the deaths of a member of the family who had also held high office, they were worn by actors in the funeral procession, cf. 85, 10. (See Plate III.)

6. *scilicet non: scilicet (scire licet)* literally means "it is allowed to know", "we may know", and here it governs an accusative and infinitive construction: "of course, it does not mean that... in sese: "in themselves"; that is, the wax (*ceram*) and the effigy (*figuram*). *flammam*: "spirit of rivalry"; and the metaphor is taken from fire as is *accendi* (5). *egregijs virtis*: dative of possession, "of noble men". *eorum*: i.e. of their ancestors. *flammam atque gloriam*: "the renown and the glory".

7. *his moribus*: "with our morals", but translate "in these degenerate times". *quin... contendant*: "that does not vie"; *quin* is the old instrumental case of *qui* with the negative *-ne* attached, giving the original meaning of "how not?" or "why not?" which can be seen in such independent sentences as "*quin venis?*" ("why don't you come?"). *non*: "instead of", "rather than". *hominibus novi*: The term *homo novus* was applied to a plebeian, that is, a Roman of common, rather than of noble, family origin, who was the first of his family to hold curule office (i.e. one of the higher magistracies entitling him to sit in the ivory chair of office). Such a man became one of the *nobiles*. During the early days of the Republic higher offices were restricted to men of noble blood, the patricians, but eventually (after 367 B.C.) these offices were opened to plebeians, that is, the general body of Roman citizens and a few were thus admitted to the Senate. But about the time of the Second Punic War the *nobiles* began to close their ranks and to try to confine political power to their own class. Their policy led in time to a violent reaction and to the rise of unscrupulous

NOTES

popular leaders in the last century of the Republic who for good or bad reasons championed the cause of the *plebs* against the *nobiles*. Hence arose the two political factions, the *populares* (the people's party) and the *optimates* (supporters of the *nobiles*). *antevenire*: "to outdo". *furtim... per latrocinia... bonis artibus*: Notice the variety used here by Sallust to express similar adverbial ideas: an adverb, a prepositional phrase, and the ablative case.

8. *praetura et consulatus*: These were the two highest magistracies. Sulla, the Roman dictator (81-79 B.C.), increased the number of praetors from six to eight and insisted that they should all stay in Rome during their year of office as judges or presidents of the courts and should proceed to the governorship of provinces the year after. The praetorship rapidly declined in importance and its functions were eventually reduced to minor jurisdiction. Caesar raised their number by stages to sixteen. *ac non perinde habeantur ut*: lit. "and not possessed according as is the character (*virtus*)"; "as though their possession did not depend on the character of". *qui ea sustinent*: "those who have the responsibility of these offices".

9. *altius*: "too far"; a metaphor from sailing, the open sea often being referred to by Latin writers as *altum*. *dum me... piget laedeque*: "In giving vent to my sorrow and indignation at". These two impersonal verbs regularly take an accusative of the person feeling the emotion and a genitive of the object of the emotion. *inceptum*: "my subject".

5

1. *Bellum scripturus sum: scribere*: used with an accusative means "to put something in writing"; hence, the clause is best translated here by "it is my purpose to write a history of the war". *varia victoria*: "of varying fortune"; this is an ablative of quality by which the fortunes of the war are described: it means that fortune often changed sides. *tunc primum*: This cannot strictly be true for as Sallust himself says in Chapter 42, the Gracchi brothers (133-122) were the first to champion the cause of the *plebs* against the *nobiles*. *obviam itum est*: the third person singular passive of intransitive verbs is often used when no particular subject is apparent. Literally it means "There was a going against" (*obviam* governs a dative); "resistance was offered".

2. *divina et humana cuncta*: simply means "absolutely everything". *permiscuit*: "threw into confusion". *eo*: "to such a pitch of"; cf. 1, 5, *eo magnitudinis*. *ut studiis... finem*

faceret: *studium* means the "passion" of party strife: *studii civilibus* is best translated by "the passions of the opposing parties". Literally the clause runs "so that war and the devastation of Italy put an end to the passions of the opposing parties". This is best rendered by turning it passive: "so that the passions of the opposing parties were only ended by war and the devastation of Italy". Sallust is undoubtedly thinking of the series of devastating civil wars which afflicted Rome in the last half-century of the republic, the struggle between Sulla and Marius, 88-82, Lepidus' democratic revolution in 77, Catiline's conspiracy of 63, and the great Civil War between Julius Caesar and Pompey, 49-45.

3. **prinsquam...intium expedito:** with *prinsquam* and *antequam* the present rather than a future indicative is regularly used with future meaning, "before I begin my narrative". **pauca supra:** *pauca* = "a few things"; *supra* is an adverb meaning *previously*. **quo:** commonly used to introduce a purpose clause in which there is a comparative adjective or adverb (here *magis*). **ad cognoscendum:** "for an understanding". **industria magis magisque in aperto:** The first *magis* goes with *industria*. The use of two similar phrases juxtaposed in contrary order, as here, is known as chiasmus. The term is derived from the Greek chi (X) because of the inversion of order which the form of the Greek letter suggests; e.g. note 7, 5. *in aperto* instead of another adjective corresponds with *industria*; this is another instance of Sallust's love of variety in expression: "in order that they may be (seen) in a better light... and more clearly revealed".

4. **Bello Punico secundo:** This was the great war of 218-202 B.C. between Carthage and Rome when Hannibal invaded Italy and inflicted some terrible defeats upon the Romans, in particular the Battle of Lake Trasimene near Cortona in modern Tuscany (217) when the Romans fell into a cleverly planned ambush and lost many thousands of men; and the Battle of Cannae near modern Canosa di Puglia in Apulia in the heel of Italy (216) when Hannibal's cunning strategy again cost the Romans dearly in lives. *Bello* is an ablative of time when, as is *quo*, the relative pronoun that follows, which is best translated by "when". **post magnitudinem nominis Romani:** an example of Sallust's brevity of style; the abstract noun *magnitudinem* is used to mean "the time when Rome became powerful" and *post* means "since the beginning of"; "since the time that Rome first attained her greatness". **maxime:** lit. "especially"; i.e. Hannibal had "more than anyone else" weakened the power of Italy. **Masinissa**

rex Numidarum: see Chapter 2 of the Introduction, II, *The Background to the War*, for details about Masinissa (and Syphax below). **cui postea Africano cognomen:** When the actual name of a person is used with the phrase *cui nomen est* ("who has the name") it often agrees not with *nomen* but with the dative pronoun: here *Africano* agrees with *cui*: "who was afterwards surnamed Africanus". Publius Cornelius Scipio Major received the surname of Africanus because of his victory over Hannibal at Zama (202), the conquest of which resulted in the conclusion of the Second Punic War. He was said to be the first Roman to receive as his title the name of the country he had conquered. His sons Publius and Gnaeus took the same surname. **rei militaris facinora:** "deeds of arms"; translate *multa...fecerat*, "he had gained many famous victories in the field". **Syphace:** see note above on Masinissa. **cutis magnum atque late imperium valuit:** *magnum* is an adjective used adverbially in the neuter and must be taken with *valuit* ("was very powerful"); *late*, an adverb meaning "widely", also modifies the verb; "whose dominion in Africa was very powerful and extensive". **manu:** "by force of arms". **quasunque urbes et agros:** In fact, Masinissa received the kingdom of Syphax and all the land that the Carthaginians had taken either from him or from his ancestors: this comprised most of northern Algeria and Tunisia. **regi dono dedit: dono,** "as a gift", and is the predicative dative expressing that for which a thing serves.

5. **igitur:** see note in 2, 3. **bona atque honesta:** "good and true". **sed:** in Sallust *sed* is sometimes no more than a connecting particle to be translated as "now" or "and" (cf. 17, 3). **famis idem fuit:** lit. "there was the same end", but translate the whole sentence by "but the sovereignty over these lands ended when he died"; i.e. the extended dominions granted to Masinissa by the Romans in 202 were not inherited by his son Micipsa but reverted to Rome. Micipsa retained only his father's former kingdom.

6. **Mastanabale...absumptis:** ablative absolute. 7. **is...exese genuit:** "two sons were born to him, Adherbal and Hiempsal". For Micipsa, Mastanabal, Gulussa, Adherbal, and Hiempsal, see Introduction, Chapter 2, II, Genealogical Table, and Index of Proper Names. **privatum dereliquerat: privatam** means "private citizen" having no claim to the throne; *dereliquerat*: "had left him" but the *de* prefix conveys a notion of contemptuous abandonment. **cuttu:** "manner of life". **domi habitu:** "had him brought up in the palace".

PART I

6

1. pollens viribus: "of powerful physique"; **decora facie:** ablative of quality, "with handsome features". The variety of construction in this sentence is after Sallust's style. **multo maxime:** "above all" (lit. "by much the greatest"). **multo** is an ablative of the measure of difference generally used with comparatives but here, and elsewhere in Sallust, used with a superlative. **luxu neque inertiae:** *luxu* is dative like *inertiae*; the *u*-form of the 4th declension dative is archaic. These datives are governed by *dedi* not by *contumpebandum*, *equitare* and the following infinitives to the end of § 1 are all historic infinitives. Sallust frequently uses them. They express the occurrence of a series of actions in the past without indicating the order of time; here they are roughly equivalent to "used to ride", etc. **cum...** *antiret: cum*, meaning "although" is regularly followed by the subjunctive.

2. initio: "in the beginning"; "at first"; ablative of time when **regno suo gloriae fore:** *gloriae* is a predicative dative and governs another dative: lit. "would be for a glory to his kingdom" ("would bring glory to his reign"). This is sometimes called the "double dative" construction. **hominem adulescentem...** "double dative" construction. **hominem adulescentem...** *creescere:* This is an accusative and infinitive construction governed by *intellegi*; *creescere* = "to be gaining influence". **exacta sua aetate et parvis liberis:** ablative absolute; "while he was old and his children still young". **negotio:** often used by Sallust in a general sense approximating to *res* and usually containing the notion of difficulty or danger. Here it means "the problem". **multa cum animo suo volebat:** "he gave considerable thought to it" (lit. "he turned many things over with his mind" as though his mind were his adviser); cf. I, 8; 13, 5; 70, 6; 85, 10.

3. terrebat eum: natura, opportunitas, and studia are each subject of this verb: these all "were frightening" him. **natura mortalium:** "the human disposition". **opportunitas suae...** *aetatis:* "the opportunity offered by his own age and that of his children". **quae:** refers only to the word *opportunitas* not to *opportunitas aetatis:* "and it is such an opportunity as leads...". **transvorsos:** "crosswise"; *i.e.* "of the road"; hence "astray". It is possible that this is an instance of Sallust's imitation of the elder Cato (see Introduction, Chapter 2, IV). **studia...** in *Iugurtham:* "devotion towards Jugurtha". **ex quibus:** the antecedent of *quibus* is *studia*, "arising from this". **si interfecisset:** the actual thoughts of Micipsa are "if I shall have

86

NOTES

killed him"; *si interfecero:* when this thought is reported the future perfect indicative becomes pluperfect subjunctive. **ne qua oriretur:** The adjective "any" in Latin after *si, nisi, num, or ne* is *qui, quae (quae), quod* (cf. 8, 2); *oriretur* is the regular imperfect subjunctive expressing a fear for the future in historic sequence.

7

1. circumventus: "embarrassed". **videt:** Translate the historic present, which is so common in Sallust, by a past tense in English. **acceptum:** "popular with". **popularibus:** the word is not used here to indicate the political faction (*populares*) which opposed aristocratic government (see Chapter I, J), but means virtually the same as *civibus* "his countrymen". **quod erat:** gives the reason for the following clause, that is Micipsa's reason for resolving to expose him to dangers in the Spanish war. **manu promptus:** "full of energy". **adpetens gloriae: gloriae** is an objective genitive (see note on *praemia Metelli*, 70, 5), a common usage after adjectives and participles.

2. bello Numantino: The siege and final capture of Numantia, a town near the sources of the River Douro (modern Soria in northern Spain), was the final episode in the war fought by the Romans against the Celtiberi tribe (153-133 B.C.). The town stood the siege for nine years from 141-133 mainly because of its weak discipline of the Roman army and incompetence of its generals. Scipio Aemilianus, who was sent out in 134, quickly remedied the bad discipline and reduced the city within the year. The Numantians destroyed themselves to prevent their falling into the hands of the Romans. **ostentando virtutem:** this frequentative verb means "to show off" and the expression can be translated as "by showing off his own bravery" or "through his own bravado". **saevitia:** "ruthlessness". **facile... occasurum:** "(thought that he) would be sure to fall".

3. longe aliter ac: lit. "far otherwise than"; *ac (atque)* is the usual word for "than" after *aliter* and *alius*.

4. ut erat: often used with an ablative of quality to mean "with his usual...". **morem:** "tactics". **modestissime: periculis:** dative governed by *obviam*.

5. quod difficillimum in primis est: *in primis*, "especially", is rarely used with the superlative. This clause relates to the clauses that follow: when the antecedent to a relative is itself a clause, as here, the relative clause is generally put first; sometimes

87

id is added before the relative; cf. 10, 2; 47, 2. **bonus**: "wise". **alterum** ("the latter quality") referring to *bonus consilio*, **alterum** ("the former") referring to *proelio strenuus*. The order of words is in § 5 remarkable; first, there is chiasmus, where phrases of similar structure are placed together in opposing order for special rhetorical effect, giving effect to the contrasting qualities mentioned: *proelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio*; this is followed by two clauses of parallel structure, *quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem*, where the first clause refers to the latter phrase in the chiasmus, and the second clause to the former: "in fact, he was tough in war and wise in counsel, a thing especially difficult to achieve, for wisdom (*alterum*) through caution generally leads to fear, and bravery (*alterum*) through boldness, to rashness". cf. Thucydides who says that people get their courage from ignorance, whereas reflection brings hesitation (Thuc. II, 40).

6. **imperator**: i.e. Scipio Aemilianus. **res asperas**: "difficult undertakings". **agere... habere... amplecti**: historic infinitives (see note on 6, 1) (here, *agere* means "began to carry out"). **habere**: "considered". **amplecti**: "became attached to". **in dies**: "every day"; *in dies* must be distinguished in its use from *cotidie*, for it is only used with comparatives or verbs of increasing or decreasing: *cotidie* is the general term for "daily". **quippe cuius neque consilium neque inceptum ulium frustra erat**: *quippe cuius* "as in fact (being one) whose"; the *quippe* qui construction generally governs the subjunctive mood but Sallust always uses it with the indicative (here *erat*); see note, 1, 3. **inceptum**, "action" (lit. "that undertaken"), "as a man upon whose judgement and every action he could rely".

7. **huc addebat**: "to these virtue was added...": here, although these are two subjects of this verb, *munificentia* and *sollertia*, it is made to agree with the one nearest to it. This is a common practice in Latin. **quibus rebus**: ablative of means, "and by these qualities". **familiari amicitia**: "in a close friendship".

8

I. **ea tempestate**: "at that time", ablative of time when. **fuere = fuerunt**: Sallust prefers the *-ere* ending to the *-erunt* for the third person plural perfect indicative active tense. **novi atque nobiles**: see note on 4, 7; the proper meaning must be given to the word *novi* here: "both men who had risen from the commons and others of noble family". **bono honestoque**:

88

ablatives of comparison, "than for what is virtuous and honourable": these are adjectives used in the neuter as nouns: "than for right and honour". **factiosi domi**: They were influential members of the aristocratic clique, or faction, in Rome which sought to keep the government of the State in the hands of the *nobiles* and to prevent the common people from having any political power (see Introduction, Chapter 1, I); "active in the aristocratic faction at home". **potentes apud socios**: "influential with our allies"; *soci* was the courtesy name with which the Romans honoured provincials in preference to calling them subjects. **clari magis quam honesti**: *clarus* is here used in a bad sense; "notorious more than respected". **non medioerem animum**: "the ambitious spirit"; cf. *mediocritas*, 6, 3. **pollitendo**: ablative gerund of the deponent verb *pollitari* "by constantly holding out the prospect". **si Micipsa rex occidisset**: "if king Micipsa died". The subjunctive is used because this conditional clause is a dependent clause in the indirect statement governed by *pollitendo*: for the tense of the subjunctive see the note on *si interfectisset* 6, 3. **fore ut... potiretur**: the periphrasis *fore ut* is often used instead of the future infinitive active in indirect statement; here it is governed by *pollitendo*: lit. "that it would be that he would gain possession"; "that he would gain possession of". **imperii Numidiae**: commonly governed by the verb *potiretur*. This verb more commonly governs an ablative though the genitive is mostly found with it in Sallust. **in ipso maxumam virtutem... esse**: This is an accusative and infinitive expression depending on a verb to be supplied from *pollitendo*, "telling him that". **venitia**: lit. "for sale". These men were telling Jugurtha that he could get anything he wanted from the Roman government if he were willing to pay for it, that is, willing to bribe the Senators who could so easily sway policy in his favour. Sallust stresses the venality of the Senatorial party in their connections with Jugurtha whenever he can, as his prime aim in this work is to denigrate the nobility at Rome. (See Introduction, Chapter 2, III.)

2. **Numantia deleta**: ablative absolute. (See note 7, 2.) **pro contione**: "before the assembled soldiers". **praetorium**: the tent of the *imperator* or, as he was originally called, the *praetor* (*prae-i-or*): "the one who went in front of", i.e. "who led the army". **secreto**: "privately", an adverb formed from the perfect passive participle of *secretum*, *ere, secreti, secretum*, "to take aside"; "to separate". **monuit, ut potius publice... coleret**: "advised him to cultivate the friendship of Rome by services to

89

PART I

NOTES

the State rather than to individuals"; Scipio's good advice is seen in contrast to the bad advice given by the *nobiles factiosi*. *quibus*: dative plural of *quis*, the usual word for "anyone" after *si*, *nisi*, *num* or *ne* (cf. 6, 3), governed by *largiti*, here meaning "to offer bribes". *periculose . . . emi*: this indirect statement is dependent upon "he said"; this must be supplied from *moniti* which introduces indirect speech; *id* must also be supplied with *emi*; lit. "that is bought dangerously . . .". *quod multorum esset*: "which belonged to the many". The subjunctive is the usual mood for verbs in dependent clauses in indirect speech. *si . . . vellet*: Scipio's speech is still being reported; hence the subjunctive: the direct speech would be *si vis*. *permanere in suis artibus*: "to persevere in his (present) conduct", such as he had shown while he had been with Scipio in the battle for Numantia. *suis*: in indirect speech *se* and *suis* often refer to the subject of their own clause instead of to the subject of the main verb, if a fresh subject is introduced, here, the "he" of *vellet*. *ultro*: "of their own accord"; "without seeking them" (*i.e.* by unfair means); *ultro* mean literally, "to the further side", "beyond", that is, outside one's influence, and therefore happening without one's own efforts. *venturum*: agrees with the nearest of the two nouns *gloriam* and *regnum* which together form the subject; cf. 7, 7, *accedebat*. *sin . . . pergeret*: see note on *si vellet* above: the original direct speech would be *sin pergit*. *properantius*: the comparative degree is often used to express a higher degree of a quality than is denoted by the positive; here it means "too hastily". *suavet*: see note, 4, 2.

9

1. *quas . . . redderet*: final relative clause "with a letter to deliver". *quas = ut eas*. *earum sententia*: *earum* refers back to *litteris*; *sententia* here means "purport".
2. *longe maxima virtus*: "by far the greatest courage". Scipio is saying that Jugurtha distinguished himself above everyone else in the war. *quam rem tibi certo scio* *audio esse*: *certo scio* "I know for certain"; "I am sure"; *gaudio* is a predicative dative and *tibi* dative of the person interested. *esse* has the force of *futurae esse*, "I am sure that this *will be* a joy to you". *idem*: masculine, and simply means Jugurtha; *carus* must be repeated with *si* (final subjunctive) "and that he may also be dear to . . ." *senatus et populo Romano*: virtually a technical phrase for the Roman government; "the Roman Senate and people". *pro nostra amicitia*: "in the name of our friendship".

90

"as a friend". *en*: This is used here as if Scipio were handing Jugurtha back to Micipsa. *te atque avo suo Masinissa*: the regular ablative governed by *dignus*.

3. *ea quae fama acceperrat*: lit. "those things which he had received by report", *fama* being ablative; "the reports which had reached him". *ita*: "true". *cum . . . tum*: "not only . . . but also". *pernotus*: "impressed"; *aggressus est*: "tried"; *aggressor* literally means "go to"; hence, "assail"; "attack"; "set about doing", or "try". It quite regularly governs an infinitive as here; cf. 21, 3, and 75, 2. *stamque eum adoptavit*: This is inaccurate, for Numantia fell in 133 B.C. and it would seem that Jugurtha returned to Africa soon after. Therefore, *stam* would suggest that Micipsa adopted him as an heir soon after 133. yet in Chapter II Hiempsal, speaking just after Micipsa's death which took place in 118, says the *adoptatio* had taken place "within the last three years", that is, some time between 121 and 118, twelve years at least after Jugurtha's return from Spain. This is an example of Sallust's inaccuracy over details of time which impairs his reputation as an historian. It is to be observed also that Sallust passes from Jugurtha's return to Micipsa's death by means of three expressions, (1) *stam*, § 3, (2) *paucos post annos*, § 4 and (3) *paucis post diebus*, 11, 2 (after Micipsa's speech in 10), and this covers the long period of fifteen years! *testamento . . . instituit*: "he named (lit. 'appointed') him in his will". *pariter*: "on equal terms".

10

In this chapter Sallust reproduces not the actual words of Micipsa but a speech such as he might have addressed to Jugurtha (*Mitiscenadi verba*, 9, 4), and this he does in his own style and language. Such was the method of all historians in the classical ages of Greece and Rome. This particular speech may be regarded as a rhetorical exercise on the theme of a dying father addressing his adopted son.

1. *Parvoni te*: "When you were a small child". For the ending *-om* see note 82. 1. *amisso patre*: ablative absolute, best translated as referring to Jugurtha's state of being "fatherless" or "an orphan". *in regnum accipi*: "I received you into the royal household". The use of the word *regnum* suggests that he had admitted him to a share in his sovereignty, but as has been indicated above (9, 3) he did not do this until Jugurtha had grown up. *si genuissem*: subjunctive in a dependent clause in *oratio obliqua*: he thought "si genuero"; cf. 8, 1,

91

PART I

occidisset. Adherbal and Hiempsal were not born when Jugurtha was taken into the household. *neque ea res falsum me habitus ea res*: "that hope"; *falsum* . . . *habuit* = *feffellit*, "deceived"; "in this I have not been mistaken".

2. *ut* . . . *omitam*: "to pass over", "to say nothing of". This use of a final clause as a parenthesis expressing the intention of the speaker, and not the purpose of the action of any verb in the sentence, is a common rhetorical expression, and is used a great deal by Cicero in his speeches. *novissimum*: "latest"; see note on *stainique* . . . (9, 3). *rediens*: *rediens*: "returning"; see note used in a strictly contemporaneous sense here, meaning "when you returned" not "after you returned"; *i.e.* he brought honour to Micipsa the moment he set out on his return from Numidia, the scene of his successes: "on your recent return from Numidia you conferred honour upon me and my kingdom by your own glory". *neque regnumque*: The use of *-que* . . . *-que* is usually confined to poetry. Sallust is the first to use it in prose, and he always joins the first *-que* to a pronoun. *nobis Romanos ex amicis amicitissimos fecisti*: lit. "you have made the Romans most friendly to us from being friends (already)"; "you have made the bonds of friendship between the Romans and us even stronger than they were before". In *Hispania nomen familiae renotatum est; nomen*, "the reputation". During the Second Punic War, Micipsa's father, Masinissa, had served with the Carthaginians in Spain against the Romans (between 212 and 206 B.C.) when he was won over by the diplomacy of Scipio Africanus. He had distinguished himself as a cavalry general. *invidiam vicisti*: "you have silenced envy".

3. *dexteram*: Jugurtha's right hand which he was holding. The right hand was given in agreements as a pledge of truth, and is often appealed to as the outward symbol of a man's honour. *per regni fidem*: "by the loyalty you owe to this kingdom"; *regni* is an objective genitive; *i.e.* "the loyalty of the kingdom" means that the kingdom is the object of a subject's loyalty. *malis*: second person present subjunctive of *malo*. Like *habeas* it is subjunctive in an indirect command construction. *propinquus*: Adherbal and Hiempsal were his cousins. See the genealogical table. *alienos adiungere*: supply *mihi*: lit. "to join strangers to yourself"; "to form unions with strangers".

4. *amici, quos* . . . *cogere* . . . *quasi*: *quasi* is a generic subjunctive used to indicate a class of persons, where the indicative would indicate particular persons. *parare* here means "to buy"; a not uncommon meaning of the word which is preserved

NOTES

in the modern Italian *comprare*. *officio et fide pariantur*: *pariantur* means "are produced"; "are won"; *officio et fide*, "by devotion and loyalty".

5. *quem alienum fidum invenies*: "what stranger will you find loyal?"; *hostis*: "a traitor".

6. *concordia* . . . *diabuntur*: "small states grow (large) through harmony, while discord brings the mightiest to ruin"; *concordia* and *discordia* are ablative. Seneca says in one of his epistles (XCIV, 46) that this sentence was often on the lips of Marcus Agrippa, the famous associate of Augustus, who assisted the emperor ably in restoring concord in Rome after the Civil War and in making improvements to the city of Rome and elsewhere.

7. *ante hos*: This is a rather unusual use of *ante* to mean "rather than"; "sooner than", *hos* referring to his sons. *ne aliter*: depends upon *te providere decet*. The use of *ne aliter* is euphemistic for "that nothing bad happens". *quia plus potest*: *potest* is often used absolutely to mean "to be powerful" and frequently modified by the adverbs *multum*, *plus*, *plurimum*, etc.; "just because he is more powerful". *facere videtur*: lit. "seems to be doing (the injustice)"; "is regarded as the aggressor".

8. *colite observate talem hunc virum, imitantini*: the asyndeton, that is, the lack of connecting words, gives strength to the commands; "respect and honour this good man; imitate . . ." *meliores liberos sumpsisse*: *sumpsisse* = *adoptavisse*; the plural *liberos* is rhetorical emphasis, as Micipsa had adopted only one child.

II

1. *facta locutura*: supply *esse*; *facta* is accusative neuter plural, "false things"; *i.e.* "insincerely". *aliter*: *i.e.* his thoughts were different from the kindly reply he gave to Micipsa. *pro tempore*: "to suit the occasion"; *pro*: lit. "in accordance with".

2. *paucis post diebus*: *post* is an adverb, and *paucis diebus* is ablative of the measure of difference expressing "by what length" of time the death occurred after Micipsa had spoken to Jugurtha; cf. *paulo ante* and *mulo post*. *postquam* . . . *fecerant*; *postquam* is regularly used with the perfect indicative not with the pluperfect, which is only used when a definite interval of time is mentioned, cf. 44, 4; 79, 4; 108, 1. *more regio*: "in royal fashion"; probably beneath a huge burial mound faced with stone steps like the two great mounds known as the Mâdassen (near Batna in northern Algeria) and the Tombeau de la Chrétienne (near Cherchel on the coast of Algeria), which are believed to be

the tombs of Masinissa and Juba II, king of Mauritania (25 B.C.). *iusta*: supply *funera*, "obsequies" or "funeral rites". *reguli*: the diminutive of *rex*, as each had only a share in the kingdom. The word is not found in Cicero or Caesar, but is frequently used by Latin historians.

3. *minimus*: supply *nam*, "the youngest". *ferox*: "haughty"; this word never means "fierce" in the sense of "savage", but is usually associated with the high-spiritedness of noble breeding. *iam antea* is to be taken with *despicens*. The present participle indicates that his contempt for Jugurtha still existed; "who even before this despised". *quia materno genere impar erat*: "because of his inferior birth on his mother's side"; his mother was a concubine: see 5, 7. *adsedit*: perfect indicative of *adsidere*, "sit next to" which usually governs a dative, but here an accusative. *medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honoris dicitur*: The Romans also considered the middle position as the place of honour. In Imperial times, the emperor used to take his seat in the Senate between the two consuls for the year. *honoris* is a predicative dative "as an honour". *ne... Jugurtha foret*: The use of the imperfect subjunctive *forem* for *essen* appears first in Sallust. Here it is a final subjunctive.

4. *ut aetati concederet, fatigatus a fratre: fatigatus*, "tired out (with entreaties)": "but when he was begged repeatedly by his brother to show respect for Jugurtha's seniority...". *in partem alteram*: "to the other side"; i.e. of Jugurtha. *transductus est*: "was induced to move".

5. *iactit*: "throws out (the remark)", "suggests", and governs the accusative and infinitive construction *oportere... consilia et decreta omnia*, the infinitive *resendi* being governed by *oportere*; "that they ought to cancel all the rulings (*consilia*) and decrees". *quinguenti*: supply *proximi*, "of the last five years". *nam*: is still in indirect speech, "for, he said". *parum... valuisse*: "had not been in full possession of his faculties".

6. *ipsam illam*: i.e. "Jugurtha". This sarcasm, which must have given Hiempsal considerable gratification, cost him his life soon after.

7. *verbum*: "remark"; this meaning is almost confined to Plautus and Terence. *quisquam*: "anyone", used chiefly in negative sentences, is also used after comparative adjectives and adverbs (here *ditius*) because of its meaning of "anyone at all". *descendit*: the remark "penetrated".

8. *moliri parare atque... habere*: historic infinitives: see 6, 1 *equitare*. The emotion that their use suggests is contained

in *auxius*. *ea modo... quibus... caperetur*: "thought of nothing but plans for getting the better of Hiempsal"; *caperetur* is a final subjunctive.

9. *tardius*: "too slowly", a common meaning of the comparative degree. *procedunt, lenitur, statuit*: Sallust here uses the historic present immediately after using historic infinitives. Apart from providing variety this use of the historic present maintains the heightened tone of the narrative and suitably conveys the note of urgency expressed in the passage.

12

1. *primo conventu*: ablative of time when. *placuerat... dividi*: *placere* is often used impersonally to mean "to decide", as here. *fines... singulis constituit*: "that the kingdom should be partitioned between the three of them", *consistere* means "to arrange, order, or dispose"; hence its meaning here. Micipsa's arrangement that they should rule jointly had thus been set aside.

2. *maturius*: "an earlier date": it agrees with *tempus*. *thesauris aliis alio concessere*: *concedere* means "to withdraw to", "to betake oneself to"; *thesauris* is dative governed by *propingua*, "near to the treasury"; *aliis alio* mean that one went off in one direction, another went off another way; "each of the princes went to a different place in the neighbourhood of the treasury".

3. *in oppido Thirmitida*: No such town as Thirmitida is known. Hippo Zarytus (on the north coast of Tunisia) and Cirra (in Algeria) were the principal cities of Numidia. *eius... qui*: "of that man who...". *proximus licitor*: *licitor* is a purely Roman term for the official attendants of consuls and other magistrates. The licitors preceded the Roman magistrate in single file, and the last of these, the *proximus licitor*, seems to have occupied a superior position to the others: he would receive the orders first from the magistrate. Here Sallust applies the term to the king's "chief attendant". It is very doubtful whether any such custom as the Roman one existed in Numidia, and Sallust often uses expressions from Roman life and customs when speaking of other nations: cf. 49, 2, where he speaks of *urnas* and *mantipuli*, distinctly Roman army divisions, and again *legio*, 79, 4. *carus acceptusque ei*: "his close and valued friend". *quem... oblatum*: lit. "whom, thrown in his way by chance as an agent"; "finding this man as an instrument thrown in his way as it were by fate". This

is an example of Sallust's love of brevity, very apt in a sentence where terseness gives added force to the meaning. *ut* . . . *cati*: indirect command; the present subjunctive *eat* is governed by *impellit* which is an historic present. An historic present may take either primary or historic sequence. *tamquam* . . . *visens*: *tamquam* is sometimes used with a participle to express an apparent cause; "on the pretext of inspecting". *verse* . . . *referebantur*: imperfect of frequency, "the original keys were regularly brought". *ubi res postularat*: "when the time was right", "at the proper time". *se* . . . *venturum*: a verb of saying must be supplied to govern this accusative and infinitive. This is often so when the construction passes from one form of *oratio obliqua* (here, the indirect command governed by *impellit*) to another (here, indirect statement).

4. **introducitur**: "admitted".

5. **intrupere, quaerere** and the following infinitives are all historic infinitives (see 6, 1). **dormientes alios, alios occurrentes**: Notice the chiasmus. Sallust is very fond of this rhetorical figure and frequently uses it in this work; cf. 5, 3; 7, 5; 23, 1; etc. **scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere**: another chiasmus: *loca abdita*, "hiding places"; and *clausa (loca)*, "closed doors". **omnia miserere**: "were spreading confusion everywhere"; **cum interim Hiempsal reperitur**: "eventually Hiempsal was found". In sentences of this kind where *cum* introduces what is really the main clause ("when the soldiers were searching, *Hiempsal was found*") the verb is regularly in the indicative. This is usually called the "inverted" *cum*-clause. **mulieris ancillae**: "of a maidservant"; *mulieris* is superfluous. **quo**: "whither".

13

1. **facinoris**: "a bad deed", "crime". For *facinus* used in a good sense see 2, 2. **per omnem Africam**: "throughout the whole of Numidia". **in duas partes discedunt Numidae**: "The Numidians now divided into two parties" (or, "into two camps").

2. **quam maxumas potest copias**: "the largest possible number of troops". **partim** . . . *aliam*: used for the ordinary *aliam* . . . *aliam*, an example of Sallust's love of variety. It is best to treat *partim* as though it were *aliam* and translate "some cities", *voluntate*: "with their consent"; "he gained control of some cities by force, and others by persuasion". **armat, adiungit,**

96

parat: Notice the lack of connecting words in this sentence, an example of asyndeton which Sallust employs a good deal in this work with nouns and clauses; *parat*: "aims at".

3. **tametsi**: Sallust prefers *tametsi* to *etsi* (a favourite word with Cicero) and uses it generally with the indicative. **fortunis suis**: "his own position".

4. **in provinciam**, *i.e.* the Roman province of Africa founded after the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. (See Map.)

5. **patris consilium**: "having achieved his aims", that is, to get rid of both his rivals. **postquam omnis Numidae potiebatur**: *postquam* is used with the imperfect indicative to denote an incomplete action or to describe a state of affairs, as here, but this is a rare usage; "now that he was master of the whole of Numidia". For the case of *Numidae* after *potior* see the note on *imperii Numidae*, 8, 1. **cum animo reputans**: "reflecting"; for the use of *cum* see note on *cum animo* . . . *volebat*, 6, 2. **timere**: historic infinitive, "began to be afraid". **neque usquam . . . spem habere**: The infinitive may be another historic infinitive or a present infinitive in an indirect statement depending upon a verb to be supplied, such as *credidi*, "believed", but this means that the accusative *se* must also be supplied: "and believed that he had no other hope". **avaritia nobilitatis**: Jugurtha's thoughts at this time concerning the greed of the Roman nobility are ascribed to him by Sallust. This is, of course, the practice of ancient historians to attribute to characters of their history thoughts or words applicable to the situation, but here, undoubtedly, Sallust is striking the first blow in the narrative against the nobility as a corrupt and greedy class.

6. **quis**: = *quis*. **quaecumque possint**: a subjunctive in a subordinate clause in *oratio obliqua* governed by *praecipit*. **parare**: "to gain"; prolative infinitive governed by *cauentur*; the infinitive is called "prolative" because it "carries on" the sense of the finite verb.

8. **pars** . . . *alii*: = *alii* . . . *alii*; cf. note on *partim* . . . *aliam*, 13, 2. **ambundo**: ablative gerund of the verb *ambire* meaning "to canvass"; "to solicit"; "by going round canvassing individual members of the Senate". **nitebantur**, urged them; **consuleretur**: impersonal passive, and subjunctive of indirect command where *consulere* means "to take a resolution"; "to take measures"; "and urged them not to take too severe measures against him (Jugurtha)".

9. **senatus utrisque datur**: "an audience of the Senate is given to both".

B. I.

97

4

PART I

granted to both parties". **accepimus**: Sallust is fond of using the vague *accepimus* meaning "it is reported that".

14

1. **Patres conscripti**: These were the words regularly used when addressing the Senate, though their origin is obscure. Either (a) they stand for *patres (et) conscripti*, that is, *patres* the original Senators of three hundred, and *conscripti* the new Senators enrolled after the expulsion of the kings in 509, or (b) the term *patres* originally included all patricians, while those whose names were entered on the list of Senators were called *patres conscripti* to distinguish them. The latter explanation is to be preferred. **procuratorem**: "administration", but the word carries in Latin the meaning of "care on behalf of" and implies deputed authority. Here, Adherbal is saying that his father Micipsa had bidden him to consider himself only a steward of the kingdom of Numidia, and Rome as possessing the real authority. **ius et imperium**: "legal right and sovereignty". **domi militaque**: Both words are in the locative case, "in peace and war". **quam maximo usui**: "as great a possible use"; *maximo usui* is a predicative dative; see note, 4. **vos mihi cognatorum, vos adfinitum loco ducere**: *cognatus* is a blood relation, *adfinitus* is a connection by marriage; *loco* means "in the place of"; "as"; *ducere* frequently has the meaning of "to regard". **si ea fecissem**: pluperfect subjunctive representing the future perfect indicative of direct speech; see note on *interfessisset*, 6, 3. **exercitum divitias munimenta**: note the lack of connecting words, cf. 13, 3. **me habiturum**: a verb of saying must be supplied since there has been a change from the indirect command to indirect statement.

2. **Iam ab stirpe socium atque amicum**: lit. "friend and ally even from my descent"; "hereditary friend and ally". By granting the title *socius atque amicus* the Romans were recognising a king's title. **regno fortunisq. . . . expulsi**: The ablative of separation without a preposition is used especially with verbs compounded with *ab, de, et, ex*.

3. **eo miseriarum**: "to such (a depth of) misery"; cf. *eo magnitudinis*, 1, 5. **Venturus eram**: "I was doomed to". **vellent**: potential subjunctive, "I could wish", and governs first two accusative and infinitive constructions, *posse me . . . and debere . . . beneficia*, and then a noun clause introduced by *ut* (*ut . . . uterer*). **quibus non egerem**: subjunctive because it is part of the wish which cannot be fulfilled: "which I did not

98

NOTES

stand in need of"; *quibus*, ablative regularly governed by *egere*. **secundum ea . . . uterer**: "short of this" (lit. "next to those things") or "failing this (I could wish), that if I must ask favours, I might claim them as my due". With *debitis* (ablative past participle governed by *uterer*) must be supplied *beneficis*. *desideranda* is the nominative neuter gerundive and agrees with *beneficia* to be supplied as the subject of *eram*; *eram* is indicative because, despite the hypothetical nature of Adherbal's argument, it was a *fact* that he did have to ask for favours: *si desideranda essent* would imply that the favours were not in reality needed.

4. **parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est**: "honesty alone is little protection in itself". **neque mihi in manu fuit, Iugurtha qualis foret**: "and it was not in my power (to effect) what sort of person Iugurtha would be". **quod . . . est**: The antecedent to this relative clause is the clause that follows it (*cogor . . . esse*); see note on *quod . . . est*, 10, 2.

5. **in suis dubiis rebus**: "when their own position was insecure". **quo tempore magis fides . . . petunda erat**: "at a time when Rome's good faith was more of an inducement than her fortune"; he means that Rome's success at that time—hard put to it as she was by Hannibal—was by no means assured, and that the attraction in an alliance with her was far more the knowledge that she was a loyal ally and would give aid in a future time of need than that any reliance could be put on her at that time. Here Sallust sacrifices clearness to the forcefulness of brevity.

6. **quorum** refers back to *familia nostra* (§ 5) and, being plural, relates to the members of that family. **progeniem**: in apposition to *me*, as is *nepotem*: "do not allow me, the descendant of that family and grandson of Masinissa . . .".

7. **si . . . mihi causae haberem . . . tamen erat maiestatis populi Romani**: This is a hypothetical condition relating to present time. The imperfect subjunctive is normally used to express this in both if-clause (the protasis) and the main clause (the apodosis). However, when the verb, or verbal idea, in the apodosis is one expressing duty, necessity, fitness (as here, *maiestatis erat*), or intention, the verb is often in the indicative. The reason for this is that the verb in the indicative is really quite independent of the protasis, for it *was*, in fact, in character with the *maiestas* of Rome to help a suppliant; "if I had no other claim for obtaining my request than my pitiable lot . . . it nevertheless befitted the dignity of Rome . . .". **quod**: "the fact that", and introduces a parenthesis.

99

8. *Syphacem et Carthaginienses*: see Introduction, Chapter 2, II. *mihī*: dative of disadvantage: "have been wrested from me". *in mea iniuria*: "in the wrong done to me".
9. *me miserum*: "What wretchedness is mine!", an accusative of exclamation. *hucne, Micipsa pater*: The address to a person or god, as if present, interrupting the thread of a discourse, is known as *apostrophe*, and is a rhetorical figure used much in Latin poetry and rhetorical prose. With the demonstrative particle *-ce* and interrogative particle *-ne*, *huc* becomes *huc-istrā*, *a tergo* where the real force of the preposition is "from the direction, or side, of" but is usually best translated by "on" or "at". *laeti pacem agitabamus*: from the idea of "urging on", *agitare* acquires the meaning of "carrying on", "being employed in", "enjoying"; here, lit. "happily we enjoyed peace"; "we enjoyed the blessings of peace". *quippe quis*: "inasmuch as"; "since"; cf. 7, 6. *nisi forte quem vos iussissetis*: "except perhaps any (enemy) whom you bade us (treat as such)". The subjunctive is consecutive, used in a relative clause after an indefinite antecedent expressed or (as here) unexpressed. It is also known as the generic subjunctive.
11. *intoleranda*: though agreeing with *audacia* (an ablative of manner) it also qualifies *scelere* and *superbia*. *sese eclerens*: "carried away" (lit. "carrying oneself away"). *fratre meo*: Hiempsal. *atque eodem*: "who was also". *sceleris sui praedam*: "the prey of his wickedness"; i.e. Hiempsal's kingdom was first to suffer the ravages of his evil desire for power. *expectantem*: qualifies *me*. *in imperio vostro*: "as we were under the protection of your empire"; the preposition *in* is often used to denote circumstances and position and even acquires a causal force, as here: cf. 46, 6; 74, 1; 75, 8. *ut ubivis tutus . . . essem*: lit. "so that I was more safely anywhere . . ."; "so that it was safer for me to be anywhere . . .". The subjunctive is consecutive.
12. *qui . . . colerent*: *eos* is the antecedent. The verb is subjunctive because the clause is a subordinate one within *oratio obliqua*.

13. *quod in familia . . . vobis*: *quod*, the relative ("what thing"; i.e. "that service which") is explained by the *ut*-clause: "that service which was in our family's power, namely to assist you in all your wars, it rendered". An *ut*-clause is often used to explain the contents of a previous noun, adjective, or pronoun, and is known as an *ut*-explanatory clause. The subjunctive is consecutive. *per otium*: i.e. the peace which those wars have secured.

14. *tertium*: a third brother: see 10, 3.

15. *agam, adcedam*: deliberative subjunctives. *genetis*: a subjective genitive, see note 70, 5; "that my family could give". *naturae concessit*: lit. "has yielded his due to nature"; euphemism for *mortuus est*. *fratris*: "from my brother", dative of disadvantage governed by *eripuit*. *quem*: the antecedent is *propinquos* (nominative singular, see note 82, 1); "the very last man who should have raised a hand against him". *alium alia*: cf. 12, 2, "each in a different way". *capti . . . pars . . . acti*, etc.: *pars* and other collective nouns often have a plural predicate: "captured by Jugurtha, some have been crucified, others . . . and a few . . .". *cum maerore et luctu*: *cum* is used with an ablative of manner when no adjective qualifies the noun: *maeror* is the feeling of grief, *luctus* the expression of grief; "with sorrow and lamentation".

16. *facta sunt*: from *quae*, accusative object of *amisi* supply *quae*, nominative subject of this verb. *ex necessaritis*: "instead of being friendly". *incolumia*: "unchanged". The adjectives in this sentence, though neuter, include, and refer chiefly to, men. *quid . . . mali*: "any evil"; lit. "anything of evil"; a partitive genitive. *quibus . . . decet*: *decet* more usually takes an accusative: here *quibus* is dative.

17. *rerum egeni*: *egere* regularly governs a genitive. *adcedam, appellem*: deliberative subjunctives; cf. § 15 above. *ob vestrā amicitiam*: "because of our friendship for you". *quoniam*: adverb, lit. "to any place": used because the question implies a negative, *quoniam* being the regular word for this in a negative sentence ("Surely there is no place to which I may . . ."); *ubi . . . sint*: a consecutive relative clause; see note on 1, 5. *maiorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima*: "where there are not many reminders of my ancestors' hostility to that hand". *nostrī*: genitive of *nos* governed by *misereri*.

18. *ne . . . coleremus . . . acciperemus*: indirect command. *quem*: "anyone". *abunde . . . fore*: the accusative and infinitive dependent upon *instauri*; a verb of saying must be supplied in English; see note on *se venturum*, 12, 3. *si . . .*

mutaretur: "if the fortune . . . changed": imperfect subjunctive in a hypothetical conditional clause within *oratio obliqua*; the clause in *oratio recta* would have required a present subjunctive, "if the fortune . . . were to change". **huic:** *i.e.* for the Roman empire, for Adherbal is speaking in Rome. **una occidendum nobis esse:** the gerundive, if used with intransitive verbs, must be, as here, impersonal; it expresses necessity: "we must be prepared to fall together (*una*) with it". *fore* would be more regular here instead of *esse*, but the present tense is sometimes used in Latin, as in English, to express a future idea.

19. virtute: ablative of cause, "because of your own merit". **dis volentibus:** ablative absolute, also expressing cause; "because the gods favour you"; "and the favour of the gods". **quo factus:** *quo* has a causal sense, "all the more easily therefore". **sociorum:** an objective genitive, "wrongs done to your allies".

20. parum cognita: referring to the friendship with Jugurtha, implying that if they really knew what it was worth they would avoid it; "not knowing what it is worth". **transvorsos agat:** "may lead them astray"; see note on 6, 3. **incognita causa:** "without hearing his case". The common expression is *causa iudici*, but *cognoscere* is regularly used of judicial investigation and implies hearing both sides. **fingeret:** as is seen there is a change in the type of indirect speech: *mihi*, etc., were first followed by an indirect command, *ne . . . statuas*, and now govern indirect statement; insert "telling you that I . . .". **cui licent:** perfect subjunctive in a relative clause within *oratio obliqua*. It has a concessive force, "though I could have". Note that in the Latin for "I could have done this" the *finire* verb is in the past tense not the infinitive: *mihi licuit hoc facere*.

21. quod utinam: "but would that"; here *quod* is a conjunction connecting with the previous clause; cf. *quod si*, 1, 5. **utinam . . . videam:** optative subjunctive, present because this is the tense used to express a wish for the future (see Woodcock, §§ 113 and 114). **ne:** "assuredly"; "indeed" (the *e* being long). **impietatis, necis, miseriarum:** genitives of the crimes for which he would be punished. Verbs of accusing, condemning, acquitting, and punishing regularly take a genitive of that of, or for, which someone is accused, etc. **reddat:** present subjunctive, being the apodosis to a suppressed protasis, "he would pay" (*i.e.* "if my wish were fulfilled").

22. iam iam: "assuredly"; mostly poetic. **unde = a quo,** as often. **laetandum . . . dolendum puto casum tuum:**

laetari and *dolere* are used as transitive verbs, "to rejoice at" and "to grieve at"; "I think that your fate is a cause for joy ('is to be rejoiced in') rather than for sorrow ('to be grieved over')". Both verbs are Gerundives qualifying *casum*.

23. cum anima simul: "together with your life". **incertus quid agam:** indirect deliberative subjunctive (as are *persequare* and *consulam*), "at a loss as to what course I should take, whether I should try to avenge the wrongs done to you . . . or take thought for my throne". **cuius:** a subjective genitive, refers to Adherbal; *vivae necisque* are objective genitives with *potestas*: "when my royal power to put to death or to spare depends upon foreign support (*i.e.* Rome's)". He means by *vivae necisque potestas* his authority as a king.

24. utinam . . . concessissem: "would that death (*amori*, 'to die') were an honourable way of escape for such a plight as mine, or that I could go on living (*vivere*) without seeming contemptible if worn out by my afflictions, I should resign myself to injustice (*i.e.* no longer fight against it)". Here *ne* introduces an alternative and this is unusual in Sallust; it usually introduces a clause explaining or expanding what has preceded. **concessissem:** The reason for the pluperfect subjunctive is that the conditional clause is dependent upon the implied *oratio obliqua* governed by *videret* ("it should not seem that . . . if I yielded": original direct speech would be future perfect indicative; cf. 6, 3 and 8, 1).

25. per vos, etc.: A verb of appeal must be supplied. In oaths *per* really means "for the sake of"; "I appeal to you as you respect yourself, your parents, etc.". **familiae nostrae:** refers of course to one member of the family only. Jugurtha, "through the villainy and bloodshed wrought by one member of our family".

15

1. largitione . . . causa: ablatives governed by *ferri*: "relying more on bribery than the justice of their cause". **paucis:** supply *verbis*, "briefly". **bellum inferentem:** "though he had been the one to begin the war". This use of the present participle is irregular in Latin prose and the sentence would normally mean "at the time when he was beginning the war". The regular construction here would be "*qui* (or *cum*) . . . *inulisset*", but Sallust is more than once free in his use of the present participle: cf. 35, 10; 103, 4; 106, 1; 113, 1. **superatus sit . . . nequivisset:** Here a primary tense is found with an historic because *postquam* regularly requires the perfect tense even in *oratio obliqua*, though it is then subjunctive. **alium . . . ac . . .**

PART I

cognitus esset: lit. "different from what he had been known"; "that he was any different from the person they had known . . .".

Numantiae: locative, "at Numantia".

2. *utriusque*: "both parties". *consultur*: that is, the presiding magistrate calls upon the members of the Senate in turn to state their views (*dicere sententiam*); "The Senate then debated the matter". *grata depravata*: *depravata* is nominative in agreement with *pars*; "a large number of Senators (*senatus*, 'of the Senate') who had been approached by Jugurtha's agents men who had not actually been influenced by others who had. *con-* allowed themselves to be influenced by others who had. *contemere . . . extollere*: historic infinitives; *contemere*: "extemere . . . extollere": historic infinitives; *pro alieno scelere* pressed contempt" for Adherbal's speech. *pro alieno scelere et flagitio*: "in defence of the shameful crime of a foreigner".

3. *pauci, quibus bonum et aequum . . . erat*: *bonum*, "right"; *aequum*, "justice". The verb is singular because the two words form one idea; "a few who valued right and justice above money".

subveniundum Adherbali . . . censebant: supply *esse*; *subveniundum* is the impersonal gerundive of obligation regularly used with intransitive verbs; "they recommended that help should be sent to Adherbal". Observe afterwards *mortem vindicandam*, the personal use of the gerundive.

4. *Aemilius Scaurus*: There were several families belonging to the Aemilian gens, distinguished by the surnames Lepidus, Paullus, Scaurus, etc., and Marcus Scaurus, the man mentioned here, was the most distinguished of this family. He was consul in 115 B.C. when he triumphed over the Ligures, and built a Via Aemilia (not the great one) extending from the Via Aurelia from Pisea (the modern Pisa) to Dertonā (the modern Tortona, in the second valley). Afterwards he was *Princeps Senatus*, that is, the senior patrician Senator (see note 25, 4). He was one of the second commission sent to Africa during the siege of Circa in 112 B.C. (25, 4), one of Bestia's lieutenants and his chief adviser in the first expedition against Jugurtha in 111 (28, 4), and in 110 he was one of the commissioners appointed under the *Lex Manilia* to inquire into the management of the war (40, 4). He was a champion of the nobility: but Sallust is not praising him when he says he is *factiosus* and *avidus potentiae honoris divitiarum*, and particularly hated in the ruling class.

5. *quod in tali re solet*: Sallust regularly omits *ferri* in such

NOTES

clauses with *solet*: cf. 25, 3; 59, 3: "the usual result in such cases". *invidiam*: "public indignation".

16

1. *vicit tamen*: *vicit* is used absolutely (*i.e.* without an object expressed), "prevailed"; *tamen* means in spite of Scaurus' example: "In spite of all". *vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat*: "right", "justice", is the dative indirect object of *anteferebat*; "which valued money and influence above justice".

2. *decretum*: a decision of the Senate reached by vote. *quod Micipsa obtinuerat*: "which Micipsa had possessed". Since this clause clearly belongs to part of the original decree which is here reported, the verb should, by regular usage, be in the subjunctive mood, but Sallust has a fondness for the indicative and more than once uses it in dependent clauses within *oratio obliqua*: cf. 54, 1, *quae . . . sunt*; 63, 1, *quae . . . agitabat*, and 106, 3, *quos ducebat*. L. Opimius: Like Scaurus, he was a strong supporter of the *nobles*, and had been a vehement opponent of the agrarian laws of the Gracchi brothers. In 121 B.C. he had been consul, and in the disturbances which were caused by Gaius Gracchus and his supporters he had been the leader of the Senatorial opposition which brought about the death of Gracchus and the tribune Fulvius Flaccus on the Aventine Hill, where the champions of the *plebs* had taken refuge. As a result of the *Manilia* (40) he was condemned for receiving bribes from Jugurtha, and died in exile. Sallust's dislike of Opimius is shown by his use of *homo* instead of *vir*. *accerrime . . . exercuerat*: After the battle on the Aventine, Opimius hunted down the supporters of Gracchus, and three thousand were said to have been strangled in prison.

3. *accurratissumae*: "with the greatest respect". *fama, fide . . . anteferet*: *fama* and *fide* are ablatives of comparison, governed by the comparative force of *anteferet*, "that he considered Jugurtha's advantage of more consequence than his own reputation, honour . . .". This is not a regular usage after this verb which normally governs a dative. The verb is a consecutive subjunctive, equivalent to *eodem modo*, "he assailed the other aggressus . . . capiti: a military metaphor, 'he assailed the aggressus . . . and won over the greater number of them'".

5. *agro virisque*: "in extent of territory and size of population". *illam alteram*: "that other well-known part"; territory better known to the Romans. *specie quam usu*: "in appearance rather than in real advantages".

PART I

17

1. **res**: "my subject"; cf. 42, 5; 79, 10. **postulare** . . . **exponere**: "to demand that I give an account"; **postulare** is here constructed with the infinitive as verbs like *monere*, *hortari*, and several others are in Sallust; cf. 19, 2 and 24, 4. **situm**: "geography". **atingere**: "to touch upon"; "to mention briefly".
2. **asperitatem**: "roughness" of the country; "difficulty of access"; cf. 75, 2 and 10. **item**: a variation for *aut*. **conpernum**: "based upon certain information"; "reliable". **haud facile** . . . **narraverim**: *narraverim* is the potential subjunctive, and is really the apodosis of a conditional sentence with the protasis omitted: "I could not give any reliable information (even if I were to try)". The perfect subjunctive is as common as the present subjunctive in the potential usage, and there is no observable difference in sense between the two. **quam paucissimisi**: "in the fewest possible words". See the note on 13, 2. **absolvam**: the equivalent of *narrabo*, a meaning of the word peculiar to Sallust. The basic idea is that of discharging a necessary task.
3. **in parte tertia Africam**: Until 500 B.C. the continent of Africa, known as Libya, was regarded as part of Asia. After that it came to be regarded as a separate continent with its frontier drawn along the Nile, or to the west of Egypt: cf. Lucan IX, 411-20. **pauci**: Among these was one of the most learned men of Sallust's day, M. Terentius Varro (116-27 B.C.) whose writings covered nearly every branch of learning (geography, rhetoric, law, philosophy, music, medicine, etc.). **tantum modo**: "only". **Asiam** . . . **esse**: an accusative and infinitive construction because *posuere* passes into the meaning of "have laid it down"; or, another verb meaning "consider" must be supplied. **sed**: "and"; see note on 5, 5.
4. **est**: Africa. **ab occidente**: "on the west"; for *ab* see note on 14, 10. **fines habet** . . . **fretrum** etc: lit. "has as its boundary the strait . . ."; "is bounded on the west by the strait which lies between our sea and the ocean". **nostris maris**: the Mediterranean; Sallust also refers to it as *Mare Africum* (19, 9). The regular name used by the Romans was *Mare Internum* and, properly, the *Mare Africanum* was the part of the Mediterranean between Sicily and Africa. **Oceani**: the Atlantic, also known as the *Mare Magnum*. **ab ortu**: "on the east". **declinam latitudinem**: lit. "a sloping breadth of country"; "by a broad sloping plateau". This is the plateau lying between

106

NOTES

- Cyrenaica in Libya and Egypt, and this indicates that Egypt was considered part of Asia. **Catabathmon** (*Karabathmos*—"a descent"): East of Cyrenaica the country slopes down gradually towards the valley of the Nile (see Map). The word is a Greek accusative (nom. *Catabathmos*).
5. **frugum fertillis**: *frugum* is the genitive regularly used with an adjective denoting fullness. **caelo** . . . **aequarum**: "there is a scarcity of rain and few rivers".
6. **salubri corpore**: ablative of quality; "healthy". **laborum**: objective genitive; "accustomed to heavy labour". **plerosque senectus dissolvit**: "they commonly die of old age". **ad hoc**: "moreover"; and refers to *bestias interiere malefici generis* . . . *animalia*: "dangerous wild beasts".
7. **habuerint, adcesserint, permixti sint**: subjunctives of indirect question dependent upon *dicam*. **divorsum est**: "my account is different". **Hiempsalis**: This is not the Hiempsal of 12 but Hiempsal II (106-60 B.C.), one of the later kings of Numidia who joined the Marian party against Sulla. He was father of Juba I (60-46) who fought for Pompey. Sallust administered the province of Numidia under Caesar (see Introduction, Chapter I, I) and may well have obtained his information upon these subjects on the spot. **interpretatum est nobis**: "as it was translated by me"; *interpretari* is regularly a deponent verb. Sallust uses it here passively. He uses several verbs which are normally deponents either in the active form or with passive meaning: cf. *enism*, 25, 2; *ulcisci*, 31, 8; *ludificare*, 36, 2. **nobis** is an editorial plural. **utique rem sese habere cultores eius terrae putant**: lit. "and as the inhabitants of that country think themselves to have the matter"; "and in the form in which it is acceptable to the inhabitants of that land". **fides**: "trustworthiness". **penes auctores erit**: "must rest with my authorities".

18

1. **Gaetuli et Libyes**: The Gaetulians and Libyans, who comprised the chief element among the Numidian people, belong to the race from which the modern Berbers are descended. **quis = quibus**: dative of possession, "whose". **humii**: take this with *pabulum*, "fruits of the earth". **pecoribus**: in apposition to *quis*.
2. **morbibus**: "institutions". **vagi palantes**: *errare* means to stray from the right way ignorantly, *vagare* to wander or roam purposely, and *palari* to roam apart from one's companions;

107

PART I

"wandering in scattered tribes". **quas non coegerat:** take *quas* with *sedes* and supply *eos habere* in the relative clause: "they made that spot their resting place which mightfall forced them to accept".

3. in **Hispania Hercules** . . . **interit:** The Greek Hercules returned victoriously from his labours with the oxen of Geryones and ended his mortal life on Mt Oeta in Greece. But Hercules was identified with other foreign gods and is here the Phoenician Hercules (or Melcarth), the hero of Syrian and Punic legends. His conquests represent the spread of civilisation by the commercial establishments of the Phoenician race, many of which were on the coasts of North Africa and Spain. The famous temple of Hercules at Cadiz is no doubt a shrine of Melcarth. **sibi quisque:** "each for himself". Strictly, the nominative *quisque* should be ablative in apposition to *mulis*, but the phrase is used without being made to agree with the rest of the sentence; "and since there were many men who aspired to succeed him". (N.B. It is remotely possible that *quisque* is a contracted form for the ablative *quibusque* but it occurs nowhere else in extant Latin literature as such.)

5. **Persae intra Oceanum magis:** "The Persians nearer to the ocean". That is, they settled outside the straits of Gibraltar closer to the Atlantic Ocean rather than to the Mediterranean. **eique:** *i.e.* the Persians. **alveos navium invorsos pro tuguriis habuere:** "used as huts the inverted hulls of their boats"; cf. *Lucan V*, 516-18. **materia:** material for building; *i.e.* "timber". **mutandi:** "of obtaining it by barter".

6. **mare magnum:** "the expanse of ocean". **ignara lingua:** *ignara* is used in a passive sense and is equivalent in meaning to *ignota*; "ignorance of the language". **comercio prohibebant:** supply *eos*; lit. "kept them from trading"; "made trading impossible".

7. **temptantes agros:** lit. "trying the fields"; "searching for suitable lands". **alia deinde alia:** With the first *alia* supply *primum*: "first one, then the other"; "one after the other". **Nomadæ:** *nomos* is Greek for "pasture", and *nomas* is one who moves about in search of pasture. Hence, this name of *Nomadæ* was really given to these people by the Greeks, and was afterwards spelt *Numidae* by the Romans.

8. **ceterum:** This word does not need to be translated in English, but its force in Latin is to emphasise that, despite the name of *Nomadæ* which the original Persians acquired after they intermarried with *Gaculians*, traces of their arrival by sea remain

NOTES

in the shape of their dwellings. **oblonga incurvis lateribus tecta . . . sunt:** lit. "are oblong, covered over (roofed over), with curved sides"; "are oblong in shape and have roofs with curved sides".

9. **adessere** has *Libyes* as subject and governs *Medis* and *Armenis*; lit. "The Libyans reached to (were next to) the Medes and Armenians". **agitabant:** used absolutely to mean "lived"; this verb is often used absolutely by Sallust and the full phrase is *aetatem agitare*; cf. 19, 5; 54, 2; 59, 1; 74, 1. **mare Africanum:** the Mediterranean; the western part is meant. See note on *nostris maris*, 17, 4. **sub sole magis:** *i.e.* further south. **ab ardoribus:** *i.e.* "from the torrid zone"; the Greeks had named the zones "frigid" (*καταψυχραια*), "temperate" (*ἑσπερος*), and "torrid" (*θακεραυλήτι*). **eique mature oppida habuere:** "and they (*i.e.* the Medes and Armenians) soon had towns", and therein differed from the Persians (cf. §§ 5-7 above). **ireto:** "only by a strait". **inter se:** This is awkward here, for it does not mean these three peoples traded with each other as the *inter se* should strictly indicate, but that they traded with Spain. **mutare res . . . instituerant:** lit. "they had begun to barter (exchange wares)"; "they had begun to trade".

10. **Mauros pro Medis appellantes:** The *Mauri* (the Moors) were the inhabitants of the country called Mauritania in Sallust's time, but the derivation given by him of *Mauri* from *Medi* is purely fanciful. The Moors seem to have originated from Aethiopia.

11. **res Persarum:** "the commonwealth of the Persians"; *i.e.* the mixed race of Persians and *Gaculians* who called themselves *Nomadæ*. **nomine Numidae:** lit. "the Numidians by name" but this is too abrupt for English; "a section of these who called themselves Numidians". **proxuma Carthagine:** Sallust construes *proximus* with the accusative like *prope*. **appellatur:** This agrees with *Numidia*, by attraction, instead of with the plural *quae*.

12. **utrique:** "both peoples"; *i.e.* those who had settled by the ocean, the older Numidians (Persians) and *Gaculians* (§ 7 above), and those who had settled near Carthage (§ 11 above). **alteris freti:** "relying upon each other's aid". **Africae pars inferior pleraque:** lit. "most of the lower-lying part of Africa", *i.e.* the coastal lands near the Mediterranean; "the greater part of the coastal area of Africa". **concessere:** lit. "yielded"; "were merged in".

PART I

19

1. alii . . . pars: The context of this sentence indicates that it is not that "some Phoenicians founded cities to relieve the overpopulation and others did so from a desire for conquest" so much as that these were reasons at different times in the history of Phoenicia, and therefore *alii . . . pars* would be better translated in English as "sometimes . . . sometimes". **solicitata plebe et aliis . . . avidis:** ablative absolute; "after inducing the common folk, and others who were eager for change, to join them". **Hipponeum Hadrumetum Lepidum:** See Map. Hippo Zarytus, near Utica, rather than Hippo Regius is probably meant, as he appears to be naming cities in the vicinity of Carthage; Lepidus is Lepidus Minor near Hadrumetum not Lepidus Magna which is further east, see note 78, 1. **multum auctae:** "became very powerful". **originibus suis praesidio . . . fuere:** "were (for) a protection (predicative dative, as *decori*) to their mother cities"; "protected the interests of . . .".

2. nam: "(I do not mention Carthage) for". *nam* occasionally gives the reason for a thought which is not expressed but understood from the context of what follows it: cf. 82, 2; 88, 5; 102, 11. "As for the history of Carthage". **Parum: "inadequately".** **alio:** adverb, "to other topics". **properare tempus monet:** "time bids me hasten on". *monere* is here used with the infinitive (*me* having to be supplied) in the same way as *ubere* is regularly used, whereas the normal usage is with *ut* and the subjunctive of indirect command.

3. Carabathmon: see note on 17, 4. **secundo mari:** "with the sea following", i.e. "as you go along the coast" (westward from Carabathmos). **Cyrene:** Cyrene was a Greek colony founded in 631 B.C. by the people of Thera (one of the islands of the Cyclades). This was done in accordance with an oracle. The leader of the settlers was Battus, the first of the famous Battadae family who ruled for eight generations (cf. Herodotus IV, 150). The district around Cyrene was called Cyrenaica, and afterwards, with Crete, was formed into a Roman province (67 B.C.). It was the resort of a great number of Jews who had been protected by Ptolemy Euergetes (118-116 B.C.): Simon, who bore Christ's cross, was a native of Cyrene (Mark XV, 21); Cyrenian Jews were in Jerusalem at Pentecost (Acts II, 10). Its tranquil existence was shattered during the reign of Trajan by violent Jewish outbreaks. Recent excavations there have revealed outstanding examples of Greek art and architecture. **Theracon . . . Philaenon arae:** These two names are Greek genitive plural

110

NOTES

(*Θηραίων* and *Φιλαίωνων*); "a colony of Thera and . . . the Athers of the Philaeni". **duae Syrtis:** These are Syrtis Magna and Syrtis Minor, see note 78, 1 and 3. **Philaenon arae** was on the Syrtis Magna and is therefore mentioned out of place. The proper order going westward is Syrtis Magna, Philaenon arae, Lepidus Magna, Syrtis Minor. **Aegyptum vorsus:** "(the frontier of their empire) in the direction of Egypt".

4. proximi Hispaniam: "nearest Spain"; for the usage see note on 18, 11.

5. super Numidiam: lit. "beyond Numidia"; "south of Numidia"; so *post* below. **incultus vagos:** *incultus* is the comparative degree of the adverb *inculte* ("roughly", "rudely").

7. pleraque . . . habuerant: The towns and territory possessed by Carthage immediately before (*novissime*) her destruction in 146 B.C. were after that war (the Third Punic War) formed into a Roman province under the name of *Africa*. This extended from the River Tusca to Thenea, corresponding roughly to the modern Tunis (see Map). The Carthaginians were called *Poeni* from their original country Phoenicia. Most of the Phoenician towns in the region of the Syrtis belonged at that time to the Numidians and were left in their possession. **novissime:** "in their latter days". **per magistratus:** As Rome's power had expanded in Europe during the third and second centuries B.C., it had become necessary for magistrates to be appointed to govern the new dependencies, which were called *provinciae*. At first each Roman province was put under the government of a praetor. Originally praetors were appointed annually to governorships but at the time of the Jugurthine War several new provinces had been formed while the number of praetors had remained at four. To make up the deficiency it had become the custom to assign provinces to the city praetors or the consuls after their year of office. Thus, for the government of provinces there were available every year, besides the two consuls and four praetors, two ex-consuls and two ex-praetors. **cetera ignarus:** *cetera* is an adverbial accusative and is an imitation of the Greek accusative of respect; lit. "as to everything else". **8. ad necessitudinem rei:** "for the needs of my subject".

20

1. diviso regno: ablative absolute. **contra timorem animi:** Sallustian brevity for "contrary to what he had secretly (*animi*) feared would be the case". **praemia sceleris:** This is another example of Sallust's love of brevity which must also be expanded in translation: "the object for which his crime had been committed".

111

quod . . . acceperat: For Sallust's use of the indicative mood in dependent clauses within *oratio obliqua* see the note on 16, 2. **apud Numantiam:** "before Numantia"; *i.e.* during the siege: see Introduction, Chapter 2, II. **simul et:** lit. "at the same time also". The phrase introduces a further direction in which Jugurtha's thoughts were going; "and further": cf. 4, 2. **quos:** the Roman commissioners; see 16, 4.

2. ipse: "Jugurtha himself". **placido . . . ingenio:** ablative of quality: "of a mild disposition". **opportunus iniuriae:** lit. "suitable for . . ."; "an ideal victim for attack".

3. hostiliter adcedit: "invaded"; *adcedit* governs *loca* (acc.) but usually takes *ad* with the accusative in other writers. This invasion took place in 113 B.C. three years after the commissioners had divided the kingdom. Sallust speaks of it as if it had occurred almost immediately after.

4. convertit: Sallust uses this verb intransitively here as he does in 101, 6; "he withdrew". **dolore:** "resentment". **iniurias suas:** "the wrongs which had been done to him".

5. legatos . . . questum mist: *questum* (from *queror*) is a supine of purpose. **prius . . . quam:** take the *prius* with *quam:* "before". **quia temptatum antea:** "because he had tried it (war) before". **securus cesserat:** "had turned out otherwise (than he had wished)"; "had been unsuccessful".

6. neque eo magis cupido Iugurthae minuebatur: lit. "nor was Jugurtha's ambition any the more (*eo magis*) diminished"; "this (forbearance) however, did nothing to restrain Jugurtha's ambition". **quippe qui . . . invaserat:** "for he had already in his imagination seized the whole of Adherbal's kingdom". As usual in Sallust, *quippe qui* is here used with the indicative mood.

8. ceterum: "moreover". **suus, hostibus:** datives of possession: "of his own followers . . . of the enemy"; *augere* requires two verbs in English: "raised the spirit of his own troops and struck terror into the enemy".

21

1. ubi intellegit eo processum: supply *esse*; "when he realised that things had gone so far". **uti . . . relinendum esset:** "that he must abandon"; *relinendum* which qualifies *regnum*, is, like *relinendum* that follows, a gerundive of necessity. *esset* is an imperfect subjunctive of result: *intellegit*, being an historic present, may govern either primary, or, as here, historic sequence. **obvius procedit:** An adjective is often used in Latin

where English would use an adverb or adverbial phrase: "advanced to meet"; cf. *divorsis agitabant*, 25, 6.

2. Cirta: See Map and Plate IV. This is the modern town of Constantine in East Algeria situated about fifty miles from the sea. It had formerly been the capital of the Massyli. It was in an excellent position standing on a high ridge that had a cliff face to the north falling sheer to the plain. To the east and the south was the River Ampsaga (now the Rummel) which flowed at the bottom of a narrow gorge whose walls rose as high as five hundred feet above the river-bed. On the west was a narrow isthmus connecting it with the surrounding country, and it was on this side only that it could be attacked. It was the royal capital and had been adorned and enlarged by Micipsa. Italian merchants resided there because it was an important centre of the grain trade. The rampart and ditch mentioned in 23, 1 must have been built across the isthmus, or, more probably, was imaginary. **diel extremum:** "the end of the day"; "late in the day"; Sallust frequently uses the neuter adjective as a noun governing a partitive genitive, as in the next line: *plerumque noctis*, "most of the night"; "the greater part of the night"; cf. 37, 4; 90, 1; 109, 4. **ubi . . . Processit:** "when (the greater part of the night) had passed"; *ubi*, like postquam, is generally followed by the perfect indicative where English would use a pluperfect. **obscurus . . . lunae:** "the English would use a pluperfect. **obscurus . . . lunae:** "the sun . . . had not risen". **etiam tum:** "still"; dawn had not yet broken. **fugant fundantque:** "put them to flight and scatter them"; note the force of the alliteration in the Latin. **togatorum:** "wearers of the toga", used in reference to the Romans and Italians who had settled in Cirta for purposes of trade, later (26, 1) described as *Italici*. **togatus** properly meant a Roman citizen as distinct from a foreigner, or a Roman civilian as distinct from a Roman soldier. **coeptum . . . foret = coeptum esset**, **patratum:** "accomplished"; an archaic word, and more emphatic than *perfectum* (cf. 13, 5).

3. vineis turribusque: *vineae* were wooden sheds with open sides used to protect besiegers while they were working their battering rams or constructing towers. The *turres* were movable towers usually on wheels that could be pushed up to the enemy walls: they gave archers stationed upon them great advantage over the townsfolk below them, and also enabled storming parties to pass by means of gangways on to the ramparts of the city. **machinis omnium generum:** "siege-engines of all kinds" probably including battering rams, *ballistae* (large bow-shaped engines for throwing masses of stone and other missiles) and *catapultae*

(engines of war for shooting arrows). These, with the *vineae* and *turres* are Roman types of siege implement, and, if Sallust is correct in his account, Jugurtha must have learnt how to construct and use these from his service with the Romans at the great siege of Numantia (7-9). *festians tempus legatorum accipere*: *legatorum* is Sallustian brevity for "the arrival of the ambassadors"; "making haste to anticipate (*i.e.* to secure a *fait accompli* before) the return of the ambassadors". *ante proelium factum*: Sallustian brevity for *antequam proelium factum sit* (a subordinate clause in *oratio obliqua* governed by *audierat*). *missos*: supply *esse*.

4. adulescentes: This is contemptuous treatment of Adherbal, for *legati* were usually men who had at least held the praetorship. Contrast 16, 2 and 25, 4. *nuntiant velle et censere*: "to announce that it was their desire and command": *sentantur populumque* must be understood as subject of *velle* and *censere*. *velle* is used particularly of the decrees of the people in the People's Assembly (the *comitia*), and *censere* of the decrees of the Senate. *se*, the Romans, because they could not allow princes under their protection to be at war with each other, *illis*, Jugurtha and Adherbal, because they were relations.

22

1. maturantes veniunt: "soon arrived": note the rare use of the present participle *maturantes* to express an adverbial idea (*i.e. mature*); *audiebatur*: impersonal passive; lit. "it was heard": "a report reached Rome of the battle that had taken place and of the siege of Cirra". *clemens*: *i.e.* it was biased in favour of Jugurtha, putting the best possible construction on his actions against Adherbal.

2. auctoritate: ablative of comparison with *maius* and *corius*. **ut ab opturno quoque probaretur**: "to win the approval of all good men"; *quoque* is the ablative of *quisque* ("each") which is frequently used with superlatives to mean "every": *optimus quisque* means "every good man". *placuisse*: supply *se*, as again with *adoptatum esse*. **non penuria Iberorum**: *penuria* is an ablative of cause, "not because of his (Micipsa's) lack of children"; though, at the time Micipsa adopted Jugurtha he had no children of his own. Jugurtha makes the point that it was not because he had no children, but because Micipsa admired his good qualities that he adopted him.

3. quo plura . . . eo . . . minus: "the more . . . the less";

114

fecisset is subjunctive in a subordinate clause in *oratio obliqua* dependent on *respondit* in § 2, as *comperisset* and *prohiberent* in § 4. **animum suum . . . tolerare**: accusative and infinitive dependent on *respondit*. Indirect speech continues to *missum*.

4. obviam isse: lit. "to have gone to meet (oppose)"; "had taken measures against". **pro bono**: lit: "on behalf of the right"; and is really equivalent to *bone*, "rightly". **iure gentium**: "that which all nations regard as just"; here, Jugurtha means the right of self-defence. This expression is often used in regard to the inviolability of ambassadors. **prohibenti**: perfect subjunctive, though all the other subjunctives are historic. However, such a change is not uncommon in Livy and occurs even in Caesar.

postremo: "in conclusion (he promised) that".
5. Adherbalis appellandi copia non fuit: "no opportunity was provided for them to see Adherbal". Jugurtha did not permit the ambassadors to enter Cirra which he was besieging.

23

1. ubi . . . ratus est, neque . . . potest: Sallust often uses *ubi*, *postquam*, etc., with a past tense in combination with an historic present in a co-ordinate clause, for the sake of variety. **vallo atque fossa**: see note in 21, 2 on Cirra. **per vim aut dolis**: note the variety of construction. **temptare**: here used absolutely "made attacks on". The object (*eam*) must be supplied, as in 29, 1. It is an historic infinitive as are the rest of the infinitives in this paragraph. **praemia modo modo formidit**: "at one time bribes, at another threats". **formido**, literally "fear"; means here not the feeling of fear but something to cause fear; *i.e.* threats of the vengeance that would be wreaked upon them if they did not surrender. Notice the chiasmus, see note on 12, 5 *dormientes*, etc. **prorsus**: "in short", often used by Sallust in summing up as the equivalent of *denique*: cf. 30, 3; 66, 1, and 76, 4.

2. in extremo: "in a desperate situation". **infestum**: "implacable". **confirmat**: "prevailed upon"; not a common meaning of the word. **ad proximum mare**: lit. "to the nearest part of the sea"; "to the nearest point on the coast" (cf. use of *ad summum montem*).

24

1. recitatae: supply *sunt*.

2. mea culpa: ablative of cause; "it is no fault of mine that . . ."

115

oratum: supine of purpose. **invasit:** governs *quem*, and means "has taken possession of".

3. quintum iam mensem . . . obsessus teneor: As Latin cannot express "I have been being kept" by an actual tense form, it uses the present tense in its continuous sense and expresses the idea of the past by the use of such adverbs as *iam* (as here), *iam pridem*, *iamdiu*, etc.; "for more than ten months I have been (being) besieged". **obsessus teneor** expresses more forcibly than *obsideo* the feelings of a man who has been confined to a city for a long time; cf. *me . . . clausum obsidet*, 24, 7. **socius et amicus populi Romani:** The sovereignty of allied kings was acknowledged by the Senate. **mihi:** dative governed by *auxilium* not by *beneficia*. **Micipsa . . . beneficia:** "the kindness of Micipsa . . . to Jugurtha". **vostra decreta:** This is the decree concerning the division of Numidia between Adherbal and Jugurtha (16) and the command that they should lay down their arms (21).

4. plura . . . fortuna mea: "my ill-fortune discourages me from writing more about Jugurtha". He means either that his desperate circumstances forbid him to waste time talking about Jugurtha or, as is more likely, the sorry plight to which he has been brought is proof that more talk of this kind would be useless. **antea:** refers to the events of Chapter 14-16. **parum fidei miseris esse:** "that little confidence is bestowed upon the unfortunate".

5. nisi . . . intellego: The construction here is very loose, for *nisi* cannot be taken directly with *intellego* in translation. Adherbal is saying "I won't say more, except this that I feel sure . . .". Translate freely, "It is plain, however, that . . ."; cf. 67, 3 and 100, 5. **illum supra . . . petere:** "that he is aiming at something beyond myself", i.e. something more than Adherbal's downfall. He is intimating that Jugurtha intends to conquer the whole of N. Africa including the Roman possessions. **supra quam:** lit. "more than I am"; *quam* (than) is used as if *supra* were a comparative. **utrum gravius: utrum accusative of uter. grauius:** "the more valuable", "of more importance".

6. quae sane fuerint . . . ad vos: "Let us grant by all means that these wrongs we have suffered are not your concern". *fuerint* is a perfect subjunctive with concessive force (lit. "grant that these wrongs have been . . .").

7. vostrum regnum: Adherbal clearly regards the kingdom which had been assigned to him by the Romans (16, 5) as belonging to them ultimately: cf. *regno Numidiae quod vostrum est*,

§ 10. **legatorum:** These are the Roman envoys of 21, 4. **quanti fecerit:** "how much regard he has"; *quanti* is a genitive of value.

8. quo moveri possit: *possit* is a consecutive subjunctive common in a relative clause where the antecedent is an interrogative pronoun (*quid*, here) or an indefinite pronoun.

9. velle . . . forent: *velle* is potential subjunctive, "I could wish"; note that it governs a subjunctive (*forent*) without *ut*.

10. eo: an adverb, and points forward to the *ut*-clause. With *ut* translate "to the end that". **ostentui essem:** lit. "I might be a display of . . ."; "that I should serve as an exhibition of Jugurtha's wickedness".

25

1. fuere qui . . . censorum: "there were some who proposed"; *censent*, consecutive subjunctive, is used here after *qui* because its antecedent is indefinite (*ei* which needs to be supplied).

Supply *esse* with *mitumam* and *subvenumdam*. **Adherbali:** dative governed by *subvenumdam*. **uti consuleretur:** "that there should be discussion". Notice that Salust varies the construction, as he could have continued with the gerundive construction (i.e. *consulendum*) begun in the previous sentence. The clause is similarly governed by *censent*.

2. ab eisdem illis regis fautoribus: Those mentioned in 15, 2. **enatum:** supply *esse*; here the verb is used passively though it is generally deponent, and therefore active in meaning.

4. maiores natu: "persons of more mature years". On the former occasion (21, 4) *adulescentes* had been sent. **amplis honoribus usi:** "who had held high office"; *honor* was used only of offices of state. **senatus princeps:** "leader of the Senate". He was the Senator whose name appeared first on the roll when the censors revised the list. Up to the time of Sulla only those who were patricians and had been censors were eligible, though this rule may have been relaxed before this, as Scaurus was not censor until 109. The *senatus princeps* was always called upon to give his opinion first on any matter.

5. in invidia erant: i.e. with the people; *in* is sometimes used to indicate circumstances: "because the affair had roused public indignation". **obsecrati:** a causal use of the participle: "because they were entreated" (i.e. to come at once). **Utica:** Utica was the capital of the Roman *provincia* and the seat of its governor. It was situated on the coast about 25 miles north of Carthage. See Map and note on 64, 4. **quam ocissume . . . accedat**

PART I

seque . . . missos: "commanding him to come as speedily as possible . . . saying that they had been sent". *accidit* is a jussive subjunctive in a clause dependent upon the implied verb of command; *se* and *missos* (supply *esse*) are the accusative and infinitive depending upon a verb of saying which must be supplied: cf. *se . . . venturum*, 12, 3.

6. ubi accepti: "when he learned" and governs the accusative and infinitive construction *hominum . . . venisse*; the relative clause *quorum . . . audierat* is indicative because it is information supplied by Sallust, and not dependent upon *audierat*. *metu atque lubidine:* to be taken with *agrabatur*; *divorsus*, lit. "from different directions", i.e. one moment by fear and another by desire; "he was torn between fear and greed". For the syntax of *divorsus* see note on *obvius procedit*, 21, 1.

7. ni paruisset: This is a subjunctive of virtual *oratio obliqua* depending upon Jugurtha's thoughts as implied by the verb *timebat*. The *oratio recta* would be "*ni parvero legatis, senatus irascetur*"; thus it is seen that *timebat* *iram senatus* provides the apodosis to the conditional clause; "he feared the Senate's anger if he disobeyed its envoys". **porro:** generally means "further" or "besides", but here should be translated "but at the same time". **ad . . . rapiebatur:** "he seized upon"; "chose".

9. diducta manu hostium: "by the extension of the enemy's line of defence", because of the all-out attack on the city by Jugurtha. **casum:** the equivalent of *occasione*, "opportunity"; cf. 56, 4.

10. ut . . . potiretur: explanatory of *quod intenderat*, "namely, of getting Adherbal into his power". **prinsquam . . . conveniret:** "before he (Jugurtha) met the ambassadors"; the subjunctive is used with *prinsquam* when a notion of purpose is involved.

11. senati: an archaic and rather rare genitive for the usual *senatus*. **quod . . . desisteret:** subjunctive of virtual *oratio obliqua*, i.e. the *quod*-clause represents part of the original statement of the Senate. **multa . . . oratione consumpta:** "after much talking to no purpose".

26

1. **Italici:** i.e. the Italian merchants: see note on *togatorum*.
- 21, 2. **confisi:** "were confident that", and governs the accusative and infinitive construction *se fore*. **deditione facta:** participial phrases (here an ablative absolute) must sometimes be rendered by a conditional clause; "if a surrender were made".
2. **at ille:** The force of *at* can best be got by making the

118

NOTES

immetri-clause a main clause and translating *at* as "indeed"; indeed, Adherbal considered that anything was better than trusting Jugurtha, yet . . .". **penes eosdem . . . erat:** lit. "the power of compelling was with (penes) the same men"; "these very men were in a position to force him". The verb (*erat*) would regularly be subjunctive in this construction, as the *quia*-clause is a causal clause in virtual *oratio obliqua*; that is, it expresses the grounds on which Adherbal surrendered and is not simply the reason given by the author. However, Sallust frequently shows preference for the indicative mood. **si advorsaretur:** subjunctive in virtual *oratio obliqua*. The original thoughts in the mind of Adherbal were "they have the power to force me, if I (shall) oppose them (*si advorsabor*)".

3. in prinis: not "especially" here, but "first". **uti quisque armatus obvius fuerat, interficit:** lit. "as each armed citizen had been in his path, he killed him"; if *armatus* is the correct reading it is probably best rendered by "with arms in his possession" (or "in his hands"); "he put to the sword every man he found with arms in his possession".

119

NOTES

27

1. **agitari coëpta**: supply *est*. **ministri**: "agents", "cat's-paws", the word being used contemptuously of the Romans who had succumbed to Jugurtha's bribes. **leniebant**: "tried to minimise"; the imperfect tense is often used to express action attempted or begun.

2. **C. Memmius**: Though Sallust speaks of Memmius as *infestus potentiae nobilitatis*, it is unlikely that he was as extreme an opponent of the nobles as he implies, for in 100 B.C. he stood for the consulship as a rival of Glauca, the extremist leader of the revolutionary party. He was then regarded as a supporter of the conservative elements in the State, and was murdered by extremists in a street riot. Memmius' grandson, the praetor of 58 (and consular candidate of 54 B.C.) was just as keen an opponent of the *optimates*. It was he who took the poets Catullus and Cinna with him to his province of Bithynia, and to him that Lucretius dedicated his *De Revm Natura*. **potentiae**: "power" always in the bad sense and distinct from *potestas* which always relates to constitutional power. **tribunus plebis designatus**: "Tribune of the People elect", *i.e.* he had not yet entered upon his office. Magistrates were elected some time before their term of office began, and until it began were styled *designatus*. The tribunes entered their term on December 10th, the consuls and other magistrates on January 1st. The tribunate was originally established in the first half of the fifth century B.C. and by 449 B.C. there were ten *tribuni plebis*. Their function was to protect the common folk from unjust treatment at the hands of patricians. Long before the second century B.C., however, they had become one of the most powerful of the magistracies in Rome. The Senate had used the tribunate to control the other magistracies, for any of the tribunes could veto a proposal made by another tribune, and this veto the Senate had used, for example, in 167 B.C. when two tribunes vetoed the proposal of the praetor Iuventius Thalna that war be declared upon Rhodes; and again, in 133 B.C. when the tribune Octavius prevented Tiberius Gracchus' Land Bill from being read to the Assembly. From the time of the Gracchi the tribunate was more independent of the Senate. **factiosos**: "intriguers"; see note on *factiosi*, 8, 1; cf. *factiosos*, 29, 4. **dilapsa foret**: = *dilapsa esset*, "would have

140

NOTES

evaporated", pluperfect subjunctive in the apodosis of a hypothetical condition; *ni C. Memmius . . . edocuisse* is the protasis. 3. **lege Sempronia**: "in accordance with the provisions of the Sempronian law". This was a law of Gaius Sempronius Gracchus passed in 123 B.C. which enacted that every year the Senate should choose the two provinces which were to be consular provinces for the next year *before*, and not *after*, the consular elections. This prevented the Senate being able to assign special provinces to its particular favourites. During their term of office the consuls decided, either by agreement or by casting lots, which of the two provinces each should have. For a further note on Roman provinces, see 19, 7.

4. **declarati**: supply *sunt*: "were elected". **P. Scipio Nasica**: This Scipio died in the year of his consulship. He was the son of P. Scipio Nasica Serapio who had led the senatorial opposition against Tiberius Gracchus on the occasion when Tiberius lost his life (133 B.C.), see note 31, 7. **L. Bestia**: This was Lucius Calpurnius Bestia, an active supporter of the aristocratic faction in the Senate who, as tribune in 120 B.C., had secured the recall of Popilius Laenas who had been exiled by Gaius Gracchus. He was also grandfather of the tribune L. Bestia named by Sallust amongst Catiline's accomplices (*Cat.* 49, 1). **Calpurnio**: *i.e.* Bestia. **obvenit**: "was allotted"; *obvenit* is more appropriate to the *sortitio* (*i.e.* the taking of lots) than to the *comparatio* (the arrangement made by the agreement of the consuls); see note on *lege Sempronia*, § 3 above.

5. **quae . . . forent**: generic subjunctive; lit. "such as were needful for war"; "and other military requirements", *i.e.* equipment, arms, and food supplies.

28

1. **quippe cui . . . haeserat**: see note on 1, 3. *venire*, from *veneo*, "I go for sale", subject of *haeserat*: "for he had it firmly fixed in his mind that anything could be bought (lit. 'all things went for sale') at Rome"; *venire* is a contracted form of *venum ire* (*venum* = "for sale"); the verb *vendere* ("to sell") is a contracted form of *venum dare* ("to give for sale"). **uti**: "as". **praecipit** . . . **aggrediantur**: subjunctive of indirect command, where *praecipit* governs *aggrediantur* directly without *ut*.

2. **postquam . . . adventabant**: For the use of *postquam* with the imperfect tense see note 13, 5; "when they were approaching Rome". **placeretne**: subjunctive of indirect question, "whether it was its pleasure". **legatos Iugurthae recipi**

141

moenibus: It was not usual to allow foreign ambassadors into the centre of Rome, that is, into the Forum where the Curia Hostilia, the usual meeting-place of the Senate, was situated. If the Senate decided to give them audience it met in the Temple of Bellona in the Campus Martius, or in the Temple of Apollo which was outside the Porta Carmentalis, one of the gates of Rome in the neighbourhood of the capital. Both temples were *extra pomerium*, that is, outside the city proper; see note 31, 17. *moenibus:* "within the walls". *ipsura:* Jugurtha.

3. ex: "in accordance with", as often. **infectis rebus:** lit. "with the business undone"; "without achieving anything".

4. Calpurnius: i.e. Bestia, and frequently used instead; see note 27, 4. **legat sibi:** "chose as his staff". A general or provincial governor was always attended by several officers called *legati*. They were appointed by the Senate but nominated by the governor under whom they were to serve. The number of *legati* varied according to the size of the province or the importance of the duties assigned to the governor. **factiosos:** "men of strong party spirit". **quae deliquisset munita fore sperabat:** *deliquisset* is pluperfect subjunctive in a subordinate clause within *oratio obliqua*; it represents a future perfect indicative of *oratio recta* ("what things I shall have done wrong"). *munita* means "defended". *ea* must be supplied as antecedent to *quae* and as subject of *fore*; "he hoped that any misconduct of his own would be defended . . .". **habitu:** "character", i.e. that acquired by education, way of life, etc. **supra memoravimus:** For Scaurus, see 15, 4.

5. nam: This does not go directly with the clause that follows it but is here used to explain *quae deliquisset* of § 4; in fact, it refers to the main idea of this sentence which Sallust has put in the relative clause, namely, that his greed ruined any good qualities he had: "for, although the consul possessed many good qualities of mind and body, they were all ruined by avarice". For *artes* meaning "qualities" see 1, 3. *praepeditio* means literally "shackle"; hence, "hinder", "nullify", or "ruin". **patens laborum:** "having great powers of endurance"; cf. 17, 6. **satis providens:** "not lacking in foresight".

6. sed: see note on 5, 5. **Siciliam:** Regularly, names of countries require a preposition to express motion "to", but here *Siciliam* is probably attracted into the construction of *Regnum*, which, as a town name, does not require a preposition. *Regnum*, modern Reggio, is situated on the toe of Italy, opposite Messina in Sicily and about ten miles by sea from that town. Although

subject to frequent earthquakes it remained a populous Greek-speaking city throughout Imperial times. **transvectae:** supply *sunt*. This only applies to the transportation from Regium to Sicily. With *Regium*, *ducae sunt* would naturally be used.

7. multosque mortales: Sallust has a special fondness for the word *mortales* meaning simply "men" both with and without *multi*. Sallust uses it instead of *vir* or even *miles*. **pugnando cepit:** "he took by assault".

1. temptare: "to tempt"; supply *Calpurnium* or *Bestiam* (see note 28, 4) as the object of this verb. **belli . . . asperitatem:** "the difficulties of the war". **aeger:** take with *avaritia*; lit. "suffering from"; "weakened by his greed".

2. a principio: "at the outset". **plerisque . . . corruptis:** ablative absolute with concessive force: "even though most members of his party had been corrupted".

3. redimebat: "tried to purchase"; cf. *leniebat*, 27, 1. **gratia:** "by his personal influence". **recuperandae pacis:** "of obtaining peace terms". **cum eis:** i.e. with Bestia and Scaurus. **de omnibus . . . agere:** "to negotiate all the terms of peace with them in person".

4. fidei causa: "as a token of good faith". **quaestor:** The quaestorship was the lowest of the important magistracies, the first office in the *cursus honorum* (order of political offices). At this time there were eight quaestors, two of whom remained at Rome while the rest accompanied the consuls or governors to their several duties. They were mainly concerned with financial affairs. **Vagani:** a town in Numidia. It was situated on a small stream which flowed into the Bagradas on its left bank, about sixty miles south-west of Utica. To-day it is identified with Bedia, a filthy little town whose ancient Roman drains are never cleaned out, and whose streets are frequently crammed with the animals that are driven into them from the surrounding country every evening. It was a great market centre for grain. **species:** "pretex"; **acceptio:** a rare word, "the receiving"; translate the clause "this was ostensibly to receive the grain". **quod Calpurnius . . . legatis imperaverat:** "which Calpurnius had . . . demanded from the king's envoys". **quoniam . . . agitabantur:** "because, owing to the delay of (over) the surrender, a truce was being observed". Bestia had insisted upon grain being given him as a condition of granting the truce. **mora:** an ablative of cause.

5. *praesenti consilio*: lit. "to the council of war (being) present"; "before the council of war". The council of war of an army on active service commonly consisted of the chief officers, that is, the *legati*, the tribunes, and the chief centurions. *de invidia facti sunt*: "about the hostility towards his actions"; i.e. at Cirra. With *de invidia, locutus* is virtually equivalent to "complained"; with this clause it becomes the equivalent of a verb of asking; "and he asked to be allowed to surrender". *secreta*: adjective qualifying *relicta*, a neuter plural adjective being used as a noun; "in private". *quasi per satiram sententis exquisitis*: lit. "the votes having been taken, as it were, in a mixture"; *satira* was the name given to a dish filled with various kinds of fruit, then to any dish of various ingredients. Its use here means that the questions were not put separately, but proposals which would have been readily accepted were combined with others that would not have been acceptable, and the points at issue were thus confused; "a vote was taken as a variety of questions were put *en bloc*, and . . .". The word "satire" (used of verse or prose which mocks the anomalies of society) is derived from *satira*.

6. *pro*: "in the presence of"; see note on *pro*, 9, 2. *quaestori traduntur*: These represented what Jugurtha paid to the State: no doubt he paid Bestia and Scaurus a good deal more at their private interview (§ 5).

7. *ad magistratus rogandos*: "to preside at the elections". The proposer of a law was said *rogare legem*, i.e. to ask the people's opinion about a law: the same phrase came to be used with regard to the elections; hence *rogare magistratum* means strictly "to ask the people's opinion about a magistrate", thus "to offer a magistrate for election". It was the duty of one of the consuls to preside at the elections and it fell to Bestia, as his colleague Scipio Nasica had died during the year. This concerned the elections for the year 110, held some time during 111.

30

1. *quoque modo actae forent*: *quoque modo* = *et quo modo*, "and in what manner"; *actae forent* = *actae essent* and is subjunctive in an indirect question. The sentence *postquam . . . dixerat* is literally translated: "After rumour spread about the things done in Africa and how they had been carried out"; i.e. "When reports of these events in Africa and the manner in which they had been brought about became public". *agitari*: historic infinitive, "discussions were held". It is an impersonal passive and represents the indicative *agrabatur*. *patres solliciti erant*:

144

"the Senators were filled with anxiety". They had good reason for feeling anxious at this time, for not only were they afraid that their prestige might be weakened by Bestia's action, but also there was a serious threat of war from the Cimbric and Teutones, German tribes from North Jutland, who were invading Gaul. Furthermore, the migrations of these two tribes caused a temporary unsettlement on other European fronts: in the Balkans the Scordisci (of modern Yugoslavia) who had halted the advance of the Germans down the Danube, were encouraged to make raids of their own upon Roman territory; in 114 they inflicted a severe defeat upon the consul C. Porcius Cato, and although they were driven back upon the Danube in 112 by the consul M. Iunius Drusus, it was not until 101 that the praetor T. Didius restored a stable peace in the Balkan lands. Hence, the Senate would clearly be anxious about sending troops across to Africa that might very well be needed to defend their own northern frontiers. *pro-barente . . . subvertent*: indirect deliberative subjunctives, the original direct questions being "are we to approve . . . or refuse to ratify?" (and these verbs would have been present subjunctive). The clauses are dependent upon *constabat*: "they could not (*parum*) make up their minds whether to approve such a disgraceful agreement or to refuse to ratify the consul's decision"; *constabat* is impersonal, the equivalent of *certum erat*, "it was fixed"; "it was decided".

2. *potentia*: see note, 27, 2. *ferebatur*: "was said to be".

3. *libertate ingenti*: "independence of character". *supra diximus*: refers to 27, 2. *contionibus*: "in public harangues". The *contio* was a meeting called by a magistrate to address the people on some subject mainly to work up feeling rather than to make any decisions (cf. Marius' *contio*, 84, 5). Only magistrates could speak unless someone else was called to make a statement. These meetings generally took place near the rostra (speakers' platform) in the Forum on *dies fasti*, days when legal business could be transacted and when the day was not a festival. *ad vindicandum*: "to take vengeance on the guilty". *prosus*: "in short"; see note, 23, 1.

4. *Memmi facundia clara pollensque fuit*: "Memmius' eloquence was famous and had great influence". However, Cicero speaks of him as an *orator mediocri*, but *acer atque acerbus* as a prosecutor (*Brut.* 36, 136). *perscribere*: "to reproduce in full"; this cannot be literally meant, for no ancient historian would produce the exact words of the speaker (see

145

introductory note to 10). Indeed the speech that follows is clearly in Sallust's own style, though it is possible that it is based upon some record of the original speech. **reditum**: *i.e.* his return from Africa to hold elections, 29, 7.

31

1. **Multa me dehortantur . . . ni studium . . . superet**: *Multa* . . . *dehortantur* is not, as it may first appear, the apodosis to *ni* . . . *superet*; *dehortantur* is an indicative and states a fact, *ni* . . . *superet* is really the protasis of a hypothetical condition with the apodosis suppressed. Hence the sentence is translated "Many things discourage me from addressing you citizens (and would indeed prevent me) did not my zeal for the State overcome all other feelings". **opes**, **patientia**, etc.: these nouns are in apposition to *multa*. **patientia** is used in a bad sense, "submissiveness". **ius nullum**: Sallustian brevity for *quod ius nullum est*, "the fact that there is no justice".

2. **illa**: This points forward to the circumstances listed in the following indirect questions. **his annis quindecim quam . . . fueritis**: "how in the past fifteen years you have been . . .". If Memmius was speaking in the year III B.C. fifteen years, even including the year III as was Roman fashion, would only go back to 125 B.C. and this does not coincide with any particular event. The MSS variously give twenty, fifteen, twelve, and ten years, but the period meant is probably that which began with the death of Tiberius Gracchus in 132 B.C. (see note, § 7 below). **Iudibrio . . . superbiae paucorum**: *iudibrio* is a predicative dative, "the sport of an arrogant oligarchy". Memmius means that the power in the State has been in the hands of a few influential nobles who have treated the people in a way that has suited their own interests. **quamquam = et quum**. **inulsi**: The only Senator who did in fact suffer for the violence to Tiberius Gracchus was P. Popilius Laenas, the consul for 132, who was banished (see note on *questiones*, § 7 below), but he was formally recalled from exile in 120. **defensores**: the Gracchi. **ut**: "how".

3. **terrori**: predicative dative. The clause *quibus . . . esse* means literally "to whom it is fitting that you be a terror" (supply *vos*); "whereas it is you who should inspire fear in them".

4. **obviam ire**: governs the dative *potentiae*, "to resist the tyranny . . .". **animus**: supply *meus*: "my heart prompts me".

5. **an**: Sometimes the particle (usually *utrum* or *-ne*) introducing the first alternative of an indirect question (here *id frustra*) is

omitted. **ob rem**: a rare equivalent of *in rem*, "with advantage", "successfully".

6. **quod . . . fecere**: This clause is explained by the *ut*-clause that follows; *saepe* refers to *armati*, but after the time of the Gracchi (133-122) certainly up to the time Memmius addressed the people there seems to have been little appeal to violence in the struggle between the ruling class and the people. **secessione**: see note, § 17. This, as *vi*, is the usual ablative governed by *opus est*. **suomet . . . more**: "by their own conduct", *i.e.* by their own wickedness; for *suomet* see note on *memet*, 4, 2.

7. **Ti. Graccho**: Tiberius Gracchus, who was Tribune of the People in 133 B.C. was killed in a riot. Though of noble family he had made it his business to secure land for the thousands of unemployed in Rome by an agrarian law. This limited the amount of land to be held by any one citizen, and the excess held by rich landowners was to be redistributed amongst the poor. Consequently, Tiberius incurred the hatred of the nobles and they put up a tribune Marcus Octavius to veto his law. Tiberius secured the deposition of Octavius and this led to the riot engineered by the nobles during which Tiberius was killed. **quaestiones**: After the death of Tiberius a tribunal was set up to try those who had supported him for treason. This was presided over by Popilius Laenas who sentenced a large number to death. **C. Gracchi et C. Fulvi**: Gaius Gracchus, brother of Tiberius, was Tribune in 123 B.C. He had enacted several laws without seeking the approval of the Senate. Amongst these were proposals that colonies should be founded in Italy and at Carthage. During Gaius' second tribunate (122) resistance to some of his schemes hardened and one of his proposals that Roman citizenship should be extended to Latins (see note, 39, 2) and Italians was not passed: the citizens of Rome did not like to see their privileges extended to others. He failed to obtain re-election to a third tribunate. A riot followed and Gaius and M. Fulvius Flaccus, one of the most extreme of his supporters, were both killed. It is said that three thousand of his supporters were afterwards strangled in prison. **multi mortales**: see note, 28, 7.

8. **sed sane fuerit**: For the subjunctive see note, 24, 6. **regni paratio plebi sua restitueret**: lit. "to restore their own (rights) to the people (is) aiming at royal power"; "that the restoration of their rights to the plebs was 'aiming at royal power'". Memmius is speaking ironically, repeating a charge made previously, by the nobility against the Gracchi. **quidquid . . . nequatur, iure factum sit**: lit. "(and) whatever is

unable to be avenged without the shedding of citizens' blood, has been rightly done". Like *fuertis, factum sit* is a perfect subjunctive with concessive force ("granted that it was done"). **ulcisci**: a deponent verb used passively; see note on *interpretatum est*, 17, 7. **negotium**: Like *coepus est*, the passive of *negotio* was only used in the passive with a passive infinitive. It was an old usage almost obsolete by the time of Sallust. Assuming, therefore, (for the sake of argument) that the Gracchi deserved their fate, he then goes on to attack the general mismanagement of the nobles.

9. espoliari: "being pillaged"; a strong expression for "being embezzled". The provinces had suffered more from the pillaging of Roman magistrates than had the Roman treasury. Roman officials had many ways of extracting unauthorised payments out of provincials: they charged them for exemptions from the obligation of providing billets for soldiers; they collected compulsory "benevolences" for the ostensible purpose of providing the governor with crowns of honour; a charge was made by minor officials for access to the governor himself. **paucis nobilibus**: "for the benefit of a clique of nobles". **parum habuerunt**: "were not content"; and governs *haec . . . suscepisse, divina et humana omnia*: see note, 5, 2. **hostibus tradita sunt**: *Memmius* refers to the support of the nobility for Jugurtha and in particular to the recent arrangement made with him by Bestia.

10. incedunt: "they pace . . ."; *incedere* is used of dignified movement. **sacerdotia**: This refers principally to membership of the four priestly colleges (the *quattuor amblyssima collegia* of Roman priests), the Pontifex, the Augures, the Quindecimviri Sacris Faciundis, and the Septemviri Epulones. The most important of these were the Pontifex: they were an advisory board who assisted the chief magistrate in his sacral functions and were responsible for the organisation of the State religion. Sulla increased their number from nine to fifteen (and Caesar to sixteen). The head of the college was the Pontifex Maximus who was also head of the whole State clergy. Next in importance came the Augures whose business was to discover by observation of signs (*auguria*) whether the gods approved or not of a proposed action. Then came the Quindecimviri who were the custodians of the Sibylline Books, a collection of oracles which had been brought to Rome under the last Tarquin (534-510 B.C.) or perhaps early in the days of the Republic. The Epulones were the latest in date of the four colleges, instituted in 196 B.C. There were three priests at first, but their number was increased to seven (and to ten under Caesar): their duty was to organise and supervise the sacrificial banquets

to the gods which became a prominent feature of several of the festivals. In addition there were minor priesthoods at Rome which ranked below the *collegia* whose members were called *sodales*. They differed from the *collegia* in that they could only act as a body and not as individuals. The chief of these were the Fetiales who conducted international relationships (treaties and declarations of war) and were twenty in number. The Salii, priests of Mars, were active in March and October at the opening and closing of the campaigning season, the Luperci, performed the ritual of the festival of the Lupercalia (February), and the Fratres Arvales, that of agricultural rites, associated later with the cult of the Imperial House. **triumphos**: The triumph was an honour granted by the Senate to a general who had commanded a battle in person in which the enemy had been decisively defeated, and at least 5,000 of their troops killed. On the day of the triumph the general entered the city of Rome in a chariot drawn by four horses, accompanied by his children; he wore the dress of a king or of Jupiter; he had a laurel, sceptre, and crown, and his face was painted red. The procession comprised the magistrates and Senate, trumpeters, the spoils of the enemy, white oxen (for the sacrifice in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus), principal captives in chains, and the lictors. The army followed behind the general. To avoid the evil eye, the general wore an amulet, while a slave held a garland above his head and whispered "Remember that you are but a man". **honori, non praedae**: predicative datives, "as an honour (conferred) not as spoils (seized)".

11. aere parati: "purchased with money". **in imperio**: "in the enjoyment of power".

12. quaestui: predicative dative, "a means of profit".

13. pro munimento habent: lit. "have as their protection": *occidisse, quaestiones*, and *fecisse* are all governed by *habent*.

14. quam . . . pessime, tam maxime: lit. "as each man has acted most wickedly, so he is most safe"; the use of *tam . . . quam* with superlatives is archaic, and the usual construction is *eo . . . quo* with comparatives. **metum . . . transulere**: lit. "they have transferred fear from their crime to your cowardice". This is a good example of Sallust's use of brevity. He means that the nobility, instead of being afraid themselves that their own wickedness should be punished, take advantage of the people's cowardice and make them afraid instead; "instead of feeling fear themselves because of their crimes, they have made you fearful because you are too cowardly to act". **in unum coegit**: The infinitives

PART II

NOTES

capere, odisse, and mentere are each the subject of *coegit*, "the same desires, hatreds, and fears have drawn them together".

15. *haec*: i.e. *eadem capere, etc.* It is feminine singular and should strictly be *haec*, but it is attracted into the gender of *amicitia*.

16. *quod si . . . haberetis, quam . . . accensi sunt*: the imperfect subjunctive is used in the *quod* *si*-clause and the perfect indicative in the *quam*-clause. The imperfect subjunctive expresses present unreality; the perfect indicative is used in the comparative clause because it is a fact that the nobility have been fired with a craving for power: "but if your concern for your freedom were as great as their craving for power has been . . .". *beneficia*: "favours"; refers to the power of the people to elect men to the offices of the State.

17. *parandi iuris . . . gratia*: "to assert their legal rights". *bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere*: It is difficult to know to what two occasions Sallust is referring; *secessio* properly means the withdrawal of the plebs from the rest of the Roman community, their intention being to find a separate community unless they received redress of their grievances: they retired *en masse* outside the *pomerium* , that is the boundary line demarcating the city as it was constituted by the proper religious rites; this line contained the Capitol, the Quirinal, Viminal, Oppian, Caelian, and Palatine Hills, but not the Aventine Hill until Imperial times. The first, and most celebrated in 494 B.C., was the withdrawal to the Mons Sacer, not the Aventine; the second in 449 was to the Aventine, and a third certainly occurred in 287 B.C. when they withdrew to the Janiculum. However, it is possible that Sallust is not using the word *secessio* strictly in his reference to the occupation of the Aventine by the people: he then might be referring to the 449 secession and to the occupation of the Aventine by Gaius Gracchus in 122. *atque eo vehementius*: "and (will you not strive) all the more vigorously?" *parta amittere*: *parta* is past participle passive of *parire*, "to gain"; "win".

18. *vindicandum*: supply *est*; lit. "punishment is to be inflicted"; "those who . . . must be punished". *quod . . . fecisse quam . . . accidisse indignum est*: *quod* is object of *fecisse* but subject of *accidisse*: "which it is more disgraceful for you to employ than for them to suffer" (lit. "than to have happened to them").

19. *dediticius*: This is a technical term for an enemy who has submitted without conditions, "if he has really surrendered (as

we are told)". *impunitas, divitiae, damna, dedecora*: all subjects of *perverunt*.

20. *haec tempora*: i.e. when the people had begun actively to attack the selfishness of the nobility. *cum . . . erant*: this clause defines *illa (tempora)*. When the *cum*-clause identifies the time at which something takes place the indicative is required. *leges iura iudicia*: "statutes, legal rights, the courts". *voturnum*: the form of the genitive used after partitive words: "which one of you?"

21. *tametsi viro flagitiosissimum existimo*: "though I think it is most shameful for a true man to . . ."; *viro* is dative governed by *flagitiosissimum*. *ni . . . casura esset*: "were it not that mercy would end in your destruction".

22. *et illis . . . et vobis*: The sentence thus falls into two main divisions as the situation affects the nobles (*illis*) and the people (*vobis*). *parum est impune male fecisse*: "it is not enough to have escaped punishment for their offences" (lit. "to have acted evilly with impunity?"). *nis . . . eripitur*: This does not follow straight on in sense from the previous clause; there is an ellipse in thought, and some such idea as "and will continue to do so" must be inserted before the *nis* ("unless?"). *deinde*: "hereafter", "in the future" must be taken with *facinorosi*; "and will continue to do so unless you wrest from them the power to do wrong in the future". *serviundum esse*: "that you must submit to slavery"; *servire* is an intransitive verb, and must therefore be used impersonally in the gerundive construction.

24. *potestine*: *-ne* is sometimes used with *est* and *potest* when a negative answer is expected: *nam* would be the regular particle.

25. *ne . . . omitas*: "not to allow this outrageous crime"; i.e. the arrangement made by Bestia and Jugurtha. *pro nihilo habentur*: "are now counted as nothing". *venalis fuit*: "has been offered for sale".

26. *quaesita erunt*: "are (shall be) inquired into". *vindicatum*: supply *erit*; "punishment is inflicted upon"; "the guilty are punished". *id est regem esse*: When the infinitive is the subject of another verb (*est*) its predicate (here *regem*) must be accusative; cf. *nimemorem esse* § 28. Here, Memmius is implying that the nobles, not the Gracchi (see § 7 above) were aiming at royal power.

27. *ut malitis, etc.*: Memmius is not urging them to desire the guilt rather than the innocence of their fellow citizens so that they can punish them.

PART II

28. *multo praestari*: "it is far better". *praestari* has a comparative meaning; cf. use of *amplius*, 16, 3; *multo* is an ablative of the measure of difference commonly used with comparatives. *ubi neglegas*: "if (when) you neglect him". The subjunctive is commonly used with the second person singular when the subject ("you") is indefinite (= "one").

29. *ad hoc*: see note, 2. *si iniuriae... egeas*: "if wrongdoing is prevented the need for protection will not often be felt"; i.e. "if they take action now to deter men from committing crimes against the State in the future, they will not often need the help of honest citizens for their protection". *egeas* (like *neglegas*, § 28 above) is the indefinite "you".

32

1. *L. Cassius*: Lucius Cassius Longinus was later consul with Marius in 107 B.C.; Marius' first consulship (see 73). He received Gallia Narbonensis as his province, but was defeated and killed in battle by the Helvetii. Caesar refers to the incident in *De Bello Gallico*, I, 7. *praetor*: There were six praetors at this time of whom two remained at Rome in charge of judicial affairs, while the other four acted as governors of provinces; see note, 4, 8. *interposita fide publica*: ablative absolute; *interponere* is regularly used of giving a pledge (cf. § 5); *fides publica* is often used of a free pardon from the State but here means a promise of protection: "under a public guarantee of safe-conduct". *pecuniae captae*: *captae* means "taken illegally"; "on a charge of taking bribes"; this is the genitive of the matter involved used with verbs and expressions denoting judicial procedure (here *arcessebat*). *arcessebat*: supply *Memnius*, "whom Memnius demanded for trial".

3. *ex pacatis praedas agebant*: "plundered lands of Numidia at peace with Rome" [lit. "took plunder out of pacified (lands)"].

5. *perlata rogatione*: ablative absolute, "when the bill was passed". *perculsa omni nobilitate*: ablative absolute; "to the dismay of the entire Roman nobility...". *ex conscientia*: "because of his guilty conscience". *eius*: "his", referring to *populo Romano*. *ille*: *Jugurtha*. *non minoris... ducebat*: *minoris*, genitive of value; "which he considered equally valuable".

33

1. *contra decus regium*: lit. "contrary to royal splendour"; "without any kingly pomp". *cultu quam maxime miserabili*: *miserabili*, qualifying *cultu* ("dress"); means literally

152

NOTES

"pitiable" but here "exciting pity"; *quam maxime* modifies *miserabili*: "in dress designed to arouse as much pity as possible". That is, he came in mourning attire as was the custom for an accused man in a criminal trial in Rome.

2. *tametsi... erat*: "although he possessed great self assurance". *confirmatus*: literally means "encouraged", but the word has to convey much more than that in this context; it means "yet allowing himself to be advised"; "on the advice of". *parati*: "secured the services of". *caus... munus foret*: "so as to be protected by his shamelessness against prosecution or (and) personal harm"; this is a final relative clause (*caus = ut eius*) in which *foret* (= *esse*) is imperfect subjunctive and *munus* an adjective: this is not to be taken as a pluperfect subjunctive.

3. *C. Memnius*: subject of the three historic infinitives *sedare*, *molire*, and *confirmare*. *pari*, *nisi... aperiret... supplicium sumi*: "and others demanded (*inbebat* from previous clause) that unless he revealed the accomplices in his crime he should be executed as an enemy"; *aperiret* is subjunctive because it is the verb in a subordinate clause in *oratio obliqua*: the tense is imperfect, representing the present indicative of *oratio recta* ("unless he reveals"); *more maiorum* refers to the Roman practice of scourging and then beheading. *sedare motus et animos eorum molire*: "tried to calm their excitement and soothe their spirits".

4. *Romae Numidiaque*: Both words are in the locative case, *Romae* regularly so, but the Latin for "in Numidia" would regularly be *in Numidia*: here it would seem that it has been attracted into the case of *Romae*. *quibus inventibus... habere*: This sentence and the next are in *oratio obliqua* dependent upon *verba facit* or another verb of saying understood; hence, *inlegat*, *aperiat*, and *reineat* are subjunctives, being verbs in dependent clauses; *quibus... egerit* is an indirect question depending upon *inlegat*: *egerit* is a primary subjunctive (perfect tense) because *inlegat* is historic present and may govern either primary or historic sequence. With *velle* supply *eos* (i.e. "the Roman people"); *manifesta magis... habere* means literally "to have things more clear"; "to have this evidence corroborated". *sitam*: supply *esse*; lit. "to rest (in)".

34

1. *regem tacere iubet*: Baebius was here using his tribune's power of veto (the *ius intercessionis*, "the right of interfering"); see note on 27, 2. For further information about patricians

153

and plebians see note on *homines novi*, 4, 7. *vultu, saepe impetui*: "with angry looks, and often with threatening gestures". *quae ira fieri amat*: "which anger prompts" (lit. "loves to be done").

2. *Iudibrio habitus*: "made (lit. held as) a laughing-stock"; *Iudibrio*, predicative dative. *Iugurthae Hestiaeque et ceteris*: datives of the person interested; with *animi augebant* translate "Jugurtha, Bestia, and the others . . . recovered their confidence". *quos illa quaestio exagitabat*: lit. "whom that inquiry was disturbing"; "who were fearful of conviction".

35

1. *Massiva, Gulsassae filius*: see the Genealogical Table and Index of Proper Names. *disensione regum*: i.e. the quarrel between Adherbal and Jugurtha.

2. *Iugurthamque . . . urgeat*: lit. "harred and (with) fear beset Jugurtha . . ."; "Jugurtha is hated and feared for his crimes".

3. *avidus . . . belli gerundi*: "eager to embark upon war"; *avidus* is regularly construed with the genitive of the gerund, or gerundive (as here). *consuli*: It would appear that these events took place early in 110 B.C., or it could be that *consul* is to be taken as *consul designatus*, "consul elect". *omnia*: This is first object of *moerere*, then subject of *senescere*: "preferred to keep everything in a state of turmoil than that it should quieten down".

4. *agitare*: "to push these designs". *alium conscientia, alium . . . impediēbat*: "some were prevented (from helping) by a guilty conscience, others by their bad reputation and (others) by fear". *proximo ac maxime fido sibi*: "nearest and most loyal to him"; "his nearest and most trusted agent". *confecerat*: This is indicative because the clause is a comment of Sallust and not part of the *oratio obliqua*. *maxime*: "above all"; "if possible"; cf. 14, 3. *sin id parum procedat*: "but if that were not successful"; see note on *proccedit*, 21, 2. *proccedit* is subjunctive because it is in a subordinate clause in *oratio obliqua*: a primary subjunctive is permissible when dependent upon an historic present (here *impera*): see note on *intelligat*, 33, 4. *interficiat*: jussive subjunctive, "he was to kill . . .".

5. *eius*: i.e. of *Massiva*. *postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat*: "in short, he found out all the places he frequented and the times he visited them". *ubi res postulabat*: "when the time was favourable". *insidias tendit*: "he set the trap".

6. *ex eo numero, qui . . . erant*: *qui* is plural because *ex eo numero* is equivalent to *ex eorum numero*. *paulo inconsultius*: they were not sufficiently cautious to avoid falling into the hands of the authorities. *ipse*: Bonilicar. *iudicium profertur*: "volunteered evidence"; the Latin equivalent to our "turned Queen's evidence".

7. *ex aequo bonoque*: "in accordance with equity and justice". *quam ex iure gentium*: "than in accordance with the law of nations". The point was that Bonilicar was not a Roman subject, but had come to Rome in the train of Jugurtha under the same guarantee of safe-conduct (*fide publica*). Strictly speaking, Rome had no right to try him, but should have handed him over to Jugurtha for judgement. On the other hand, it was clear that Bonilicar was only the agent of Jugurtha's own designs, and the course they took was the only just one even if it was not strictly legal. Livy differs from Sallust, stating that Jugurtha himself was brought to trial for the murder of *Massiva* and escaped secretly, *Ephr.* LXIV.

8. *non . . . omisit contra verum niti*: "did not cease to deny the evidence" (lit. "to strive against the truth").

9. *priore actione*: "the first hearing of the case", when Bonilicar appeared for the first time before the praetor. It was at the first hearing that the accused had to find sureties (*vades*) for his appearance on the day appointed for the actual trial. *ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat*: that is, fifty of his friends had offered bail as sureties. *relicuos . . . sibi*: Jugurtha was afraid that the rest of his subjects would be frightened to obey him in the future if Bonilicar was punished by Rome now. *relicuos populares*: *populares* has no political connotation here but refers to the people of Numidia who are subjects of Jugurtha. *relicuos governans parenti* (an objective genitive) "lest a fear of obeying him should affect . . .". *sibi* rightly refers back to the subject of the main verb (*dimittit*), that is, Jugurtha. *si . . . sumptum foret*: "if he (Bonilicar) paid the penalty"; *sumptum foret* (= *sumptum esset*) is pluperfect subjunctive in *virtuti oratio obliqua* representing the future perfect indicative of *oratio recta*. In other words, it is reporting the original thoughts in the mind of Jugurtha intimated by *veritus* ("fearing"), "if punishment is (Latin 'will have been') exacted from Bonilicar". *eadem*: an adverb, "to the same place"; i.e. "home" (in Numidia).

10. *eo*: an adverb, "to that place". *respicitens*: This is not "as he looked back" which would be the strict rendering of the present participle, but "when he had looked back" and is therefore

the equivalent of *cum respectu*. This meaning is indicated by the use of *postremo*, "finally"; cf. *bellum inferentem*, 15, I, *urbem venalem*... *peritram*: accusative of exclamation; *peritram*, "doomed to destruction" provides the apodosis to *si... inferenti*.

36

- 1. ante comitia:** The comitia were the assemblies of Roman citizens for electing magistrates. There were three kinds of *comitia*: (1) The *Comitia Curiata* which was the most ancient dating from the age of the kings, whereby the people were divided for voting purposes into main "families". The power of this assembly was gradually restricted by (2) The *Comitia Centuriata* in which the people voted by centuries, and was the proper assembly of the people for the election of the higher magistrates (consuls, praetors, censors, etc.); one of the consuls had to preside over this assembly. This year Albinus was obliged to preside because his colleague M. Minucius Rufus was in Macedonia. The foundation of this assembly is traditionally attributed to Servius Tullius (sixth century B.C.) who based it upon the legionary century (*i.e.* the unit of a hundred soldiers). It consisted of eighteen centuries of horsemen and 170 centuries of foot soldiers, the latter being divided into five classes based upon property. Between 241 and 218 B.C. the distribution of centuries underwent a reform, the aim of which was to correlate the centuries underwent local divisions of the State, the tribes (*tribus*). (3) The *Comitia Tributa* in which voting was done by tribes. It elected the tribunes and other lower magistrates (quaestors, aediles, pontifex maximus). At this time most of the legislative power belonged to this assembly. **quod tempus non longe avertat:** "the time for which..."; note that the relative pronoun (referring, in fact, to *comitia*) is attracted into the case and number of *tempus*. Albinus had thus set out late, and his preparations were hasty and probably not very thorough. He clearly underestimated the character of Jugurtha.
- 2. instanti:** "when Albinus attacked"; dative governed by *cedere*. **ne sui diffident:** "that his own men should not lose heart", as they might well do if he kept retreating. **belli modo, modo pacis morae:** an example of chiasmus (see note, 5, 3). **iudificare:** see note on *interpretatum est*, 17, 7.
- 3. tum:** goes with *hand ignurum*, "even then was not unaware...". **neque... crederent:** *ex* means "after", "after such haste (to begin the war)"; *socordia* is an ablative of cause, "because of

156

inactivity", *so dolo*, "and they believed that a war which had been begun with such urgency was not being so easily prolonged because of idleness so much as through treachery" (lit. "not because of idleness rather than because of treachery"), *i.e.* treachery on the part of Albinus.

- 4. dilapso tempore:** ablative absolute; "time slipped by and...". **postquam... adventabat:** see note, 28, 2: translate the sentence "when time slipped by and the day of the elections was drawing near". **Anto fratre... pro praetore relicto:** ablative absolute. An officer who deputised for a provincial governor or commander-in-chief (even a consular one) in his absence was termed *legatus pro praetore*.

37

- 1. agitabatur:** impersonal passive, "there was agitation".
- 2. continuare magistratum:** Sallust does not state why Lucullus and Annlus tried to prolong their office. It had become common practice in early times for the tribunes to continue to hold office in successive years, but this practice ceased during the fourth century B.C. and was certainly regarded as unconstitutional in the case of Tiberius Gracchus. Gaius Gracchus had achieved it for two successive years, but only under great protest. It may well be that Lucullus and Annlus were attempting to change the law. They succeeded in preventing the holding of elections by exercising their veto (see note, 34, 1). Thus no elections were held for another year. **totius anni:** This must mean until December 9th, 110, which was the last day of their office. **comitia inpediebat:** Probably the two tribunes used their veto to check the course of public business and the holding of the consular elections. The delay thus caused (*ea mora*, § 3) prevented Albinus from returning to Numidia to resume command.
- 3. terrore exercitus:** lit. "by fear of his army"; "by threatening the king with an attack of his army". **magis itineribus:** "by forced marches". **hieme aspera:** ablative absolute used with concessive force, "in spite of the severity of the winter". **oppidum Sathuli:** This town is not otherwise known and its position in Numidia cannot be stated with any certainty. (E) Guelma) which is about fifty miles east of Cirra (Orosius, *Hist.* V, 15).

- 4. quod:** relating to *oppidum*. **saevitia... opportunitate:** ablatives of cause, "because of the harshness of the weather and the natural strength of its position". **in... extremo:** "on the

157

edge"; see note on *diei extramum*, 21, 2. **planities**... **fecerati**: "the marshy plain had been turned into (lit. 'had formed') a lake by the winter rains". **quo**... **adderet**: *quo* is regularly used to introduce a purpose clause only when this contains a comparative adjective or adverb. Here there is no comparative, but the verb *adderet* can be said to imply one; "in order to make the king more frightened": however, cf. 52, 6, where *quo* is used without any comparative idea at all. **oppidi potitudi**: governed by *capidine*, "blinded by a desire of possessing the town". Sallust uses *potior* here as a transitive verb, as it was in earlier Latin. **vineas**... **aggerem**: for the *vineas* see note 21, 3. **vineas agere**: "brought up mantlets"; **aggerem iacere**: "raised a siege-terrace"; for the *agger*, see note 76, 3. **alia**... **properare**: *alia* (neut. plur.) is a cognate accusative: this usage is common with neuter plural adjectives which complete the idea expressed in an intransitive verb; "to hasten with other preparations". **incepto** is here "for an attack" (lit. "for an undertaking, enterprise").

38

1. **augere amentiam** means that he "encouraged Aulus"; **misitare**, "to send repeatedly"; is a rare frequentative not found in Cicero or Caesar, and only once in Livy (IX, 45, 5). **vitabundus**: "trying to avoid".

2. **perpultit**: "induced".

3. **diu nocturne**: "(by) day and night"; *diu* (= *die*) is an archaism and very rare. **temptabat**: "worked upon (in order to corrupt)". **ducesque turmarum**: "cavalry officers".

Each legion had three hundred horsemen who were divided into ten *turmae* of thirty men: see Introduction, Chapter 3, 1. "The Roman Army at the time of the Jugurthine War", page 33. **partim... alii**: lit. "some (that they might desert) others (that they might abandon)"; "either to desert... or to abandon...". **conrumperet**: historic infinitive, "bribed".

4. **ex sententia**: "according to his intention"; "to his satisfaction". **intempesta nocte**: "at the dead of night"; **intempestatum** means "unseasonable"; i.e. not a good time for doing something.

5. **capere** and the infinitives that follow are historic infinitives and well suggest the confusion of the soldiers. **terribos confirmare**: "reassured their frightened comrades". **trepidare**: "there was confusion". **caelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum**: "the sky was dark as it was a cloudy night" (lit. "dark with

158

night and clouds"), **periculum anceps**: "the danger was two-fold"; this probably means that the danger was in front and at the rear as the enemy had surrounded the camp (§ 4). **foret**: (= *esset*) subjunctive of indirect question.

6. **ex eo numero quos**: see note, 35, 6. **cohos una Ligurum**: The Ligurians lived on the western side of the Alps along the French Riviera and along the north-west coast of Italy around Genoa. After the Punic Wars the Romans used men from these people and other foreign tribes as light infantry troops. **Thracum**: The Thracians came from the eastern half of the Balkan peninsula. Romans trained those they captured as auxiliary cavalry. **gregariis militibus**: "common soldiers"; i.e. Roman legionaries; *gregarius* is also used of auxiliary troops, 93, 2. **centurio primi pili**: Before the time of Marius, the Roman legion of about 4,200 infantry was arranged in three lines, the front line being called the *hastati*, the second, *principes* and the third, the *triarii* (the *primus pilus*). There were thirty maniples, ten to each of these lines. The maniple contained two centuries, each commanded by a centurion. Hence there were sixty centurions in a legion: the leading centurion (the *centurio primi pili*) was the chief centurion of the *triarii*, the veteran troops. The centurions were the pick of the Roman legionaries and such a case of treachery as is here related was very rare amongst them. **tertia legionis**: The legions were at this time numbered only to distinguish them in the campaign in which they were serving. They were disbanded at the end of the campaign. **per munitionem**: "through the section of the rampart". **ea**: supply *via*, "by that way"; cf. 56, 6, 92, 8.

8. **praeda castrorum**: *praeda* is used to express a verbal idea, "the pillaging of the camp". **hostes, quo minus victoria ulterentur remorata sunt**: *remorata sunt*, "delayed" contains the idea of preventing action through delaying. Hence, like other verbs of preventing, it governs a *quominus*-clause with the subjunctive; although there are two feminine nouns (*vox* and *praeda*) as the subjects it is neuter plural: this is quite regular usage; "delayed the enemy (and prevented them from) exploiting their victory".

9. **se memorem humanarum rerum**: This vague expression probably relates to the uncertainty of human circumstances, and may intimate that Jugurtha was conscious of the fact that he could one day be in a similar situation when he would be grateful for like clemency; "aware as he was of the changes and chances of

159

man's circumstances". *praeterea uti*: supply a verb of commanding, or translate "but he must depart...".

10. *quae*: *i.e.* the conditions. *gravia... erant*: "they were harsh and humiliating". *quia mortis metu mutabantur*: This is a very strange expression in which *metu* seems to be an ablative of price, but even then *mortis metu* is a much contracted expression, for they were not being taken in exchange for the "fear" of death but in exchange for (or "as an alternative to") dying, *which they feared*: "because the only alternative was death which they feared". *conventi*: "was agreed upon". Sometimes *convenire* is used impersonally with this meaning; cf. 39, 4: *mi convenerat*, "as it had been agreed".

39

1. *pro gloria imperii*: lit. "on behalf of the glory of the empire"; "at the blow to Rome's prestige". *insolita rerum bellicarum*: adjectives expressing skill or knowledge usually govern an objective genitive (e.g. *rei publicae peritus vir*: "a man skilled in State affairs"; "a politician"). Here, the past participle *insolita* is similarly used; "ignorant of military matters". *timere libertati*: "feared for their freedom"; *i.e.* in their anxiety they thought that Jugurtha might, like Hannibal, attack Rome, only with ultimate success. *qui... fuerant*: "who had often distinguished themselves in war".

2. *invidiam... periculum timens*: *i.e.* for himself. *et tamen interim*: His action implies that even while the Senate were deliberating he took it that the treaty would not be countenanced. *exercitui supplementum*: "reinforcements"; *i.e.* Romans to fill up the legions as distinct from the foreign enlistment in the *auxilia*. *sociis*: These were allied states who were required to provide troops for military service under the Roman Eagle. *nomine Latino*: "from communities enjoying the Latin rights". The Latin name consisted of a few of the original communities of Latium which had not been incorporated in the Roman State after the Great Latin War (338 B.C.), notably Praeneste and Tibur, and the so-called "Latin colonies"—settlements consisting of between 4,500 and 6,000 men who were provided by Rome and the Latin cities—which formed small enclaves in every region of Italy. Hence, the term "Latin" denoted an artificial legal group of communities rather than a geographical group. The Latin name provided Rome with numerous troops, and garrisoned Italy at strategic points with loyal colonies. In addition to other minor privileges, these communities enjoyed the right of *commercium*,

160

that is, they could enter directly into contracts with any Roman citizen according to the forms of Roman law, and the right of *conubium*, that is, a legal marriage could be contracted with a member of another State without forfeiture of inheritance or paternity rights.

3. *uti par fuerat*: lit. "as had been right", the pluperfect perhaps relating to the previous occasion when Aulus could have rejected the terms. *suo atque populi iussu*: "without its own consent and that of the people". This was a principle of Roman constitutional law, and on previous occasions when the Senate had repudiated agreements made by generals with foreign tribes (e.g. Sp. Postumius with the Samnites in 321 B.C. and Hostilius Mancinus with the Celtiberians at Numantia in 137 B.C.), the general was handed over to the enemy. No reason is given here why Aulus was spared this.

4. *consul*: As there had been no elections Albinus was still consul and retained command in Numidia until the summer. *provincia*: *i.e.* the Roman province of Africa.

5. *fraternae invidiae*: dative governed by *mederi*; note *fraternae* is equivalent to *fratris*. *mederi... ardebat*: When *ardere* means, as here, "to be eager" it governs an infinitive like any other verb of "wishing". *cognitis militibus*: "realising the demoralised condition of the soldiers". *soluto imperio*: ablative absolute, "since discipline had collapsed". *ex copia rerum*: "in view of the circumstances".

40

1. *rogationem... promulgat*: "laid before the people a bill". It was the practice to publish beforehand (*promulgare*) the provisions of a bill which was to be presented to the People's Assembly. *uti quaereretur*: "that a judicial inquiry should be instituted"; *quaereretur* is impersonal passive. *senati*: see note, 25, 11. *negligisset*: an old form of *neglexisset*; Sallust is quoting from the law and therefore uses the old form; cf. *senati*. *in legationibus aut imperiis*: "as commissioners or commanders" (lit. "in commission or commands"); commissions had been sent on three occasions to Jugurtha: see 16, 21, and 25. *qui... tradidissent*: This relates to the action taken by the officers left in command by Bestia (32). *qui de pace... fecissent*: Peace had been made with Jugurtha by Bestia (29) and Aulus.

2. *conscii sibi*: "those who knew themselves to be guilty".

E. I.

161

6

ex partium invidia: "from being exposed to party jealousies"; this refers to the fears of those who were opponents of the democrats. **quin...** **faterentur:** *quin* (= *ut non*) commonly introduces a consecutive clause used in a limiting sense and dependent upon a negative verb: it is generally translated by the English "without" and a gerund; "without admitting". **hominēs nominis Latini...** **impedimenta parabant:** It is difficult to see what the Latin and other Italian allies could do to hinder the bill, as they did not receive the franchise until 89 B.C. They were probably persons having particular commercial interests in Numidia, and might have used their wealth and influence to disturb proceedings.

3. plebes... **quam intentā fuerit:** *plebes* is out of logical order and belongs to the *quam*-clause: lit. "it is unbelievable to relate how keen the people were"; *memoratu* is an ablative supine governed by the adjective *incredibila*, "the people passed the bill with an enthusiasm and ardour impossible to describe".

4. suorum: "of men in his own party". **trepida etiam tum civitate:** "while the city was still in a state of confusion". If Sallust is right, Scaurus was one of the most guilty and would not in normal conditions have escaped indictment. He would certainly not have been elected president of a court. **tres quaestores:** "three commissioners". This seems to indicate that three courts were set up, no doubt to be able to deal with the large number of cases more promptly than would be so with one court.

5. exercitia: supply *est*, "was conducted". **ex rumore:** "on hearsay evidence". **ibidine plebis:** "at the caprice of the people". According to Cicero (*Brut.* XXXIV, 128) amongst the condemned were L. Bestia, Sp. Albinus, L. Opimius along with old Cato's grandson, Gaius Cato, and Gaius Galba whose peroration in his speech defending himself at this trial was one of the elegant extracts of oratory which schoolboys learnt by heart (*Brut.* CXXXVII). **plebem...** **insolentia ceperat:** "so... the people had become arrogant from their success". Sallust's criticism of the proceedings in this trial suggests that despite his own democratic leanings he was concerned first and foremost with equitable government, and would not condone lawlessness to achieve greater democracy.

41

1. ceterum: introduces a digression. **mos:** lit. "the custom of (having)"; "the existence of". **partium et factionum:** "of

162

party feeling and factions", **deinde...** **artium:** *deinde* indicates what follows on, "with all the evil practices that follow them". **que prima:** *que* relates to *rerum* but is attracted to the gender of *prima*.

2. ante Carthaginem deletam: "previous to the destruction of Carthage" (in 146 B.C.). **populus...** **rem publicam tractabant:** "the people and the Senate governed Rome with mutual forbearance and discretion". The usual order of the formula (*Senatus populusque Romanus*) is inverted, though here the two elements are regarded as separate, not as a comprehensive phrase for the Roman government. **gloriae:** like *dominationis* is an objective genitive: "no strife for glory or power". **metus hostilis:** "fear of its enemies".

4. ita quod... **otium...** **asperius acerbiusque fuit:** *otium*, subject of *fuit* has been attracted into the relative clause: "the peace which they had longed for in times of adversity proved, when they obtained it, to be more grievous and bitter (than adversity itself)".

5. ducere trahere rapere: historic infinitives. The vices are heaped one upon the other, as it were: "proceeded to appropriate, carry off and to plunder". **media:** "lying between the two", therefore, "their common possession".

6. factione: "by acting together", "by forming a faction" and is opposed to *in multitudinem*. **minus poterat:** "was not so strong"; *posse* is sometimes used in an absolute sense of "to be strong".

7. arbitrio: lit. "by the will"; "in accordance with the will". **agitabantur:** the impersonal passive: "affairs were controlled". **gloriae:** "opportunities for winning glory". **populus...** **urgebatur:** The people had always been the main sufferers in the long wars which had been fought against Carthage (264-146 B.C.), against Greece (200-146) against Antiochus in the East (190-189), and against Spain (197-133). Farmers had been constantly called from their lands to fight, and their farms had consequently suffered; the productive industries had been seriously affected and great unemployment had resulted.

8. interea parentes... **sedibus pellebantur:** This again describes one of the injustices arising out of Rome's constant campaigning. It would seem that while the poorer man was fighting in the army it was not an uncommon practice for a wealthy neighbour to pull up the boundary stones dividing their property, and appropriate his land. Horace in *Odes*, II, xviii reproaches the wealthy for this evil practice:

163

PART II

quid, quod usque proximos
 revellis agri terminos et ultra
 limites clientium
 salis avarus? (23-26).

("What of the fact that you are ever tearing up the boundary stones on your neighbour's land, and in your greed leap over into the territory of those who depend upon you?")

9. *cum potentia*: "with the possession of power". *nihil pensi... habere*: lit. "considered nothing important and nothing sacred"; *pensi* is from *pensum* meaning "what is weighed" and then "something weighty" or "important"; here, the word is a partitive genitive governed by *nihil*; *sancti* is attracted into the same construction and should strictly be (*nihil*) *sanctum*; "had no respect or reverence for anything". *quoad... praecipitavit*: "till it finally brought about its own downfall".

10. *reperit sunt, qui... anteponebant*: The reference is certainly to the Gracchi who were nobles but preferred to act against the selfishness of their class even though it was to expose them to the dangers of violent opposition. *quasi permixtione terrae*: "like a disturbance of the earth", i.e. an earthquake. The simile suggests that the State was shaken to its foundations.

42

1. *Ti. et C. Gracchus*: see notes, 31, 7. *quorum maiores... addiderant*: Their grandfather on their mother's side was P. Scipio Africanus Maior, the victor in the Second Punic War at Zama in 202 B.C. Their father was Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, consul and censor, who distinguished himself in Rome's war against the Celtiberians in Spain (180-179). *vindicare... in libertatem*: *vindicare* means literally "to lay claim", "to demand"; hence, this phrase means "to demand... for freedom" or "to set free". *paucorum scelera*: "the crimes of the oligarchs". Gaius Gracchus, in particular, denounced the sham trials in Senatorial courts where rich offenders were readily acquitted, and he revealed the abuses of Roman magistrates against citizens amongst Rome's allies for whose admission to the franchise he was campaigning (cf. Aulus Gellius X, 3, 2). *eo: adverbial*, "on that account", "therefore". *nomen Latium*: see note, 39, 2. *per equites Romanos quos... dimoverat*: The *equites* were members of the second rank of nobility in Rome; the Senatorial order being the first. Since Senators were forbidden to engage in trade, the *equites*, men having considerable

164

NOTES

wealth, carried on the trade and commerce of Rome, and were thus the merchants and the businessmen. The *spes societas* (i.e. "hope of an alliance" with the nobles) to which Sallust refers is not easy to relate to the time of the Gracchi, for Gaius had secured for the *equites* the sole right of being jurymen in the courts, and, what was much more important, had gained for them the management of all the revenues of Asia: hence, there was little they would have gained from an alliance with the nobility against the people at that time. *eadem*: supply *vita*, ablative, "upon the same course". Gaius had continued, and expanded upon, his brother's agrarian policy whereby excess land was acquired from rich landowners and re-distributed amongst the needy. *tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum*: "although the one was a tribune and the other one of the three commissioners": *tribunum* refers to Tiberius. Gaius had been tribune in successive years (123, 122 B.C.) but at the time of his death he was a member of the Board of Three Commissioners appointed to superintend the founding of certain colonies, notably that of Junonia on the site of Carthage. *coloniis deducendis*: dative of "the end aimed at"; "appointed for founding colonies".

2. *cupidine*: ablative of cause, "because of their desire". *haud satis moderatus*: Indeed, the Gracchi had shown little tact in their handling of the agrarian problem, for Tiberius' policy of recovering from their present owners vast tracts of public land (*ager publicus*), which had been appropriated by forbears generations before, was harsh and bound to rouse intense opposition. Tiberius had introduced a plebiscite ordering that some part of a legacy left to Rome by Attalus III of Pergamum (133 B.C.) should be used to equip the new settlers. He thus invaded the Senate's field of financial control. Though more politic than his brother, Gaius showed the same relentless resolve in his reforms.

3. *bono... vincere*: *bono* is dative and means "to a good man". The meaning of the sentence seems to be "a good man is prepared to be defeated rather than to use wrong practices in order to defeat injustice".

4. *ea victoria*: ablative governed by *usa* (from *utor*). *ferro aut fuga*: see note on C. Gracchus, 31, 7; *fuga* means "by banishment". *pessum dedit*: "has ruined"; see note, 1, 4. *dum... volunt*: explains the *quae res*-clause.

5. *parem*: from *parare*: "if I should attempt"; subjunctive in a hypothetical condition: it implies that the content of the if-clause (the protasis) is capable of fulfilment, but is not intended.

165

NOTES

43

1. **foedus . . . foedam fugam**: There seems to be an intentional play on words here designed to emphasise the disgrace of the terms of surrender accepted by Anlus. **Metellus**: This was Quintus Caecilius Metellus who was one of the most distinguished of the plebeian nobility. The father, a brother, an uncle, and four cousins (as well as several ancestors) had all been consuls. The poet Naevius (270-201 B.C.), who was an enemy of the Metelli family, had said that the members of that family "received their consulates from the hand of Fate". Metellus was highly respected as a man of great integrity. He commanded the army in Numidia for two years (109 and 108) and was later surnamed Numidicus. **Sullanus**: M. Junius Sullanus had as his province Gallia Narbonensis. During his consulship he led an army against the Cimbri, but was defeated. **consules designati**: In 37, 3, Sallust says that Anlus took the field against Jugurtha in January (i.e. January 109) but here he says that "after the defeat of Anlus" the "consuls elect" drew lots for their provinces, yet consuls entered their year of office on January 1st. Either the *Januario* of 37, or the word *designati* here, is incorrect. **partiverant**: The usual phrase was *partiri provincias* but here Sallust uses the active form instead of the deponent verb. **advorso**: here used as a substantive "though an opponent": it is dative in apposition to Metello (as is *acti viro*) and governs the genitive *partium*. **aequabili**: "unblemished": according to Cicero (*Balb.* 11) the jury in a particular law-suit, such was their high regard for Metellus, refused to inspect his account books but trusted what he had said.

2. **alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus**: supply *esse* "considering all other duties as belonging to his colleague as well as to himself"; i.e. he considered that he could leave these other matters to his colleague, while he got on with the Numidian war.

3. **Veteri exercitui**: i.e. the Roman army already in Numidia which had been commanded by Albinus and Anlus. **scribere . . . arcescere . . . parare**: historic infinitives "levied fresh troops . . . summoned . . . and collected . . ." in **bello vario**: i.e. a war which would include all kinds of action, such as sieges, skirmishes, pitched battles, etc., "in a campaign of varied character".

208

NOTES

44

4. **senatus**: nominative, subject of *adhibebatur* as are *scilicet, nomen Latinum, reges*, and *omnis civitas*: i.e. they all "strove to help him". **actoritate**: "by its sanction". **nomen Latinum**: "the Latin towns"; see note 39, 2. **reges**: These were kings of foreign races who had been left in nominal independence on her frontiers, and were convenient allies in times of trouble. Here, it seems, they sent troops voluntarily (*libro*).

5. **magna spe civium**: "bearing the high hopes of the people". **invictum animum**: "a mind proof against"; i.e. "he could not be bribed". **avaritia**: ablative of cause, "because of the greed".

1. **proconsule**: The title of proconsul was generally given to consuls at the termination of their year of office to enable them to carry on a military command or to take up the duties of a governor in a province. **iners inbellis**: "indolent and unwarlike". It must be remembered that there was no proper standing army at this time. Legions were formed for special service, and officers and men had no personal knowledge of one another before an actual campaign. There was therefore no *esprit de corps* in such legions and no distinct traditions as there are in modern regiments, and indeed such as grew in the legions of the Roman professional army after the time of Marius. **lingua . . . promptior**: "more ready to brag than to fight". **praedator**: in apposition to *exercitus*, the equivalent of *praedam agens* "taking plunder" or "plundering". For this rhetorical use of a noun instead of an adjective or participle compare *cultorem*, 54, 3, and *contemptor*, 64, 1. **sine imperio et modesta habitu**: *habitus* is a perfect participle agreeing with *exercitus* meaning literally "kept"; with *sine imperio* it therefore means "subject to no discipline"; *modestia*, the opposite of *licentia*, means "restraint".

2. **plus . . . sollicitudinis quam . . . auxili aut spei bonae**: *plus* regularly governs a partitive genitive. **ex copia militum**: means "from the increase in his strength which those soldiers would provide". **adcedebat**: governs *imperatoris novo* and means literally "there was added to the new commander"; "the new commander was caused more anxiety . . .".

3. **aestivorum tempus**: *aestiva* (neuter plural) was the time appropriate for a campaign; "the season for summer operations" or simply "the time suitable for campaigning". **mora**: subject of *immiserat*, "the postponement of the elections had cut short". **prius**: with *quam*, = *priusquam*, "until" and governs the subjunctive *coegisset* because it introduces a subordinate clause which

209

is virtually in *oratio obliqua*, i.e. it represents part of the intention of Metellus when he made his decision: the pluperfect subjunctive represents the future perfect indicative of *oratio recta*. *maiorum disciplina*: "with some old-fashioned discipline"; this would consist of constant drill, forced marches, and a good deal of spade-labour.

4. *postquam decreverat*: Sallust sometimes uses the pluperfect with *postquam* instead of the more regular perfect with no difference of meaning. *quantum temporis... fuit*: "for most of that part of the campaigning season (see § 3 above) during which he was in command"; *temporis* is partitive genitive governed by *quantum*. *stativis castris*: the permanent camps in which the soldiers were quartered during the winter, and opposed to the *aerivae*, the temporary camps which were made during active service. *cum... subegerat*: When *cum* means "whenever" it takes a perfect indicative of primary time and a pluperfect indicative of historic sequence, as here. *odors*: "bad smell"; and probably means the stench of the locality, not an uncommon feature of hot climates.

5. *neque muniebantur ea*: "the camps were not fortified". It was regarded by good army commanders as essential that entrenchments should be made around a camp even if the army were staying for only one night. *neque... vigilae deducebantur*: "and sentries were not posted in the normal military fashion": *deducebantur*, literally "led (to their posts)". *ab signis*: "from duty". *palantes*: "in scattered groups". *certantes agere*: "competing with one another in carrying off...". *frumentum... vendere, panem... mercari*: "The corn they received as their rations they sold, not caring to bake their own bread, and prepared to buy the bread they needed for each day. in dies: i.e. in *singulos dies* "for each day" cf. 74. 1. *quaecumque*: qualifies *probra* which itself governs *ignaviae* and *luxuriae*, both subjective genitives (see note 70, 5); "every sort of excess that can be mentioned or imagined such as laziness and dissipation can breed". *alia amplius*: "others besides".

1. *conperior*: This governs all the clauses down to *modum statuisse* (§ 2). Sallust's use of the deponent verb is archaic, and apart from its use again in 108, 3, he normally uses the active form *conperio*. *ambitionem*: This word is used of officers who relax the discipline in order to win popularity with the soldiers;

"seeking popularity". *moderatum*: from *moderor*, *ari*: supply *esse*, "he steered".

2. *adimmenta ignaviae*: "practices that encouraged idleness". *ne... venderet*: and the following *ne*-clauses are governed by the verb of commanding implied in *edicto*. *quem alium*: "any other...". *lixae*: the camp-followers consisted of sutlers, cooks, servants, and other hangers-on. *neve in agrum servom aut iumentum haberet*: That a Roman soldier should try to use slaves as porters and mules to carry equipment may seem amusing on the face of it, but it must be remembered that the soldier had to carry not only his weapons but entrenching tools, stakes for making palisades round their camps, as well as a fortnight's rations and his personal possessions. The heat of the African sun must have made this an oppressive load. *ceteris*: neuter; "to other abuses". *arte*: adverb, "strictly"; i.e. he strictly controlled other abuses. Others have taken *arte* as ablativus of *ars* to mean that he corrected other irregular practices skillfully, i.e. by his wise management; but this is less preferable in the context. *transvorsis itineribus*: "by cross-country marching". *iuxta ac si*: "just as if" and introduces an "unreal" comparative clause. The subjunctive is of the same type as in the protasis of an "unreal" condition. *munire*: governs *castra*; see note on *muniebantur* 44, 5. *in primis... in postremis*: "in the van... in the rear". *cum signis frequentes*: "in close array around their standards"; i.e. each man was in his proper maniple close to his *signum*. (See Introduction, Chapter 3, on the Roman army.) Contrast the army's activity under Metellus with that under Albinus where the soldiers were kept *stationis castris* and the individual soldier frequently *ab signis aberat* (44, 5).

1. *diffidere*: historic infinitive, "began to lose confidence in".
2. *cum supplicis*: "with tokens of submission"; in its religious significance *supplicium* was the humble prayer, or sacrifice offered to the gods in an act of supplication or worship. In extreme cases a criminal's head—or the victim's head in his stead—was offered to the offended god: hence the tokens of surrender generalised for "punishment". Here, the tokens of surrender were probably branches of laurel or olive which signified that they came to sue for peace.

3. *experimentis*: from *experimentum* meaning "experience"; the past experiences of previous governors had taught Metellus

how untrustworthy Jugurtha and his race were, **ignemio mobilis**: ablative of quality, "of fickle disposition". Sallust often uses an ablative or genitive of quality along with an adjective (as *avidam* here) for the sake of variety.

4. paulatim temptando: "by sounding them out discreetly"; *i.e.* he took his time over finding out those he could use against Jugurtha. **opportunos sibi**: "those that were useful to him"; *i.e.* those who would turn traitor. **maxime**: "if possible"; cf. 14, 3. **sin... procedat... traderet**: When the main verb is historic present, as *persuadet* is here, it may govern either a primary or historic subjunctive: the employment of both in the same sentence is unusual, and is another example of Sallust's love of variety. **quae... iubeat: ex voluntate**, "according to the wishes"; **quae... forent**: "such things as would be..."; *forent* being a generic subjunctive; "he ordered them to take back a favourable reply to the king".

5. contra belli faciem: "with an appearance the reverse of warlike"; *i.e.* there was nothing to indicate a state of war. **mapalibus**: *mapalia* were huts or cottages of the Numidians; here the word is used to mean "hamlets". **munio agmine**: "with his column carefully protected". In this account of Metellus' advance Sallust gives a clear description of the hollow square formation (*agmine quadrato* of 100, 1) where every side of the army is protected against attack. **ostentui**: supply *esse*, "were a pretence"; predicative dative. **insidiis locum temptari**: "an opportunity was being sought for an ambush".

7. apud primos erat: "marched at the head". **in postremo C. Marius... curabat**: "Gaius Marius... was in command of the rear". Marius had served with Jugurtha under Scipio at Numantia (see Velleius Paterculus II, ix, 3). In 119 B.C., when he was Tribune of the People he passed a bill to improve election procedure and to prevent intimidation at the elections: he had threatened Lucius Metellus, the consul and brother of Quintus Metellus, with imprisonment if he opposed it. He became praetor in 115, and was now chosen by Metellus as his lieutenant in Africa. **cum equitibus**: *i.e.* these are the cavalry of the Roman legion as distinct from the auxiliary cavalry (*auxilarii equites*). (See Introduction, Chapter 3, on the Roman army in Numidia.) **quocumque adederent**: "wherever the enemy might attack"; *quocumque* is an indefinite relative adverb and would normally take an indicative though in English we may use a subjunctive. However, sometimes it is attracted into the subjunctive mood of the verb in a clause upon which it is dependent,

212

as here: *adederent* is attracted into the mood of the final subjunctive *propulsarent*.

8. pacem an bellum gerens: "when offering peace or waging war"; note that *gerens* is used here by zeugma (see note 49, 4) to govern *pacem*, a word which it would not normally govern, as well as *bellum*; this is for the sake of brevity. **in incerto habereur**: "it was hard to decide". *in incerto* is used by Sallust instead of the adjective *incertus* (cf. 38, 5, *in incerto erat*).

47

1. vaga: see note on 29, 4. **forum rerum venalium**: "centre of commerce".

2. simul... et: "partly"... "and partly": Metellus had two reasons for placing a garrison in Vaga. **temptandi gratia si paterentur**: "in order to see whether the inhabitants would submit to this"; the word for "if" or "whether" in indirect questions is regularly *num* but after verbs implying trial (*e.g.* *temptandi*) *si* is sometimes used instead. Since many of the inhabitants were Italians, Metellus could hope for support from them against Jugurtha. **ob opportunitates**: "because of the advantages, *i.e.* as a base of operations, while Metellus marched further south. **comportare**: for the infinitive governed by *imperavit* see note on *postulare*, 17, 1. **iam paratis rebus munimento fore**: "would protect the supplies already collected"; *munimento* is a predicative dative ("for a protection?") and as usual this governs another dative, *rebus*.

3. negotia: "operations". **impensus modo**: This is an unusual phrase found again in 75, 1: it seems that *modo* is an ablative of comparison, and the phrase means literally "more earnestly than the due measure"; hence, "with even greater insistence". **dedere**: "offered to surrender".

4. inlectos: from *inlicio*; *inlectos ad proditionem* means "after enticing them into betraying Jugurtha". **dimittebat**: the imperfect tense suggests more than one occasion or, as in 46, that he spoke to the envoys one at a time.

48

1. se suis artibus temptari: "that he was being assailed with his own tactics"; *i.e.* double-dealing: Metellus was showing as much cunning in his dealings with Jugurtha as Jugurtha had shown in his own dealings with the previous Roman consuls and envoys. **urbs maxima alienata**: supply *est*; "a very great

213

city (*i.e.* Vaga) was in the hands of the enemy". *coactus rerum necessitudine*: "forced by the necessity of circumstances".

2. *ex opportunitate loci*: "from the favourable nature of the position". *transtites*: "by-paths", as distinct from high-roads generally used by armies.

3. *in divisione*: "in the partition of the country" made by the ten commissioners appointed by the Senate in answer to Adherbal's appeal for Rome's assistance against Jugurtha: see 16, 5. *flumen . . . Mithul*: This river is probably the River Mellique, a tributary on the right bank of the Medjerda, as this seems to fit the description; *i.e.* it flows from the south and is bounded for some part of its course by mountains about fifteen (British) miles away. *tractu pari*: "in a direction parallel to the river" (*lit.* "with equal extent"). *vastus . . . cultus*: "naturally barren and uncultivated"; *ab*, "on the part of"; *quasi*: modifies *medio* and is the equivalent of *fers*, "from about the middle of it". *in immensum pertingens*: "extending for a great distance"; *i.e.* extending towards the river at right angles to both the river and the mountain; *pertingere* is a rare verb, and is not found in Cicero. *humii . . . gignuntur*: "grow in dry and sandy soil"; *lit.* "in the dry and sandy (part) of the soil"; and *humii* is a parative genitive.

4. *media . . . planities*: "the plain lying between the hills", bounded on three sides by the mountain range, hill, and the river. *consta*: "planted", but could mean "overgrown" (*i.e.* with shrubs). *pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur*: "were frequented by cattle and husbandmen"; the preposition *ab* is omitted before *cultoribus* to agree with the construction of *pecore* which does not require the preposition.

49

1. *transvorsor itineris*: This expression is rather vague in the context. It is taken by some to mean "across the line of march" but most take it to mean "in a cross direction", *i.e.* "at right angles" to the mountain (and the river). *docuimus*: Though Sallust mentioned the hill in the previous chapter, he said nothing of its position with regard to the mountain and river. *suos conlocat*: Since *suos* refers to the *equitum et pedum delectis* the phrase seems strange, for it literally means "he placed his own division (nearer the mountain) with all the cavalry and the pick of the infantry". Perhaps Sallust implies a verb of motion to go with *cum omni equitatu*, etc., *i.e.* "he marched with all his cavalry . . . and then stationed his division . . .".

2. *cum his certamen fore*: A verb of saying must be supplied as there has been a change from the indirect command governed by *obstantur* to indirect statement: "he said they were about to fight with men". *quos . . . miserant*: Here the perfect subjunctive (which is a primary tense) is used instead of the pluperfect because the *oratio obliqua* is still governed by the primary tense of *obstantur*: it is best to translate it as "whom they had sent".

quae ab imperatore decuerint omnia suis provisae: The regular construction would have been *quae ab imperatore provisae decuerint . . . provisae*. *lit.* "those things which it was right to be provided by the commander had been provided", but *decere* (normally an impersonal verb) has been made a personal verb and put into the plural to agree with *quae* which has been made its subject. *omnia . . . provisae (esse)* is explained (1) by *locum superiorum* and (2) by the explanatory *ut . . . conserrent* and *ne . . . clauderent*. *prudentes cum imperitis*: This refers to knowledge of the country; *rudes* and *melioribus* to experience in warfare: "they would fight as men acquainted with the territory against an enemy who was not". *belli*: locative; see note on 14, 1; hence *cum belli melioribus* means literally "with men better in war".

3. *parati . . . essent . . . invadere*: *parati . . . essent* is a passive subjunctive dependent upon a verb of commanding to be provided. The passage is still in *oratio obliqua*; "they were to be ready and eager to attack".

4. *uti quemque . . . pecunia aut honore extulerat*: The indicative is regularly used in generalising relative clauses: *uti quemque . . . extulerat* (*lit.* "as he had ever elevated each") "whom he had ever rewarded". Here the verb, which means "had raised", "had promoted", is properly connected with *honore* but is extended to *pecunia*: hence, "had rewarded" is the best rendering here. This use of a verb with two nouns, when it is logically only applicable to one of them, is called *zeugma*. *cum ipsum*: *i.e.* the man (*quemque*) whom he was reminding. *cum interim Metellus . . . conspiciatur*: For the indicative in an inverted *cum*-clause see note on 12, 5. *hostes* must be provided as object of *conspiciatur*: "but meanwhile Metellus, unaware of the enemy's presence, descended the mountain and caught sight of them".

5. *humilitate*: ablative of cause, "because of the lowliness of the trees". *incerti quidnam esset*: *incerti* is here used with a passive force meaning literally "not clearly distinguished"; this is a rare usage but cf. *ignara* 18, 6; *quidnam esset* means literally "as to what it was that they were"; "it was difficult to make out just what they were". *cum . . . tum*: "both . . . and".

ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati: Here *obscurati* is a participial used with a causal force. It is here made to agree with *ipsi* and *atque signa* is virtually the equivalent of *cum signis*; "since the men and their standards were concealed both by the nature of the place and by camouflage". *Paulisper agmen constituit*: *constituit* means literally "caused to halt"; "ordered a brief halt".

6. *commutatis ordinibus*: Metellus was marching on to the plain, it may be assumed, in the same order that he had set out on the march, that is with the light-armed troops and a picked body of slingers and archers in the van (under his own command), the main infantry in the centre with the baggage—auxiliary cavalry and skirmishers on both flanks—and Roman cavalry (under Marius) in the rear (see 46, 7). He now halted these troops and then drew them up in line of battle to face the enemy who had been on their right as they marched into the plain. The formation was the usual triple line, but with cavalry on both flanks and infantry with slingers and archers in the centre. When Jugurtha did not attack, Metellus gave the order "left turn" and the army turned towards the river and marched off. They were thus ready, by simply facing right, when ordered, to receive the enemy's attack in proper order of battle. *proximum hostes*: "nearest the enemy"; *proximus*, though generally construed with the dative, frequently governs an accusative in Sallust, cf. *Propior*, § 1. *triplicibus subsidiis*: "with three lines of reserves"; i.e. three lines behind the main line. *inter manipulos*: i.e. in the spaces between the maniples. *pauca . . . milites hortatus*: A double accusative, where one word is a neuter pronoun or adjective, is not uncommon after transitive verbs. *pro tempore*: "as the time allowed"; i.e. "briefly". *transvorsis principibus*: "with what had been its front marching at right-angles to the enemy"; cf. *transverso itinere*, § 1 above.

50

1. *quietos*: supply *esse*. *ex . . . tempore et inopia*: Note the variety of expression: *ex* means "in accordance with", and *inopia* is an ablative of cause "because of the lack". *siti conficeretur*: "might be overcome by thirst"; the ablative in *-in* is found in nouns of the third declension that regularly have *-in* in the accusative. *Rutilium legatum*: This is Rufus Rutilius who was a friend of Scipio Aemilianus and had served under him at the siege of Numantia (134-133 B.C.) as had Jugurtha. Serving under Metellus now, he was left in command of the army when

216

Metellus refused to meet his successor Marius (86, 5) in 107. He was consul in 105. A man of high principle and a professed Stoic (that is, an adherent to the school of philosophy which stated that true virtue was to live in harmony with nature and to be independent of the vicissitudes of fortune), he repressed the exorbitances of the tax-farmers when on the staff of the governor of Asia in 94 B.C. They, in turn, took their revenge on him by accusing him, on his return, of plundering the provincials, and secured his condemnation on what was a patently false charge: this led to a serious and lasting breach between the Optimates and the Equites. Rutilius retired to the province he was alleged to have plundered, and wrote his memoirs. It is possible that Sallust consulted these especially in his account of this Battle of the River Murthul in which there is more detail than usual. *crebro impetu*: singular for the plural indicated by *crebro*, "by frequent skirmishes". *transvorsis proclibus*: "by attacks on his flank"; *lassitudinem . . . temptaturos*: "would try the effects of fatigue and thirst upon his soldiers".

2. *pro*: see note, 9, 2: "as the circumstances . . . demanded". *sicut monte descenderat*: see 49, 6. *Martium*: see 46, 7. *post principia*: i.e. "behind what had been the front line" when they had been drawn up in battle-line facing Jugurtha's troops on the hill, and would be again if the army wheeled about to face him once more. If they did this, Marius would be "beside" the van and ready to take command. *ipse cum . . . equitibus . . . qui in agmine principes facti erant*: The cavalry which would be on the left wing if the army was given the order "right turn" was leading the army in the line of march to the river.

3. *primos suos*: i.e. those of Jugurtha's men who were nearest to the mountain from which Metellus had come. *dunum* = *diurum* and is an archaism as in 91, 3 and 106, 5. *ne . . . foret*: *receptum* and *munimento* are predicative datives, *post* is an adverb "afterwards"; *foret* = *esset* and its subject is *mons* to be supplied from *montem* in the previous clause, "so that it (the mountain) should not provide his enemies with a refuge and afterwards be a stronghold for them".

4. *infernus*: The subject of an historic infinitive is regularly nominative; with *adesse atque instare*: it is translated "kept threatening and pressing them fiercely". *Iudificati*: "bathed"; "be-wildered"; past participle of *Iudificor*, *-ari* used passively. *incerto proelio*: "irregular manner of fighting". *modo*: take with *ipsi* "only they"; i.e. not the enemy. *contra ferundi . . . copia erat*: *contra* is an adverb "in return" or "against it"; "a

217

chance of striking back"; *conserundi manuum*: an idiom, "of joining in hand to hand fighting"; *i.e.* of coming to grips with the enemy.

5. *in unum*: "in one direction"; *alius alio . . . divorsi*: "scattering . . . in different directions" (lit. "a different man by a different way").

6. *numero priores*: "since Jugurtha's cavalry was superior in number"; *si . . . nequiverant*: This expresses a "general" condition and relates to repeated action. The pluperfect indicative is usual when referring to past time since the condition expressed in the protasis has first to be completed before the repeated action in the apodosis can take place: "if they failed to deter the enemy from pursuing, they would cut off the stragglers on the Roman rear or flanks". cf. *sin . . . fuerat*. *ea*: adverbial, "in that part"; "there". *vero*: This is often added to demonstratives by Sallust to mark the apodosis; cf. *ibi vero*, 58, 3. *evadere*: historic infinitive.

51

1. *foeda atque miserabilis*: Sallust is fond of constructing a sentence with a succession of adjectives or nouns that are unconnected except for the last two. Sometimes a special emphasis is given to the last word: for this see 14, 7. *dispersi*: for the case see *infens*, 50. 4. *periculum*: subject of *ceperat*, lit. "where danger had caught each man"; "where a man found himself overtaken by danger"; *cives*: *i.e.* Romans. *nihil . . . agi*: "every action was carried out without thought or command".

2. *cum . . . erat*: see note 12, 5. *cum etiam tum*, "and still".

3. *militis in unum conducti*: "gathered his men together"; *i.e.* from their previously confused positions. *eorum*: *i.e.* "of the enemy infantry".

4. *fugientes*: qualifies *hostes*. *illis*: *i.e.* the Romans whom he was addressing; *illis* represents the *vobis* of direct speech. *quo cedentes tenderent*: "where they might go if they wished to retreat"; the present participle can contain this conditional force. The subjunctive is consecutive ("such as they might go to").

5. *circumire*: The historic infinitives of this section and 4 suggest the haste and excitement on the battlefield. *dubitis*: "if they wavered". *eminus pugnando*: "by long range tactics"; *i.e.* by using missiles.

218

1. *inter se . . . certabant*: "vied with each other"; *i.e.* in generalship.

2. *Jugurthae*: supply *erant*; like *Metello* it is a dative of possession, "Jugurtha had everything in his favour except the (quality of his) soldiers".

3. *copiam pugnandi*: "an opportunity for a fight"; the enemy were avoiding a pitched battle with the Romans. *iam die vesper erat*: "it was already evening". *advorso colle . . . evadunt*: lit. "ascend with the hill facing them"; "forced their way up the hill" or "charged uphill"; *i.e.* the Romans charged up the hill on their right on which Jugurtha's troops were posted. *sicuti praeceptum fuerat*: The pluperfect of the verb *esse* used with a past participle passive instead of the usual *erat* to make the pluperfect passive is very rare in other prose writers of this period, such as Cicero and Caesar; Sallust uses this same expression again in 109, 2.

4. *plerisque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt*: "their own speed and the enemy's ignorance of the locality saved the majority of them". For the passive force of *ignara* (= *ignota*, "unknown") cf. 18, 6. Though *velocitas* and *regio* are both feminine and *tutatae sunt* might have been expected, it is quite common where the subject of a verb consists of abstract nouns for the predicate to be neuter plural; cf. *removata sunt* 38, 8 and 68, 1; 77, 3; 85, 30.

5. *praefectum*: supply *esse*: "had been put in command". *quietus*: "quietly" referring to Bomilcar. *neque remittit, quid ubique hostis ageret, exploraret*: "and did not cease to watch every movement of the enemy in all parts of the field" (lit. "what the enemy was doing anywhere").

6. *Rutilium consedissee iam*: "that Rutilius had now encamped". *animo vacuom*: supply *esse* "and was easy in his mind"; *i.e.* "off his guard". *auxilio*: predicative dative; with *foret* (= *esset*) "might go to the aid of". *diffidens virtuti militum*: The present participle is used with a causal force, "because he had distrusted his soldiers' courage"; *virtuti*, the dative regularly governed by *diffidere*. *arte*: "in close order". *quo . . . officeret*: This gives the purpose of *lanis porrigit*, "in order to block the enemy's line of march". Sallust uses *quo* to introduce a purpose clause, though its use is normally confined to purpose clauses containing a comparative adjective or adverb; cf. 37, 4: *quo . . . adderet*.

219

1. **pulveris vim**: "cloud of dust"; **nam . . . prohibet**: this clause explains *ex improviso*, i.e. their sudden awareness of the cloud of dust was due to the fact that the bushes which covered the ground had cut off their view. **post ubi aequabilem manere . . . vident**: "afterwards when they saw that the cloud remained unchanged"; *aequabilis* means "constant", "unvarying"; if the wind were blowing the dusty soil about, the cloud would come and go. **sicuti acies movebatur**: "as the enemy's line advanced"; *move* is a transitive verb ("to move something") and must be used in the passive voice if it is to have an intransitive force (simply "to move"). **sicuti imperabatur**: Note the use of the imperfect tense, "as they received their orders".

2. **ubi propius ventum est**: "when the two lines were at close quarters"; impersonal passive, cf. *concurrunt*.

3. **tantum modo . . . dum**: "only so long as"; *modo* "only" modifies *tantum* "only so much (and no more)"; **auxilium**: supply *esse*, "that there is help". **impeditos ramis arborum**: As Capes has remarked (p. 278) "the elephants would soon have crushed down the brushwood which would be growing on an arid soil such as that described by Sallust. But the battle scenes are commonly somewhat fanciful descriptions of Roman writers"; **fugam faciunt**: This expression generally means "put to flight" but here it means "took to flight". **collis aut noctis . . . auxilio**: lit. "by aid of the hill or the night"; i.e. they were helped by the proximity or the cover of the hill and by the dusk of the evening.

5. **opere castrorum**: "with building their camp", referred to in *considisse*, 52, 6. **amplius opinione**: "longer than they expected", *opinio* being an ablative of comparison. **instructi intentique obviam procedunt**: "they went to meet him in battle order (*instructi*) and on the alert". Either they were not sure whether the Numidian retreat was genuine (implied by *dolus Numidarum*) or they were afraid they might meet Jugurtha instead of Metellus, hence the mistake that was almost made when the two Roman armies approached each other (§ 7).

6. **nilhil languidi neque remissi**: *nilhil* frequently takes a partitive genitive; neuter adjectives of the second declension can be treated as nouns in the genitive, and such are *languidi* and *remissi*: "no relaxation or carelessness".

7. **postquam . . . erant**: "when the armies were not far from each other"; for the imperfect tense after *postquam* see note, 13. 5. **strepitu velut hostes adventare**: It is not easy to explain the infinitive *adventare* here. *velut* should probably be

taken with *adventare* as though this were *adventantem* but has been attracted to the infinitive irregularly by the historic infinitive *facere* which follows. Then *strepitu* modifies *formidantem facere*; the expression is then translated literally, "by a sound as of an enemy approaching". **et paene . . . admissum facinus miserabile**: supply *est* with *admissum*: this clause is not the true *apodosis* of the hypothetical condition *si . . . exploravissent*; rather, it states a fact, "a deplorable catastrophe almost occurred" and the proper *apodosis* must be inserted "and would have occurred"; see note on 31, 1. **imprudētia**: an ablative of cause, "through a misapprehension".

8. **mutatur**: The passive of *mutare* (a transitive verb) used to convey an intransitive meaning, "changes" and taken with *pro* is translated as "takes the place of". **milies alius alium . . . appellat**: A repeated *alius* often supplied the reciprocal "each other"; "one another"; "the soldiers hailed one another". **ad caelum fert**: "praised to the skies"; cf. 92, 2. **advorsae res . . . detrectant**: "defeat brings discredit even upon heroes"; notice the variety in the use of *vel* in the previous clause and *etiam* in this.

1. **quadriduo moratus**: Here the ablative is used instead of the accusative to express duration of time: this is rarely found, but see 94, 3, *toto die . . . Numidas habuerat*. **cum cura refecti**: "taking care of". The preposition *cum* is always used with the ablative of manner if the ablative noun has no adjective. **meritos**: "those who had distinguished themselves"; **more militiae**: The military honours bestowed upon soldiers included such awards as the *corona civica*, a crown of oak leaves, for saving the life of a fellow-soldier in the field; the various *phalerae*, round embossed plaques of metal; *armillae*, armlets; and *torques*, necklets. **quae levia sunt**: The use of *sunt* here instead of *sunt* which would have been the normal usage is another example of Sallust's fondness for the indicative. **pugnatum**: supply *esse*: impersonal passive used instead of *eos pugnavisse*.

2. **alios opportunos**: "others whom he thought suitable for the task". **Jugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitarēt**: If *ubi* is meant to go with *agitarēt* as well as *quid*, and the verb *esse* is not supplied, then the verb has an intransitive meaning with *ubi*, i.e. "was" (lit. "was living", cf. 18, 9) and its usual transitive meaning with *quid* which is its direct object: "where in the world Jugurtha was or what he was doing"; **ut sese victus gereret**:

"how he was behaving in defeat"; i.e. whether he was discouraged or intent upon another attack.

3. *exercitum* . . . *ampliorem*: "an army that was numerically stronger than his previous one". *numero* is ablative of respect (lit. "in the number"). *hebetem infirmumque*: *hebes* "blunt" in its figurative sense means "raw" or "undisciplined"; *infirmus* means "feeble"; i.e. lacking the proper military spirit.

4. *id ea gratia eveniebat*: *ea gratia* = *eius rei gratia* ("for the sake of that thing"); lit. "it happened for this reason"; "the reason for this was". *nemo* . . . *Numida*: *nemo* is sometimes used appositionally as an adjective, as here, though the conception is probably appositional, "not a single Numidian". *ex fuga regem sequitur*: The preposition *ex* suggests that the action (*sequitur*) arises out of the flight, and therefore *ex fuga* probably means "after the rout" rather than "during" it which would be *in fuga*. *neque id flagitium militiae ducitur*: "and it is not considered a breach of military discipline". It seems that it was a common characteristic of tribal warfare for the soldiers, when they had been routed, to disperse in whatever direction they chose: Tacitus speaks similarly of the Germans in *Ann.* II, 14, 5.

5. *bellum* . . . *quod* . . . *geri non posset*: lit. "the war . . . which could not be fought except in accordance with Jugurtha's (*illius*) desire"; i.e. Jugurtha was able to conduct the war on any terms he chose. Although *posset* would be subjunctive anyway, inasmuch as it is in a subordinate clause in *oratio obliqua* (governed by *videt*), yet is it probably generic subjunctive in the first place: "a war of the sort that could?". *minore detrimento*: "at less cost"; ablative of price. *in acie*: "a battle-line"; i.e. by pitched battles. *gerundum*: supply *esse*: "that the war must be fought". *oppida temere munita*: "towns that were ill fortified"; *temere* = "carelessly" or "hastily". *ea formidine*: lit. "through that fear" (ablative of cause); i.e. "where similar treatment was feared". *obsides*: in apposition to *mortales*, "as hostages".

7. *negotia*: "operations", "tactics". *proelium male pugnatum*: "the defeat that had been suffered".

8. *quippe*: "for", and is not to be taken with *cuius* here but rather with *coegebatur*. Generally *quippe* reinforces a relative pronoun introducing a causal clause but here *cuius* introduces a simple relative clause "whose hopes depended entirely upon flight": Jugurtha preferred to make his enemy come in search of him rather than be forced to go on the offensive himself. *gerere*: like *sequi*, it is governed by *coegebatur*. *in alienis*: supply *locis*, and means "in territory occupied by the enemy".

9. *ex copia*: "in view of the circumstances"; lit. "according to the opportunity of affairs"; cf. 39, 5). *exercitum plenumque*: "the greater part of the army"; the adjective *plenusque*, is rare in the singular and is only found in Sallust and post-classical writers such as Amulius Gellius. *ignoratus*: lit. "unknown" but in the context of this sentence it conveys the meaning of "taking by surprise": "travelling at night by unfrequented paths he suddenly fell upon some Roman stragglers, taking them completely by surprise".

10. *inermes*: They had not expected to be attacked and did not have their arms ready to fight back: "before they could snatch up their weapons". *nemo omnium*: "not a single one of them"; cf. § 4. *praequam* . . . *subveniretur*: "before help could be sent from the camp": the Numidians had left quickly in order that they should not have to face reinforcements sent by Metellus.

1. *rebus*: = *rebus gestis*, "achievements"; with *cognitis* it forms an ablative absolute "when Metellus' achievements were reported". ut . . . *gereret*: "how he had conducted himself and disciplined the army according to the strict traditions of the past"; *ut* governs not only *gereret* but all the subjunctives that follow in the sentence; all these clauses are indirect questions in apposition to *rebus*, that is, they explain what those achievements were, answering the question "What were they?" which naturally arises in the mind. *gerere* is used by zeugma to govern both *se* (where it is a common idiom meaning "behave") and *exercitum* with which it is used to mean "treat" or "handle": (see 44, 3: *matronam disciplina militis laborare coegisset*). *in adverso loco*: "in spite of being in an unfavourable position". *magnificum ex Albinus socordia*: "elated as he had been as the result of Albinus' slackness"; see 36 and 39 for the story of Albinus' *socordia*. *magnificus* has the good meaning of "high minded"; "splendid"; etc., but here it is used with a bad connotation "boastful", "insolent".

2. *supplicia*: here the word is the equivalent of *supplicationes*, that is, "public thanksgiving". It was the custom at Rome particularly after a great military victory, to give an opportunity for the people to thank the gods by providing access to their statues or other emblems, which were placed upon special couches called *pulvinaria*: the worshippers knelt or prostrated themselves before these images. The ceremony was repeated for several days according to the importance of the occasion. *decernere*: historic infinitive as are all the infinitives that follow, though

invidiam sequi is an accusative and infinitive construction governed by *memnisse*. *civitas . . . laeta agere*: "the state acted joyfully" or "was overjoyed"; *agere* (an historic infinitive) is used absolutely here, with *laeta* nominative in agreement with *civitas* (cf. *divorsi agebant*, § 7 below). Otherwise, *laeta* is neuter accusative plural, and the two words mean "instituted festivities" or some such expression. The former meaning is more likely in Sallust: cf. *agitabant* 18, 9 and below § 4, and the use of *agere*, 89, 7; 100, 1; 101, 6.

3. *eo intentior ad victoriam mitti*: "he (*i.e.* Metellus) strove all the harder for victory": *eo* is an ablative of the measure of difference "by that much (the more)": cf. *quo . . . eo*, § 4. *ne cibi hosti opportunus fieret*: "not to lay himself open anywhere to an enemy attack": *ne cibi = ne aliquid* ("lest anywhere?"); *opportunus* means "suitable" or "advantageous". Metellus took precautions to see that "he did not become advantageous to Jugurtha", *i.e.* play into Jugurtha's hands.

4. *insidias Jugurthae*: This refers to Jugurtha's surprise attack of 54, 9. *effuso exercitu*: ablative absolute, "in scattered parties". *praesidium agitabant*: "acted as a protection", *i.e.* "stood on guard"; for absolute use of *agitabant* see note above on *agere*, § 2. *Marius*: see 46, 7 and 50, 2.

5. *praeda*: This is used with the meaning of *praedanda* "by plundering".

6. *duobus . . . faciebant*: "The two commanders (Metellus and Marius) would pitch camp separately but close together". The imperfect tense in this sentence and in §§ 4, 5, and 7 indicates that these actions were repeatedly done.

7. *cuncti*: "the whole army"; *i.e.* the two divisions of the army joined together for a combined effort. *quo fuga . . . latius cresceret*: "so that they might keep the enemy on the run and spread panic over a wider area"; (lit. "in order that flight and fear might grow more widely"). *divorsi agebant*: "acted in their separate divisions".

8. *pabulum et aquarum fortes . . . conrumperere*: *conrumperere* means "ruin", "spoil": in English a different verb must be used with each object: "he destroyed the grass and contaminated the springs": see note § 1 above on *zeugma*. *postremos in agmine temptare*: "attacked their rearguard". *alios post alios*: *post* is an adverb, and before the first *alios* must be supplied *primum*: "threatening first one then the other". *otium pati*: *i.e.* to the Romans.

1. *copiam pugnandi*: "opportunity to fight it out" (lit. "of fighting"). *arceam regni nomine Zamam*: In the context of this sentence *arceam* means the "principal stronghold". This Zama is Zama Regia in Western Tunisia not far from Sicca (see below and map). Two inscriptions discovered in 1941 have established that this town was at the modern Ksar Tonal Zouameu, situated in the most pleasant and fertile part of Tunisia, and in Sallust's time about five days' journey from Carthage (cf. Livy, XXX, 29, 2). It is not to be confused with the Zama where the great battle between Scipio and Hannibal was fought which was over forty miles further west. Later it was the capital of King Juba, King of Numidia (60-46 B.C.); but in the time of Strabo, the great Greek historian and geographer (63 B.C.-A.D. 21), it was lying in ruins. Hadrian restored it as "colonia Aelia Hadriana Augusta Zama regia". *id quod negotium poscebat*: relates to the clause that follows, *Jugurtham . . . venturum*, and means literally "as the situation demanded"; *i.e.* he thought that Jugurtha "would have no option" but to come to the help of his countrymen in their peril. *ibique proelium fore*: "and that a battle would ensue there" which was what Metellus particularly wanted. *quae parabantur a perfugis edoctus*: supply *ea* before *quae*: "learning from (being told by) deserters those things which were being prepared"; *i.e.* "the plans which were afoot". The deserters were probably foreign auxiliary troops attached to the legion, who often had little enthusiasm for the victory of Rome, and could expect little quarter if captured by the enemy.

2. *Metellum antevenit*: "arrived there (at Zama) before Metellus". *auxilio*: dative of purpose, "to help them" (lit. "for a help"). *perfugis quod genus . . . firmissimum erat*: see § 1 on "deserters". *fallere*: supply *fidem*: "could not be treacherous". *in tempore*: "at the right time" as always when *in* is used with *tempore*: ablative of time expressions do not usually require a preposition.

3. *in loca quam maxime occulta discedit*: "he withdrew to the most secluded region he could find"; *quam maxime occulta* means literally "as secluded as possible". *Marium ex itinere frumentarium . . . missum*: "that Marius had been detached from the marching column and sent to Sicca to forage". *Siccam*: This town (see map) the modern Le Kef on a tributary of the Bagradas was called by Ptolemy (the astronomer and geographer of the second century A.D.) Sicca Venaria (from *Venus* goddess of love) as it was infamous for its excesses in the worship

of Astarte, the Semitic goddess of love. Its full name under the Roman Empire was Colonia Julia Veneria Ciria Nora Sicca and the 150 inscriptions discovered there testify to its importance. *malam pugnam*: "the defeat"; near the Murhul, cf. 54, 7.

4. *Romanis... pugnam facit*: "made an attack upon the Romans": *Romanis* is dative governed by *pugnam facit* as though this latter expression were a compound verb that regularly takes the dative. *fortunam... casum dare*: supply a verb of saying; the subject of *dare* is *fortunam*: "saying that Fortune was giving them the opportunity to achieve a brilliant feat of arms"; *casus* meaning "chance" or "opportunity" (cf. 25, 9) is rare. *si... fecerint*: This is still within the *oratio obliqua* introduced by *hortantur*: as this latter verb is historic present it may govern a primary sequence instead of an historic one; hence, the perfect subjunctive *fecerint* represents the future perfect indicative of *oratio recta* ("if you will have done that").

5. *ni Maribus... propegravisset... cuncti... nutavissent*: an example of a hypothetical condition in past time, usually called an "unreal condition". The pluperfect subjunctive is regular in both the protasis (the *ni*-clause) and the apodosis (the main clause). *aut* here introduces a limitation: "if not all then the greater part"; cf. 6, 1 *primus aut in primis*. *sustentantur*: "though they were kept in their ranks". *paucis amissis*: "after suffering a few losses".

57

1. *ad Zamam pervenit*: "arrived near Zama" or "before Zama". When the preposition *ad* precedes a name of a town the meaning is "near to" not "into". *magis opere... munitionum*: "had been fortified rather by man-made defences than by its natural strength". *milibus idoneae rei egressi*: lit. "in need of no suitable thing"; i.e. "possessed every essential for withstanding a siege"; *egressi* regularly governs a genitive. *opulentum*: "well stocked".

2. *exercitum*: note the preposition *cum* is regularly omitted in military expressions; here the army is regarded as the "instrument" in the hands of Metellus. *legatis imperat ubi quisque curaret*: "assigned to each of his commanders a post of command" (lit. "where each should take charge"); *ubi... curaret* is an indirect deliberative question (the direct deliberative question being *ubi quisque curaret*, "where is each to take charge"). Sallust uses the historic sequence here after the present historic *imperat*:

226

cf. 56, 4 where he employs primary sequence after an historic present verb.

4. *pro ingenio quisque*: Though several commentators translate this as "each (fought) according to his disposition", i.e. bravely or cowardly, this does not seem to fit the context of this sentence. Since *ingenium* can mean "ability" Scott Kilverd (p. 56) is probably right in translating it as "each man playing his part according to his training", and this fits in with the rest of the sentence. *glande aut lapidibus*: *glande* is the collective singular: "discharged bullets or stones"; cf. Livy, XXXVIII, 21: *sagittis, glande, iaculis configebantur*. The *glans* was a ball of lead shaped like an acorn and was hurled by slingers in siege operations. Many of these have been found, some having names and rude tests stamped upon them. *succedere*: "came up close" and contrasts with *eminus... pugnare* (lit. "fought from a distance"). It is an historic infinitive like the other infinitives of this sentence, indicating the rapid and excited movement on the field. *proelium in manibus facere*: "to get to close quarters with the enemy": compare the Greek idiom ἐν χειρὶ μάχεσθαι.

5. *sudes pila, praeterea plicem... ardentia mittere*: Though the plural *ardentia* is used as though it describes *sudes*, *pila*, and *plicem* it was almost certainly intended to qualify *plicem* alone.

6. *tormentis*: There were two types of heavy artillery used in the ancient world, the *catapultae* used for shooting arrows and the *ballistae* which hurled stones. The Numidian townsmen were here using *catapultae* in their counter-attack upon the Romans. The propulsion necessary for discharging the arrows was provided by twisted strands of gut or horsehair made taut by a windlass and then released. *parique periculo sed fama impari*: ablatives of quality, "had like danger but unlike reputation"; since the word *periculum* is hardly a quality which can be applied to a man it is a strange use here; Sallust means that both the brave and the cowards were in the same danger but the brave man won glory by his exploits, while the coward could not share this as he showed his cowardice amidst such danger.

58

1. *Dum... sic certatur*: "While this battle was raging around Zama"; *certatur* is impersonal passive: this is a common usage with some intransitive verbs of which the subject is, in fact, the abstract noun (or name of the action) implied in the root of the verb. *remissis qui... erant*: supply *eis* after *remissis*,

227

ablative absolute: "while those who were on guard had relaxed"; *i.e.* "he caught the sentries off their guard". **expectantibus**: also requires the *eis* to be supplied, and is also an ablative absolute: "who were expecting anything but a battle". **portam inrumpit**: "broke into one of the gates"; in prose it is regular to find the preposition *in* used with the accusative after *inrumpere*.

2. **pro moribus**: "according to their individual characters"; cf. 57, 4. **sibi...consultant**: "provided for themselves"; "looked to his own safety".

3. **non amplius quadraginta**: "not more than forty men"; *quam* is regularly omitted after **amplius**. **nominis Romani**: "of the honour of Rome". **paulo...editiore**: "a little higher up than the rest"; *paulo*, ablative of the measure of difference commonly used with comparatives to modify the degree of comparison. *alii* here is equivalent to *ceteri* (Roman). **pauci in pluribus minus frustrari**: "being but a few men against (lit. amongst) a larger number they were less frequently disappointed (in the number of hits they scored)"; *i.e.* they were sparse in array while the enemy were much more densely disposed, and quite naturally their weapons found their mark much more easily than did the enemy's. **frustrari** has a passive force and is therefore from the older active verb **frustro** rather than the more common deponent **frustor**. **sin Numidae propius accessissent**: "if the Numidians came nearer"; the subjunctive is used here to express the idea of repetition: it is almost the equivalent of "whenever they came nearer", and *virtutem ostendere* that follows implies "they would show their valour", and the other historic infinitives that follow should be similarly translated. It should be noted, however, that the indicative is much more commonly used at this period of time to express a general condition relating to repeated action and, indeed, this is the only example in Sallust's works of the subjunctive used in this way: cf. *si...hauserant*, 50. 6. *ibi vero*: "then indeed"; *vero* marks the apodosis to the condition; cf. note, 50. 6.

4. **clamorem hostilem...accepit**: "heard the enemy shouting behind him"; *i.e.* the enemy soldiers who were pursuing the Romans fleeing from the camp. **fugam ad se vortum ferit**: lit. "that a flight was being made towards him"; *i.e.* "that troops were in full flight towards him". **vorsum** is an adverb and generally used with an accusative case governed by *ad* or *in*; but see note, 19, 3 on *Aegyptum vortis*. **quae res indicabat populares esse**: the subject of *esse* ("the fugitives?") can easily be supplied from *fugam*: *quae res* relates to the fact that the running

was in Metellus' direction; "and he concluded that they were his own men" (*popularis* = "a fellow-countryman").

5. **equitatum...propere misit ac statim C. Marium**: "he sent...the cavalry speedily, and immediately after, C. Marius with cohorts of the allies". **per amicitiam perque rem publicam**: *per* is used in oaths and entreaties "in the name of their friendship and of the Republic". So far as their "friendship" was concerned, we know from Plutarch (*Marius*, IV) that Metellus had assisted Marius in gaining the tribunate in 119 B.C. and that the family of Marius had long been clients to the Metelli family. **obsecrat, nequam contumeliam...sinat**: "beg him not to allow any disgrace"; *nequam* = *ne quam*, *quam* being feminine accusative singular of the indefinite pronoun *qui* which is the usual word for "any" after *ne* (and after *si*, *nisi*, or *num*) as *quis* is the usual word for "anyone". *stat* is justive subjunctive in an indirect command. For the use of the primary tense see notes 56, 4 and 57, 2. **inultos**: here means "unpunished"; though the more common meaning of the word is "not vindicated"; "un-avenged". *ille*: Marius.

6. **cum alii...praecipitentur, alii...officerent**: "since some of his men were throwing themselves over the fortifications while others in their haste to get through the narrow gates were getting in each other's way". **praecipitentur = se praecipitent, infecto negotio**: "without succeeding in his assault on the town".

59

1. **prius quam...egrederentur**: for the mood of the verb see note, 54, 10. **qua regis adventus erat**: "where the king was likely to arrive"; *erat* is the equivalent of *futurus erat* ("where the king's arrival was likely to be"); cf. *qua visus erat*, "wherever there was a possibility of seeing". **agitare**: used absolutely and here means "to patrol" (lit. "to occupy themselves"); see note, 18, 9. **proxima loca**: *i.e.* the approaches to the gates.

2. **ex occulto**: "Though this means 'from a concealed position' it indicates that Jugurtha had crept up upon the Roman army stealthily so that they did not notice his arrival before he attacked. *qui*: "those who?". **in proximo**: "nearest to the enemy". **locati fuerant = locati erant**, pluperfect passive.

3. **neque...Numidae...quivissent, ni pedites...facerent**: "and the Numidians would not have been able to offer resistance for much longer, if their infantry, who intermingled with the cavalry, had not caused heavy losses in their encounter with the Romans?". A hypothetical condition in past time generally

required pluperfect subjunctive in both the protasis and the apodosis. However, the imperfect subjunctive is sometimes used in past "unreal" conditions in preference to the pluperfect when it is desired to stress the continuous nature of the action: "they would not have been able to resist *enim* not their infantry causing heavy losses" (which in fact they were causing during the time the other Romans were coming up to help their comrades). *quibus*: *i.e.* "in their infantry"; *illi*: the cavalry. *advorsis equis concurrere*: "charged head-on" (lit. "with their horses facing the enemy"). *implicare*: "worked their way into the Roman line". *expeditis pedibus suis*: ablative of instrument, "with the help of (lit. 'by means of') their light-armed infantry". *hostes paene victos dare*: "almost defeated the enemy"; *dare* here has the force of *reddere* (lit. "rendered the enemy almost defeated").

60

1. certabatur: impersonal passive. **ubi quisque . . . curabat**: "wherever each of the lieutenants or tribunes was in command". **eo**: the adverb used locatively and equivalent to *ibi* (see Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, 60, 2, I, A.). **neque alius in alio . . . spem habere**: "and no man put his hopes in any other person more than in himself", *i.e.* no man waited for his neighbour to act but relied on his own efforts. **pariter . . . agere**: "were equally active"; *agere* is used absolutely (cf. 55, 2 and § 5 below). **obpugnare aut parare**: It is not clear whether the subject of these two infinitives should be *oppidant* or *Romani*; indeed, it could be that the action of the verbs applies to both Romans and townsmen. S. A. Handford (p. 96) translates the phrase "attacks, and preparations to meet them, were being made". **avidius alteri alteros sauciare**: "and both sides were more keen to wound the enemy (*alteros*)". Notice the lack of connecting words (*asyndeton*) in this sentence: Sallust frequently omits conjunctions in passages describing the many and varied actions on a battle-field (cf. 51, 1). The use of historic infinitives and of *asyndeton* together in such a sentence conveys stylistically the excitement expressed by the words of the sentence.

2. clamor permixtus hortatione . . . ferri: lit. "shouting mixed with . . ."; "mingled cries of encouragement, joy, pain, as well as the clashing of arms rose (was borne) to heaven".

3. paulum modo: "only a little"; *i.e.* "even for a moment". **ubi . . . pugnam remiserat**: "whenever the enemy . . . relaxed their assault"; when *ubi* means "whenever" the pluperfect

230

indicative is the regular tense used for past time. The verb *remisere* is used in the sense of "relax" primarily with objects that are strained, bound or rigid; for example with the accusative *habenas* ("to relax the reins") or *digitos* ("to open the fingers"). In this sentence *pugnam* contains the idea of tenseness and determination in the assault; hence the verb *remisere* is extended in its use to govern *pugnam*. **proethum equestre**: *i.e.* the battle going on between the Roman cavalry and Jugurtha's cavalry at the Roman camp, described in 59.

4. uti quaeque Jugurthae res erant: "as the several events were for Jugurtha"; *i.e.* "as Jugurtha's fortunes rose or fell". **animadverteres**: "you might have observed"; this is the potential subjunctive which is used in the imperfect tense to express the writer's opinion as to what was likely to happen in the past. **monere alii alii hortari**: "some shouted warnings and others words of encouragement". There is a chiasmus here (see note, 7, 5), as in *laetas modo paridos* and *manu significare aut nisi corporibus*. Sallust uses this rhetorical figure to give expression to the vacillation in the feelings of the townsfolk as they watched the battle go first one way, then the next. Indeed, in the whole of this chapter dealing with the battle at Zama Sallust makes good use of his language and the construction of sentences to give expression to the varied action and emotions during the battle. Sallust is probably influenced by Thucydides' famous description of the battle in the harbour of Syracuse where he relates the feelings of the soldiers in the two armies on the shore who are watching the battle: *nisi corporibus* seems to be a translation of Thucydides' *τοῖς σώμασιν* . . . *ἐναντιωθέντες* (Book 7, LXXI, 3), "swayed their bodies". [See Rex Warner's translation of Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War in the *Penguin Classics*, p. 477, (1954).] **ea huc et illuc . . . agitare**: "moved them this way and that". **quasi vitabundi aut iacientes tela**: "as if avoiding or throwing weapons"; the adjective *vitabundi* is used like a participle and governs *tela* as does *iacientes*. This use of the word is rare, and not found in Cicero or Caesar.

5. quod ubi Mario cognitum est: "When this was perceived by Marius"; *Mario* is a dative of agent used instead of *ab* with the ablative. This is mainly found with the perfect passive tense in prose writers. **in ea parte**: *i.e.* the side facing the Roman camp. **lanius agere**: "slackened his efforts" (lit. "acted more gently"); *agere* is historic infinitive like the infinitives that follow. **diffidentiam rei simulare**: "pretended that he was losing heart" (lit. "pretended a lack of confidence in the battle"; *rei* being

231

PART III

genitive). *visere*: object of *patri*, and means "to view" or "watch".

6. *illis studio suorum adstrictis*: is ablative absolute, and *studio* ablative of instrument. *scallis egressi*: "climbing up by means of ladders"; the verb *egredior* can have this meaning of "going up" as well as its regular meaning of "going out". *summa*: neuter plural "the top" (*i.e.* of the wall). The plural of *summus* is rare except in poetry.

7. *unaque alterae scalae*: "one ladder after another"; *scalae* is only used in the plural; hence the plural form of *unus* which is only found with such words. *qui supersteterant*: "and those who had stood upon them". *quoquo modo potuerit*: "as best they could"; *quoquo modo* is adverbial and means literally "in what way soever".

8. *utrinque proelium*: *i.e.* the battle at the walls of Zama and the cavalry encounter at the Roman camp.

61

1. *inceptum*: a noun, "his attempt", and *esse* must be supplied: "when Metellus saw that his attempt was in vain". *neque oppidum capi*: "and that the town was not being taken"; *i.e.* "he was no nearer taking the town". *neque Jugurtham . . . pugnare faceret*: The present infinitive *facere* is used to indicate that it was a present state of affairs "that Jugurtha was not offering battle"; it perhaps implies "and that Jugurtha had no intention of offering battle". *aestatem exactam esse*: Summer was the campaigning season, and this had now come to an end. Metellus had not arrived in Africa until after the beginning of the summer season, 109 (44, 3) and had had to restore discipline amongst the troops before he could embark on any campaign against Jugurtha. *ab Zama discedit*: "he left Zama"; *ab* is used to indicate that Metellus was leaving the neighbourhood of Zama; he had never entered the town. *loco*: "by their natural position".

2. *ceterum exercitum*: The adjective *ceterus* is rarely used in the singular, as here (cf. 89, 6, 92, 5) and it is comparable with Sallust's use of *plerisque*, 21, 2. *in provinciam . . . conlocat*: "he stationed the rest of the army in the part of the province"; *in* with the ablative case is generally used with verbs of "placing", but when the idea of something moving into a place is uppermost, *in* with the accusative is commonly used. The *quae* clause indicates that *provinciam* really means "the part of the province" (*provincia* referring to the Roman province of

232

NOTES

Africa: see Map) cf. 89, 7, *in omni Africa, qua proxima*: "borders on". It is used with the dative here, but with the accusative in 19, 4 and 49, 6.

3. *ex aliorum more*: "as others commonly do". *armis . . . procedebat*: "the war was making little progress by force of arms". *per amicos*: *i.e.* through Jugurtha's friends. *tendere*: commonly used metaphorically for "laying" traps (*lit.* "spread out" like a net).

4. *Bomilicarem*: For this man and Massiva, see note 35. 7. *maxima copia fallendi*: "the greatest opportunity of deceiving"; *i.e.* since Bomilcar afforded the best prospects for betraying the king.

5. *occultus*: used adverbially for *occulte*, "secretly". *fide data*: "after he had given his word of honour that", and governs the *oratio obliqua*: *si . . . radidisset*; the pluperfect subjunctive represents the future perfect indicative of *oratio recta* ("if you will have handed over"). *fore ut . . . concederet*: "(that) the Senate would grant him impunity and (restore) all his property". As Chapter 35 shows, the Senate had good reason for punishing Bomilcar. Metellus assures him of their favour if he will betray Jugurtha now. When a future infinitive would normally be used in the accusative and infinitive construction Latin makes use of *fore* followed by an *ut*-consecutive clause if the verb required in the future infinitive has no further participle in use. This participial phrase is also commonly used instead of the supine with *iri* to represent the future passive; however, it is also found as an alternative to the future active infinitive, as in this present passage. *cum ingenio infido tum metuenti*: "who was not only treacherous by nature but was also afraid that . . .". *ingenio infido* is an ablative of quality, but this is co-ordinated with the participle *metuenti* which is dative and agrees with *Numidae*. This is a good example of Sallust's love of variety in sentence construction. *si pax . . . fieret*: The imperfect subjunctive is used in this subordinate clause with the *oratio obliqua* (implied by the participle *metuenti*) as it represents the future indicative of *oratio recta* ["if peace is (will be) made"]. *per condiciones*: "by the terms"; *i.e.* he feared that one of the terms of the armistice would require that he should be handed over to the Romans.

62

1. *ubi primum*: "as soon as", like *cum primum*, § 7. *Jugurtham . . . miserantem fortunam suas*: "While Jugurtha was

233

bewailing his misfortunes"; *suas* refers to *Jugurtham*. Dis-tinguish *miserari*, "to bewail"; 'lament', from *misereri*, "to pity". *sibi*: *i.e.* Jugurtha. *genti*... optime *meritae*: "(to make provision) for the people of Numidia who had served him so faithfully". *sese victos*: supply a verb of saying: the type of *oratio obliqua* has changed from indirect petition to indirect statement. *caveat*: jussive subjunctive dependent upon a verb of command to be supplied. *illo cunctante*: *illo* = Jugurtha ("you" of *oratio recta*). *sibi consulant*: "take measures for their own safety".

3. *qui*... *dicerent*: a final relative clause, "to say". *sine ulla pactone*: = "unconditionally". *in illius fidem traderet*: "and that he now handed over to Metellus (*illius*) protection," (lit. "good faith"). Notice the change of tense (*traderet*) from *facturum*.

4. *cunctos senatorii ordinis*... *accersi*: "all men of Senatorial rank (to be) summoned (and)"; note that *accersi* agrees with *ordinis* instead of *cunctos*. *ducebat*: "he considered". *consilium habet*: "he held a council of war". Normally the council of war consisted of military tribunes and picked centurions. The summoning of men of Senatorial rank to this particular council was probably undertaken because of the importance of negotiations with Jugurtha himself, in which Metellus would be glad of the advice of men who could speak with Senatorial authority, for any agreement made would require the sanction of the Senate.

5. *more maiorum*: refers to *consilii decreta*: "accepting the decree of the council, thus following traditional procedure, and ordered..."; *i.e.* he had none of the private interviews that Bestia had had with Jugurtha (see 29, 6), but acted strictly in accord with the council's decision. *argenti pondo ducenta milia*: "200,000 pounds' weight of silver". The adverb *pondo* means literally "in weight" and originally "pounds' weight" was expressed by the two words "libra pondus" (lit. "pounds in weight") but gradually *pondo* alone was written for this and from its original meaning of "in weight" it came to mean with numerals "pounds' weight": it was from this that our English word "pound" was derived.

7. in *Mauretiam*: Latin is consistent in maintaining the "motion to" idea where English would have said "to King Bocchus in Mauretiana".

8. *armis vitis*... *pecunia*: ablatives of separation, the case regularly used with *spoliare* and other verbs of depriving. *ad imperandum*: lit. "for the giving of orders" by Metellus, hence

"to receive orders". Cicero uses the phrase (as well as *ad parandum*) in a letter to Papirius Paetus and says of it *sic enim antiqui loquebantur* (*ad Fam.* IX, 25, 2) as though the expression had gone out of use. The subject of the gerund is indefinite and has to be inferred from the context. *flectere*: "to change". *Tisidium*: "to Tisidium"; the site of this place is unknown, but it was undoubtedly in the Roman province of Africa. *digna*: neuter plural, lit. "worthy things", *i.e.* the things he deserved to be punished for; "the punishment he deserved".

9. *cum modo*... *duceret, interdum reputaret*: *modo* = "at some times"; *interdum* = "at other times" (a variation of *modo modo*): it is best to translate these two *cum*-clauses by participles in English, "some time considering... at other times reflecting...". *taedio rerum advorsarium omnia bello potiora*: supply *esse* in this indirect statement dependent upon *duceret*: "(considering) because of his weariness of his ill-fortune that anything (*omnia*) was better than war". *taedio* is an ablativus of cause, *bello* an ablativus of comparison governed by *potiora*, "better". *casus in servitium*: lit. "a fall into slavery"; a rare metaphorical use of *casus* (= downfall). *praesidiis*: "means of defence"; *i.e.* men, money, elephants, arms, and horses (§ 5). *senatus*... *consulius Numidiam Metello decreverat*: *consulius*, lit. "having been consulted" but has a technical meaning with *senatus*, *i.e.* "when the question concerning the assignment of provinces came up for discussion in the Senate". When a subject was brought up for discussion in the Senate, the Senators were said to be consulted on this matter and the final decision or decree that was made by the Senate was called a *Senatus consultum*. However, Sallust is not strictly accurate, for the law only required the Senate to decide what provinces should be assigned to the consuls of the following year. In this case they did not name Numidia as one of those provinces, and so prolonged Metellus' term of office, for a general or governor retained his command until his successor was named.

1. *per*: "about". *per hostias dis supplicanti*: "while offering sacrifices to the gods"; lit. "supplicating the gods by means of sacrifices"; *supplicare* regularly governs a dative. *harpagum*: The *harpagum* were a class of soothsayers who originated in Etruria and according to Livy (I, 56, 4-5) appeared in Rome during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus (534-510 B.C.). Their

PART III

importance increased during the second century B.C., and though long regarded as barbarous they encroached upon the field of the augurs (who had long interpreted the will of the gods by the flight of birds). The *haruspex* sought to interpret the divine will by studying the entrails of sacrificial animals: their size, shape, colour, and the markings of the vital organs. The *haruspices* never obtained the high status of the augurs, but they were employed by the State and privately catered for the needs of the superstitious public to their own considerable financial advantage. **quae animo agitabat... ageret**: 'let him carry out whatever projects he had in mind': since this is in *oratio obliqua* the *quae*-clause would normally be in the subjunctive, but, Salust often uses the indicative in such constructions. *ageret* is jussive subjunctive representing the imperative of *oratio recta* (similarly *experiretur*). **cuncta... eventura**: accusative and infinitive, '(saying) that all his undertakings would prosper'.

2. iam antea... exagitabat: 'Even before this an ardent desire for the consulship had stirred within him'. Since the Latin pluperfect cannot express the idea of 'had been stirring' (which is the strict meaning here) the imperfect tense with *iam antea* or some such adverbial expression is used. **praeter vetustatem familiae**: 'except an ancient lineage'. Marius was an *homo novus* (see note 4, 7) from the town of Arpinum in the hills of Latium (also Cicero's birthplace) some sixty miles south-east of Rome, and although he came of a good municipal family he did not have the family background desired in these times for candidature for the consulship. **abunde erant**: supply *ei*, 'he had every other qualification in abundance': for the use of adverbs with *esse* cf. 85, 7 and 87, 4. **militiae magna scientia**: He had already shown his 'great military skill' at Numantia (133) where he had served with distinction under Scipio Aemilianus.

3. natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus: 'was born at Arpinum and spent all his boyhood there'; *omnem pueritiam* is accusative of duration; *altus* is the past participle passive of *alere* 'to nourish'; 'feed'; 'bring up'. **partens**: literally 'permitting' (from *patior*) governs the objective genitive *militiae*, 'military service'. **stipendium faciundis**: 'by going on active service' (at Numantia). *stipendium* basically meant 'pay' and with *merite* meant to 'earn a soldier's pay', hence to 'serve as a soldier', and then *stipendium* on its own gained the meaning of 'a campaign', 'active service'. **Graeca facundia**: 'Greek rhetoric'. As H. H. Scullard has put it, 'Distinction in oratory

NOTES

or law, it was said, ranked with nobility of birth and military service as one of the three claims to the consulship. . . . Increasing numbers of young Romans studied the technique of public speech, whether at Rome or at the Greek rhetorical schools in the East' [*From the Gracchi to Nero* (1963), pp. 206-7]. Hence, another of the important requisites for the consulship was despised by Marius. Eloquence in the Greek style meant the ability to declaim on certain set themes according to the methods established by the Greek schools of rhetoric: Roman rhetoric followed Greek models closely and the rigid adherence to set themes stifled originality [see *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1949), pp. 766-81].

4. tribunatum militarem: Not until the time of Caesar did the Roman legion have a fixed commander, but six tribunes having equal power exercised authority: they divided themselves into three pairs and each pair had the chief command for a period of two months. The tribunes of the four legions regularly raised were magistrates who were elected by the people for a single year: the candidates were expected to have served in the army for at least five years. Marius was elected as a military tribune for the year 119 B.C. **per omnes tribus declaratur**: 'he was elected by the unanimous choice of all the tribes'. There were thirty-five electoral divisions (*tribus*) in the whole of Italy, each having one vote. However, if members of provincial *tribus* wished to cast their vote within their own division they had to travel to Rome, and because of their natural reluctance to do so their influence was much less than that of the electorate at Rome itself.

5. alium post alium: 'one after another': something of an exaggeration, as he had only been elected to two magistracies, becoming military tribune 119 and praetor 115, and had twice failed to be elected *consul aedile*. **in potestatibus**: 'in these offices'; *potestas* is civil authority as distinct from a military command (*imperium*). **ampliore quam gererat dignus**: 'worthy of a higher position than the one he was holding'; *dignus* regularly governs the ablative case.

6. ad id locorum: 'up to that time', i.e. the time when the soothsayer had advised him to go ahead confidently with projects for his own advancement. *locus* means 'state', 'circumstances', hence the time of such circumstances; *locorum* is partitive genitive. **postea ambitione praecipis datus est**: 'in later life his downfall was brought about (lit. 'he was brought headlong') by his craving for power (*ambitione*)'. He became involved with two of the most unprincipled of popular leaders, Saturninus and Glaucia (100 B.C.), and in a personal rivalry with Sulla when the State

was plunged into civil war (88-86). *inter se per manus*: "from hand to hand (i.e. from one to the other) within their order". All magistracies were in fact open to the plebs, but the nobles managed to keep the election to the consulship within their own ranks.

7. *NOVUS MEMO*: = *novus nemo*, "no 'new man'"; the -*os* ending being an earlier form: see note 82, 1. *egregis factis*: ablative of quality, "illustrious for his achievements"; and the construction is parallel with *claris* in describing *novos*: see note on *aeoi bravis*, 1. 1. *quin is... haberetur*: "who was not considered unworthy of that honour as if (he were) unclean"; *quin* = *qui non* and introduces a consecutive clause. *pollinis* is usually applied to holy persons or pure things which are defiled, but here it seems to be used in a more general way: cf. *polluta licentia* 15, 5. Some commentators prefer to relate *pollinis* to the word "office" (*honos*) to be supplied, as if it were sullied by such a man holding it: in this case the *is* is transposed, and inserted before *quasi*.

64

1. *eadem... quo cupido... hortabatur*: "in the same direction as his heart's desire was urging him (to go)", supply *ut iter* after *hortatur*; *eadem* and *quo* are correlative adverbs. *intendere*: see note on 25, 10. *ab Metello... rogati*: It is rare to find *rogare* taking *ab* with the ablative even when it means "request". *petundi gratia missionem*: "(requests) leave of absence for the purpose of canvassing (for the consulship)"; *missionem* is generally used of "discharge" from the army, but here Sallust uses it instead of *commissus*, the proper word for "leave of absence". The elections for the various magistracies were usually held about six months before the offices became vacant: this would mean some time during June or July for the consulship which became vacant on the following 1st January. Candidates spent some time previous to the elections canvassing for the office; hence, Marius probably needed to be in Rome by the spring of this year, 108. Since Metellus' efforts during the autumn of 109 to trap Jugurtha through the agency of Bomilcar, there had been no engagement between the armies of Metellus and Jugurtha, and it was probably still late autumn in the year 109 when Marius made his request to Metellus; see note 64, 2. *alla opanda bonis*: "other things to be desired by good men"; *bonis* is the dative of agent regularly used with the gerundive: cf. *omnibus cupiunda*, § 2. *Inerat contemptor animus et superbia*: "he had a disdainful and arrogant spirit": *contemptor* is used here

238

very unusually as an adjective. The Metelli family had within twelve years enjoyed twelve times either the consulship, censorship, or a triumph (see Valleys Paternulus, II, 11, 3).

2. *insolita* re: "by his extraordinary request". *quasi per amicitiam*: "adopting a tone of friendship"; the *quasi* implies that his tone of friendship was feigned. *neu super fortunam animum gereret*: "and not to entertain ambitions above his station"; *fortunam* means the position or rank which the fortune of his birth has destined him, and the use of the word indicates clearly Metellus' aristocratic attitude to the holding of political office. *cupiunda esse*: This is now in *oratio obliqua* governed by a verb of "saying" to be implied from *monere*; *omnia* is subject of *esse*. *debere illi res suas satis placere*: "he ought to be satisfied with his present position"; *suas res* is subject of *debere*. *caveret... petere*: The use of the infinitive with *caveret* is very rare in prose. *caveret* is imperfect jussive subjunctive ("let him refrain from") as it reports in historic sequence an original imperative (*cave!*).

3. *ubi primum potuisset*: "as soon as he was able"; a subordinate clause in *oratio obliqua* and the pluperfect subjunctive *potuisset* represents the future perfect indicative of *oratio recta* ("as soon as I am (shall have been) able").

4. *satis mature... petiurum*: "it would be time enough for him to stand for the consulship with his (Metellus') son". If this account is true, then Metellus was being purposely offensive, for a man could not legally hold the consulship before he was forty-three, which meant his son had twenty-three years to go, whereas Marius was already fifty. *contubernio patris ibidem militabat*: "was serving in Numidia (*ibidem*) on his father's personal staff"; the *contubernium* (lit. "living in the tent") was the period of military service spent by young men of noble birth in close attendance upon the commanding officer or some other officer of high rank, and was an important step in the direction of military, and therefore political, preferment. *pro honore quem adfectabat... accenderat*: "had spurred Marius on to gain the office which he was aiming at"; *pro* means literally "for", "in the direction of", hence "to gain".

5. *cupidine atque ira pessumis consultoribus*: "influenced by ambition and resentment, these worst of counsellors". *consultor* in Cicero means "one who asks advice", but Sallust uses it to mean "one who gives advice" (cf. 85, 47; 103, 7). Here, of course, it is used figuratively. *grassari*: "he pressed on"; frequentative verb from *grator*, and historic infinitive. *quod*

239

modo ambitiosum foret: "if only it would win him popularity"; this is a relative clause having a conditional force, the *quod* being equivalent to *si id. ambitiosum* here means "calculated to obtain popularity" and with this meaning is applied to things and not persons, *mitiſſes . . . laxiore imperio quam antea habere*: "was far less strict in discipline with the soldiers . . . than before" (lit. "held the soldiers with a more relaxed command"). If, as some believe, one of Sallust's chief aims in writing the Jugurtha was to exalt Marius and the success of his policy, then he is not going out of his way to further that aim in this passage where he describes the extent to which Marius' ambition and resentment have weakened his former strength of character. *negotiatores quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat*: Utica (see Map) was the oldest Phoenician settlement in North Africa, founded in 1100 B.C., and was always a flourishing port serving the Bagradas valley. Utica had supported Masinissa against Carthage in 149 and Rome had rewarded her with the lands of Carthage and had made her the capital of the Roman province of Africa: it was not long before Italian businessmen and merchants (*negotiatores*) had settled in large numbers in this thriving city; for further information see 65, 4. *criminoſe ſimul et magnifice de bello loqui*: "he spoke both slanderously and boastfully about the war"; i.e. he blamed Metellus for the lack of success and boasted that he would bring the war to a speedy end (as the next few clauses show). *dimidia . . . ſi ſibi permitteretur*: "(saying) if only half the army were entrusted to him". *trahi: ſupply bellum*, "the war was being prolonged". *homo inanis et regiae ſuperbiae*: "because as a man he was vain and given to tyrannical pride"; for the use of the genitive of quality see note on *aevi brevis*, 1, 1.

6. *illis eo firmiora videbantur*: "seemed the more trustworthy to them (the businessmen)"; i.e. "all this talk of Marius had the more effect upon the businessmen because (*quia . . .*)". *res familiares conruperant*: The subject of this verb is *omnia*, that is, all the things for which Metellus had been criticised by Marius "had brought ruin upon their businesses". *animo cupienti nihil ſatis feſtinatur*: "for the greedy spirit nothing moves fast enough"; i.e. "everything goes too slowly for men who are anxious to make money"; *nihil* is not the subject of *feſtinatur* which is an intransitive verb used impersonally ("there is haste"), but an accusative expressing the "extent of the action of the verb".

1. *Gauda Masinabalis filius*: as Jugurtha was himself (5, 7); see Genealogical Table. *secundum heredem*: "second heir" or "heir in the second degree"; this meant that if the *heres primus*, the person to whom the inheritance was to come first, were to die before he could receive it, or for any other reason fail to take it, then it passed to the "second heir". Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha had been joint heirs under Micipsa's will (9, 3), but Adherbal and Hiempsal had died without issue; hence, if Jugurtha were deposed, Gauda would receive Micipsa's realm. *morbis confectus et . . . mente . . . innumuta*: there seems little doubt that this relates to Gauda, and not to Micipsa as Scott-Kilvert (p. 63) has it (see § 3 *animus . . . validus*).

2. *cul . . . petenti . . . ut . . . poneret, item . . . turram equitum Romanorum*: "When this man petitioned that he might be allowed to sit . . . and also (requested) a squadron of Roman knights . . ."; *petenti* governs first an *ut*-clause "indirect petition" and then the accusative noun *turram*: in English another verb such as "requested" needs to be supplied with *turram*; *poneret* = *ponere liceret*. The first request, to be allowed to have a seat next to the consul, was meant to elicit from Metellus an acknowledgment of his claim to the throne of Numidia. The second had a similar motive behind it, for Roman knights served only in a Roman general's bodyguard (or as officers or orderlies), never as cavalry which were supplied by allies: for Metellus to have granted such a bodyguard to Gauda would have been tantamount to recognising him as King of Numidia. *more regnum: nuntio* to recognising him as King of Numidia. *quod . . . foret*: this must be taken with *poneret* not with *petenti*. *quod . . . foret*: "on the ground that it belonged only to those". This causal clause gives Metellus' reason for refusing the honour, and not the reason alleged by Sallust (when the *quod*-clause would have been indicative). *quos populus Romanus reges appellavisset*: subjunctive because the clause is a subordinate one in *oratio obliqua*: cf. *si . . . traderentur*. *appellare* was the word for formal recognition of kingship by Rome. *in eos: i.e.* the Roman knights who might be chosen for such a bodyguard. *satellites*: in apposition to *equites*, "as attendants".

3. *hunc Marius auxilium aggreſſitur*: "while he was brooding (*animum*) Marius approached him". *hortatur ut contumeliam . . . poenas petat*: "urged him to take his revenge . . . for those insults"; *contumeliam* is the "genitive of the matter involved" regularly used with expressions denoting punishment or vengeance. *in imperatorem*: "upon the general": take with

poenas petat. cum suo auxilio: when the ablative is used to denote the person or thing in association with whom, or with which, an action is carried out the preposition *cum* is regularly used. Translate here "and offered his help". *secunda oratione*: "with flattering words" [lit. "with a speech favourable (to Gauda's wishes)"]. *id adeo*: "and that this, indeed...": a frequent phrase of Sallust to introduce a further reason. *si...missus foret*: like *si...occisus foret*, this conditional clause in *oratio obliqua* represents the future perfect indicative of *oratio recta* ["if I am (shall have been) sent"].

4. *illum: i.e. Gauda. milites et negotiatores*: in apposition to *equites Romanos*: for the military duties of *equites* see § 2 above. The *negotiatores*, who were the bankers, merchants (*mercatores*), owners of warships and large estates, were Rome's important link with the provinces all over the world, and they absorbed the main business in all the Roman provinces up to the time of Caesar, when their activities were curtailed or much more rigidly controlled. Hence their importance to Marius, for they could exert considerable influence upon their powerful friends and relations (*necessarios*) at Rome who in turn could be valuable allies of Marius in his bid for the consulship.

5. *honestissima suffragatione*: "supporting him in most complimentary terms"; *suffragatio* means "support in a canvass for office" and *honestissima* (one of Sallust's rare uses of the superlative) means "conferring great honour" though *honestus* more regularly describes that which is "worthy of honour". *plebs*: he gained the support of the common people as well as of the middle class. *nobilitate fusa per legem Manilianam*: "when the nobles had been humbled (*fusa*) by the Law of Manilianus". This was the law that set in motion proceedings against those Romans who had acted in collusion with Jugurtha in the events in Numidia that had led to the dishonourable agreement made with Jugurtha by Aulus at Suthul. See 40 for details. *novos extollebat*: "(the people) were ready to advance 'new men'": note the use of the imperfect tense to express "intended" action. *Mario...procedere*: "went well for Marius"; note this frequent use of *procedere* by Sallust to mean "prosper"; "go well"; cf. 85, 5: *mea facta rei publicae procedunt*.

66

1. *omissa deditio*: "after abandoning his intention of surrendering". *clivitates...affectare*: "sought to win over

242

those states..."; *affectare* means "to exert oneself to obtain". *quae ab se defecerant*: "which had deserted him" (lit. "defected from him"). The use of *ab se* instead of *ab eo* suggests that this clause forms part of Jugurtha's thoughts while he is carrying out these activities; that is, that the clause is in virtual *oratio obliqua*: it would therefore have been more consistent to have put the verb in the subjunctive (*defecissent*), but Sallust's preference for the indicative has been noticed several times already. *formidine aut ostentando praemia*: "by threats or offers of reward"; lit. "by fearfulness (*i.e.* 'inspiring fear') or by holding out rewards". *spe pacis*: "in his hope of gaining peace"; *i.e.* when he had originally agreed to surrender to the Romans (62, 2), *reficere*: "he was restoring"; since Jugurtha had surrendered much of his armoury (62, 5), this must mean he actually manufactured new weapons, as well as bought them (*commerciat*). *servitia Romanorum*: "Roman slaves"; the abstract noun, *servitia*, is used for the concrete, *servos*: *servitia* in this context means literally the "body of servants". *eos ipsos: i.e.* the Roman soldiers themselves. *cuncta agitare*: "kept everything in a state of alarm"; *i.e.* for the Romans.

2. *Vagenses*: "The people of Vaga". *quo Metellus... praesidium imposuerat*: (see 47, 2): *quo* refers to Vaga which is contained in *Vagenses*: for the use of the adverb of "motion towards" with *imponere* see note on *huc*, 47, 2. For Vaga see note 29, 4. *fatigati regis supplicii*: "yielding to the king's entreaties"; *fatigati* qualifying *Vagenses* means "importuned persistently" and *supplicii* is ablative: for *supplicium* meaning an "entreaty" or "prayer" see note, 46, 2. *neque antea voluntate alienati*: "though they had not been ill-disposed towards him before this" (lit. "alienated in inclination"). *principes...constrant*: Sallust has changed the construction of this sentence: *Vagenses* began as subject of the sentence, but *principes* is now made subject of the main verb *constrant*. *fatigati* is equivalent to *fatigati sunt* and *et* is to be supplied before *principes*. *et maxime Numidarum*: "and particularly in the case of Numidians". *ingenio mobili*: ablative of quality, parallel to the adjectives *seditiosum* and *discordiosum*: "a fickle disposition and prone to rebellion and strife"; the *-osus* termination of adjectives is emphatic and indicates an excess of the quality described; *discordiosus* is an extremely rare word. *in diem tertium constituunt*: "they fixed their plan for the third day". J. Carcopino has conjectured that this should read *in diem Ceterum* (*Rev. Hist.* CLVIII 1923, 1) "upon the festival of Ceres", and the

243

date of this festival is recorded as 13th December, 109 B.C. This would fix the time of these operations. **quod is festus . . . ostentabat**: "because that day, being a holiday . . . gave a prospect of sport and frolic (to the Romans) rather than any cause for alarm".

3. **ubi tempus fuit**: "when the appointed time arrived". **praefectum oppidi T. Turpilius Silanum**: There is some uncertainty about the nature of Turpilius' command, but he was probably commander of the garrison posted there by Metellus (cf. 77, 1, where envoys came from the town of Lepcis asking Metellus to send a garrison and a *praefectus*). Plutarch (*Marius*, VIII) says that Turpilius was *praefectus fabrum* (*ῥαυ τεκτόνων ἔκων ἀρχὴν*), that is the officer in command of the *fabri*, the soldiers skilled in the repair of arms, and was put in charge of Vaga, also that Turpilius was a personal friend of Metellus, that he treated the townsfolk kindly and that it was for the latter reason that the citizens of Vaga spared his life. Plutarch says that it was because of Turpilius' friendship with Metellus that Marius, who officiated at his trial (69, 4), insisted upon his conviction on the charge of being in league with those who had massacred the Roman officers, and upon his immediate execution. **centuriones . . . alius altum domos suas invitavit**: "they invited centurions . . . to their several homes"; **alius altum** literally means "one man (inviting) another"; **miles palantes inermis**: "soldiers who were strolling about the streets unarmed"; **inermis**, elsewhere Sallust has the more usual form *inermis*.

4. **idem . . . facit**: "follow their example"; **edocti ab nobilitate**: "told to do so by the leading citizens"; **quis . . . ignorantibus**: "for though they knew nothing of what had been done or of the plan behind it" (lit. "to whom . . . ignorant of . . ."); **quis = quibus** (dative).

67

I. **improvisio metu incerti**: "disconcerted by the unexpected peril"; **metus** is the *cause* of fear rather than the fear itself, hence "peril", a meaning found more commonly in poetry than in prose. **ignarique quid potissimum facerent**: "and not knowing what best to do"; **potissimum** means "in preference to anything else"; the subjunctive is indirect deliberative. **arce . . . praesidium hostium, portae . . . fuga prohibebant**: lit. "a garrison of the enemy kept them from the citadel . . . the gates . . . from flight"; the ablative *arce* and *fuga* depend upon *prohibebant* of which *praesidium* and *portae* are respectively the subject; *eos*

244

must be supplied as the direct object. **pro tactis. pro** means "on the front of" and the expression means "from (the edge of) the roofs".

2. **neque caveri aniceps malum**: supply *posse*. "they could not protect themselves against the double danger", i.e. from the troops on the one hand barring their way to the citadel, and from the women and boys on the housetops. **neque . . . resisti posse**: "and brave men were powerless against their feeble assailants"; the construction is an impersonal one [lit. "nor was it possible to be resisted to the feeblest type of (enemy) by the bravest men"]; notice Sallust's use of the superlative here to give especial emphasis to the situation. He is generally sparing in his use of superlatives. **iuxta . . . obtruncare**: "without distinction good soldiers and bad, the valiant and the cowardly, were cut down with none to avenge them" (lit. "unavenged").

3. **saevissumis Numidis**: "when the Numidians were in a frenzy"; ablative absolute, lit. "the Numidians being most savage". **intactus profugit**: "escaped untouched", i.e. escaped death, not escaped from the town. **miseriordia** is ablative of cause "because of the mercy". **id misericordiane hospitibus . . . ita evenerit**: "whether he owed his life to his host's mercy". **aut casu**: Some MSS give *an casu* where *an* is the more regular conjunction for "or" in indirect questions. **parum comperimus**: "I have been unable to discover", though, as has been indicated (66, 3), Plutarch was in no doubt as to the reason for Turpilius' escape. **nisi . . . improbus instestabilisque videtur**: *instestabilis* was a legal term used of a person who was incapable by reason of misconduct of being a witness in a court of law or of making a will; hence, it was used more loosely to mean "infamous" or "despicable". **illi . . . turpis vita integra fama potior fuit**: lit. "to him . . . a disgraceful life was more important than an unspiced reputation"; i.e. "he preferred to live disgraced . . . than to die with an unspiced reputation"; *integra fama*, ablative of comparison.

68

I. **ubi ira et aegritudo permixta sunt**: "when anger began to mingle with his distress"; note the use of the passive voice of a transitive verb (*permiscere*) to gain an intransitive force; the neuter plural (*permixta*) is often used in the predicate to refer to two or more feminine abstract nouns acting as the subject. **ultimum**: supine of *ulascor* used after the verb of motion *ire* to express purpose, "to avenge"; it governs *inimicas*.

245

2. *pariter cum occasu solis*: "just as the sun set" (lit. "equally with..."). *expeditos*: "all lightly equipped", and applies to *legionem* as well as *equites*. *circiter hora tertia*: *i.e.* after sunrise, about nine o'clock in the morning. *hora tertia*: is ablative of "time when" and *circiter* is an adverb: as a preposition it governs the accusative case.

3. *milites... iam abnuentes omnia docet*: "he told the soldiers... now disinclined for any further exertion" (lit. "giving up everything", a rare use of *abnuerē*). *non amplius mille passuum*: "not more than a mile"; *quam* is generally omitted after *amplius*; *mille* is usually an adjective, but here it is treated as a noun and governs a genitive like the plural *milia*. *deceere illos*: "(he said) that they ought", lit. "it befitted them". *dum pro civibus suis... poenas caperent*: "if only (provided that) they could take vengeance on behalf of their citizens"; when *dum* has this meaning it always takes the subjunctive. *praedam benigne ostentat*: "he made liberal promises about the spoil"; (lit. "he held the spoil out to them generously").

4. *in primo*: supply *agmina*. *late*: "in open order". *quam arissume*: "in the closest possible order".

69

1. *ubi animum advortere*: "when the people of Vaga observed..."; *advortere* is third person plural of the perfect indicative active not historic infinitive: the historic infinitive in a subordinate clause is very rare, though Sallust does use it in 98, 2, and 100, 4. Sallust uses the older expression for "observe" (*animum advortere*) which occurs mostly in antique classical writings: from this the verb *animadvertere* developed. *ad se vorsum*: see note 58, 4. *ubi... Numidas equites vident*: supply *esse*; see 68, 2. *itursum*: not "again" for they had not thought so before: literally it means "turned backwards", hence "changing their opinion".

2. *volgum*: rarely masculine, as here and 73, 5. *ira... posse*: "anger and the prospect of plunder had more influence with them (*amplius... posse*) than their weariness"; *i.e.* these feelings made them forget their weariness.

3. *ex perfidia laetati*: supply *sunt*; *ex* means "after", "rejoiced after their treachery". *civitas... cuncta*: *cuncta* is the nominative feminine adjective agreeing with *civitas*. *poenae aut praedae fuit*: "was given up to punishment or plunder"; these are predicative datives, but *poenae* is very strange in such a usage.

4. *supra*: see 67, 4. *sese parum expurgat*: "failed to clear himself", *i.e.* could not explain satisfactorily why he had been spared by the citizens when all the other Roman soldiers had been massacred. *capite poenas solvit*: "he was beheaded". *nam is civis ex Latino erat*: *nam* explains *verberans*. There is no parallel for the phrase *civis ex Latino* and the usual expression is *est nominis Latini*: Capes (p. 286) thinks that it is equivalent to *civis Latinus*, though this is a very rare expression. By a law passed by M. Porcius Cato, when praetor (198 B.C.) the scourging of genuine Roman citizens was prohibited (cf. *Acts* 22, 25-29, when the apostle Paul questioned the centurion's right to scourge him since he was a Roman citizen, and alarmed the chief captain who had bound him without trial). This exemption had been extended to the Latins by a law of M. Livius Drusus (122 B.C.; see Plutarch *C. Gracchus*, IX) but this seems to have been disregarded.

70

1. *cuus impulsu*: "by whose influence". *suspectus regi*: "suspected by the king"; *regi* is dative of agent quite commonly used with the past participle of verbs instead of the ablative of agent. *ipse... suspiciens*: only the past participle of *suspiciere* generally bears the meaning of "suspect"; here Sallust uses the present participle with that meaning, as though it were *suspectans*. *ad perniciem eius*: "to bring about Jugurtha's ruin". *fatigare animum*: "tracked his brain".

2. *omnia temptando*: The ablative gerund is here used with the force of the present participle (*temptans*), "in the course of trying every device"; Livy uses it in this way (cf. VIII, 17, 1). But it is more common in post-Augustan prose; cf. 103, 2. *Bocchus, seu reputando*: (= *reputans*). *seorsum... ductare*: "to lead an army separately from the king"; *i.e.* "he often (*plurimae*) used to exercise independent command of troops". This almost certainly means that he was given such command by Jugurtha; the rest of the sentence indicates that the king was in the habit of giving Nabdala important responsibilities when he could not attend to them himself. *quae Jugurthae... superaverant*: "which had been too much for Jugurtha when he was tired or engaged in more important matters"; *superare* as in 64, 1 is intransitive and *Jugurthae* is dative; *maioribus adstricto*: supply *rebus* (lit. "occupied with greater things"). *III gloria... inventae*: supply *sunt* "he gained fame and wealth" (lit. "were gained for him"), *illi* being a dative of advantage.

3. *uti res posceret*: "as circumstances dictated"; the verb is subjunctive because the clause is within *oratio obliqua* depending upon *placuit* (*oratio recta*): *uti res posceret* "as circumstances will dictate"; hence, the imperfect subjunctive represents the future indicative of *oratio recta*. *ex tempore*: "on the spot"; "at the time", *i.e.* without previous arrangement; hence the English word "extempore" meaning "without preparation", often used in such expressions as "an extempore speech". *placuit*: supply *est*, "it pleased them"; *i.e.* "they decided".

4. *exercitum... quem inter hiberna... habebat*: Nabdalsa kept an army moving about between the various points where the Roman forces were spending the winter. *inultis hostibus*: ablative absolute, lit. "the enemy being unpunished"; *i.e.* "without the enemy suffering for it"; see note 58, 5.

5. *ad tempus*: "at the appointed time". *metus*: *i.e.* Nabdalsa's fear. *rem impediēbat*: "prevented the execution of the plan". *timore soci anxius, ne... timore* is ablative of cause; a *ne*-clause with the subjunctive is regular after expressions of fear or anxiety (here *anxius*). *quis*: alternative form for ablative plural (= *quibus*). *accusare, testari, monere*: historic infinitives; note that they are in a relative clause, whereas they are generally confined to main clauses: see note 69, 1. *per quos iuravisset*: "by whom Nabdalsa had sworn"; the subjunctive is that of virtual *oratio obliqua*, and implies that the clause was contained in Bonnicar's letter ("by whom you swore?"). *praemia Metelli*: "the rewards that Metellus offered"; *Metelli* is subjective genitive; in this use of the case the genitive denotes the author of the activity implied in *praemia*. *in pestem*: "to his own destruction". *Iugurthae... esse*: supply a verb of "saying"; as often in Sallust a change in the type of *oratio obliqua* is made without its being indicated by a change in the verb governing the indirect speech. *suave... periret, id modo agitari*: "that the only question was whether he should die by their bold action (*virtute*) or by that of Metellus"; *sua* corresponds to *nostra* of *oratio recta*. *reputaret... praemia an cruciatum mallet*: "let him consider... whether he preferred rewards or torture"; note that the first part of an indirect question sometimes has no *utrum* or *-ne* ("whether?") to introduce it.

71

1. *cum cae litterae adlatas*: supply *sunt*; "at the moment when that letter was delivered"; when *cum* merely defines the time of an event the indicative is used with it; cf. 31, 20.

248

2. *uti... solet*: supply *capere* to govern the accusative *agrum animi*, but translate "as is usual when the mind is weary". *cepit*: "overcame him"; however, *circa* is subject of *cepit*, as well as *somnus*, and it is best to supply another verb with *circa* in translation, *i.e.* "at first he was beset with anxiety".

3. *negotiorum curator*: "secretary". *omnium... participes*: "had shared in all his plans except this latest one"; *particeps* is an adjective (lit. "sharing?") and is regularly construed with a genitive.

4. *adlatas*: supply *esse*. *ratus opera aut ingenio suo opus esse*: "thinking that there would be (lit. 'was') need of his services or advice (lit. 'talent')..."; *opera* and *ingenio* are the regular ablative governed by *opus esse*.

5. *rem omnem... cognovit*: "realised exactly what had happened"; lit. "perceived the whole matter, as it had happened"; *uti acta erat* defines *rem*. *dicit quae ipse paravisset... praeventa*: supply *esse* with *praeventa*; it is usual to omit the antecedent when it is the same case (here, *ed*, neuter plural accusative) as the relative: "he said that what he had been ready to do (*i.e.* give information) had been anticipated by his disloyal retainer". *per*: "in the name of", commonly used in oaths. *fideliter acta*: "loyal services"; lit. "things faithfully carried out". *super tali scelere*: "of such a crime"; *super* is here equivalent to *de*: this is very rare in prose. Sallust uses it so only this once. *ne... suspectum sese haberet*: "not to suspect him", but literally "not to consider him suspected". The use of the participle in the predicate after the verb *habere* illustrates the beginning of the use of *habere* as an auxiliary verb with the participle to form the compound perfect "I have suspected"; however, it never became an accepted tense form in literary Latin.

72

1. *rex aliter atque animo gerebat placide respondit*: lit. "the king replied mildly, otherwise than he felt in mind"; *i.e.* he "gave a courteous reply, concealing his real feelings"; *atque* (or *ac*) is used to mean "than" (or "as?") after adjectives and adverbs of likeness and unlikeness (cf. *idem ac* "the same as?"); *gerebat* is here used absolutely. *iram obpresserat*: "he curbed his anger"; the use of the pluperfect with the meaning of the perfect (aorist) is not uncommon in early Latin, but rare in classical prose outside Sallust (cf. *Car. XXIV, 1* and *LVI, 2*). It breaks the continuity of the narrative and introduces a statement as an

249

after-thought. *nequa*... *seditio* *oreterit*: "for fear any rebellion might break out"; *nequa* = *ne qua*, "lest any" where *qua* is the nominative feminine singular of the indefinite adjective (*qui, quae* or *quod*) meaning "any" after *si, nisi, num, or ne*.

2. *post id locorum*: see note 63, 6. *neque*... *satis credere*: "and he put little trust in"; *credere* governs the datives *places*, lit. "at one or another place". *contra decus regnum; loco*, etc., and is historic infinitive, as are all the infinitives that follow. These give expression to Jugurtha's nervous state of mind. As Capes (p. 287) has pointed out, the whole description is highly rhetorical and Sallust was unlikely to have known much about it. *circumspectare omnia*: "kept his eyes on everything", i.e. "was always on the watch" for any plot against him. *alio atque alio loco*... *requiescere*: "rested... in different places", i.e. "was always on the watch". *tumultum facere*: "would raise an alarm". *formidine*... *agitari*: "was hounded by a fear verging on madness"; cf 99, 3: *terror quasi vecordia*.

73

1. *de... indicio patefacto*: The context shows that this means "concerning the discovery of the plot" but the expression is a very strange one, for *indicium* means "information" or "discovery of information" and *patefacto* means "to disclose". *tantumquam ad integrum bellum*: "as if for a new war"; *integrum* implies a war in which little progress has been made; hence, it would be like beginning it all over again.

2. *fatigantem de profectioe*: "wearying him with requests for leave of absence". *et invitum et offensum sibi*: "a man who was both discontented (lit. reluctant to serve him) and resentful towards himself". *domum dimittit*: According to Plutarch (*Marius*, VIII, 4) Metellus dismissed Marius only twelve days before the consular elections, Marius making the long journey from Africa to Rome in two days and one night. There is no indication in Sallust's narrative that events have reached the summer of 108 when the elections would be held, and everything points to a time much earlier in the year.

3. *litteris*... *cognitis*... *acceptant*: "on learning of the letters which had been sent about Metellus and Marius, had readily believed the assertions made about both of them"; *litteris*... *cognitis* is ablative absolute, and *acceptant* requires an object such as *omnia* to be supplied; *volenti animo* is ablative of manner, this being the usual form of the ablative-participle when used as an epithet. For these letters see 65, 4-5.

250

4. *imperatorii nobilitas*... *invidiae esse, at illi*... *humilitas favorem addiderat*: "The commander's noble birth... became a source of unpopularity whereas the other's humble origin had now won him popularity"; *imperatorii* and *illi alteri* are datives of possession (*illi* is little more than an article, as often in Sallust, cf. *illum* 13, 1, *illum* 16, 5). *esse* is an historic infinitive. *in utroque*... *moderata*: "in both cases it was party feeling rather than the good or bad qualities of the men that influenced them"; *sua* refers to Marius and Metellus, though they are not the subject of the sentence; *moderata* requires *sunt* to be supplied as well as an object (*eos*): it is the past participle (active) of the deponent verb *moderari* "rule"; "guide"; hence "influence".

5. *seditioni magistratus*: "rebellious magistrates", i.e. tribunes of the people (cf. *Car. XXXVIII, 1*). *capitis accessere*: "charged Metellus with treason"; *capitis* is the genitive of the penalty sought, i.e. Metellus' "life"; cf. 32, 1. *Mari*... *celebrare*: "exaggerated Marius' virtues", lit. "extolled to a greater degree (than was warranted)".

6. *quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant*: "whose property and credit depended upon the labour of their hands"; *sitas* is the past participle of *sino* used as an adjective meaning "situated" or "resting" and with *esse* means "to depend upon". *uti... relicta operibus frequentarent Marium*: "that they left their work and followed Marius about"; i.e. during his electoral campaign. *sua necessaria*... *ducent*: "considered their own needs as less important than his advancement"; the point is that if they went about with Marius during his canvassing for the consulship they would be neglecting their work which was the only means of their gaining a livelihood.

7. *pericula nobilitate*: "the nobility were defeated and..."; *pericula* is from *pericello* which means "overturn" or "upset"; the English word "worsted" most nearly conveys the meaning of the Latin past participle. *post multas tempestates*: "after the lapse of many years"; *tempestas* is a "period of time"; the last *novus homo* to be elected consul was Marcus Perperna in 130 B.C. *populus*... *rogatus quem vellet*: It was not the practice for the popular assembly to interfere with the allotment of provinces to the consuls, which was usually dealt with by the Senate, but this did sometimes happen; according to Livy (XXX, 27) the tribunes of 202 B.C. put this same question to the people (*quem vellet in Africa bellum gerere*). *ea res frustra fuit; ea res* relates to *paulo*... *decreverat* "but their action was overruled" (lit. "in vain"). For the allotment of the province to Metellus

251

by the Senate, see note 62, 10. The words *ane*... *Numidian* are not in the best MSS, only in interpolated ones, but something of the kind must have existed here.

74

1. *eodem tempore*: another example of Sallust's vagueness in chronology. He clearly means "at the same time" as the events of the previous chapter. Yet these events would have taken place during, or later than, the summer season 108, whereas the events to be described appear to belong to the beginning of the campaigning season, i.e. the Spring of 108. *Jugurtha*... cum... *posset et... duceret, varius, incertusque agitabat*: a rather involved sentence complicated by a parenthetic relative clause which itself has a change of subject (first *ipse* and then *ceteri*, the latter having a *pars*... *ab* construction within it). The best way to translate such a sentence is to break it up into at least two sentences: "By this time Jugurtha had lost all his friends, for he had himself put to death the majority of them, and the others had taken refuge either with the Romans or with King Bocchus. Therefore, since it was impossible for the war to be conducted without officers..." Even in the *cum*-clause there is a change of subject, *bellum* being the subject of *posset* and *Jugurtha* ("he") the subject of *duceret* "considered". *novorum fidem*... *experiri periculosum duceret*: "and considered it dangerous to try the loyalty of new friends when his old ones had proved so treacherous"; *in* here, as often, means "in view of" and has almost a causal force. *varius incertusque agitabat*: "he lived in doubt and uncertainty"; *agitabat* is intransitive, as frequently in Sallust. *neque... res neque consilium aut quisquam*: "there was no measure, no plan, nor any of his men..."; *aut* is used to carry on the preceding negatives: this is first found in Cicero but became more common later. *dubitare virtuti an fidei*... *crederet*: lit. "he was uncertain whether to trust the courage of the people less or their loyalty"; i.e. "both the courage of his people and their loyalty seemed equally suspect to him". *quocumque intenderat*: "in whatever direction he turned his thoughts"; *intenderat* is frequently used absolutely by Sallust: here *animum* is understood in the meaning of the verb, cf. 25, 10. *res adversae erant*: "everything was against him".

3. *certatim*: supply *est*: "they put up some resistance"; *aliquanto numero*: "a considerable number"; the ablative

252

regularly governed by *potior*: *aliquanto* is here an adjective (*aliquantus*, *a. imi*) but it is generally used as a noun meaning "a considerable quantity", cf. 62, 5. *hostium*... *potiti*: *potiti* here governs the genitive, whereas it has just governed the ablative *numero*: this is another example of Sallust's love of variety. *magis pedes quam arma tuta sunt*: lit. "their feet are safer than their weapons"; S. A. Handford (p. 108) conveys Sallust's dry humour in his translation of this sentence: "for in almost any battle the Numidians find that their legs protect them better than their weapons". *tuta* is made to agree with *arma*, but it also qualifies *pedes*.

75

1. *ea fuga*: ablative of cause, "because of this defeat". *impensius modo*: see note 47, 3. *rebus suis diffidens*: "being in despair over his plight". *Thalamus*: Thala cannot be identified with any certainty. In 77 a deputation is said to have come from Lepis (Magnus) after Metellus had captured Thala: this would suggest that Thala is somewhere in the south-eastern part of Numidia not too far from Lepis. To the east of Capsa some old ruins still bear the name of Thala and the position and neighbourhood suit the description of this chapter, much more than the Thala farther to the north (N.W. of Sufes); see Map. *filiorum... multus pueritiae cultus erat*: "where his young sons were brought up in splendid fashion" (lit. "much elegant provision for the early training of his sons"); this seems to mean that there was a large establishment at Thala for the training of the young princes in a manner befitting their high station, i.e. women, slaves, and other attendants who waited upon them.

2. *quae postquam Metello comperta sunt*: "When Metellus learned of this"; lit. "found out by (or 'for') Metellus"; *Metello* being the dative of the person interested in the action, sometimes called the dative of agent when used with the perfect passive tense. *in spatio milium quinquaginta*: with *milium* supply *passuum*: lit. "in a space of fifty miles", i.e. "extending over a distance of". *Metellus* was not far from this river, as § 6 indicates. *loca arida atque vasta*: The land around Thala (near Capsa) is one of the most barren parts of Tunisia. *si eius oppidi potius foret*: This clause is in fact an open conditional clause in *oratio obliqua* implied by the preceding phrase *spe partandi belli* (= *quod speravit se bellum parturum esse*); the pluperfect subjunctive

253

(*potius foret = potius esset*) represents the future perfect indicative of *oratio recta*: it governs the genitive here instead of the ablative, the more usual case; "yet in the hope of ending the war by getting possession of that city", *supervadere*: "to surmount", a very rare word. *aggreditor*: "he undertook" or "determined", a not uncommon meaning of the verb when it takes an infinitive.

3. *sarcinis levavi*: "to be relieved of their luggage", *sarcinis* being ablative of separation. *frumento*: ablative, in apposition to *sarcinis*; governs the genitive *dierum decem*, "except corn for ten days", *i.e.* "ten days' rations of grain".

4. *domiti pecoris*: "domestic animals"; the collective singular is used, being partitive genitive governed by *plurimum*; cf. *aguae*, § 5. *eo*: the adverb, though referring to *pecoris*: "on them".

5. *ubi praesto fuerint*: "where they were to be at hand", *i.e.* "to present themselves" with the water; *fuerint* is the perfect subjunctive of *oratio obliqua* governed by *praedicit* representing the future perfect indicative of *oratio recta* (*ubi... fuerint*). In historic sequence the pluperfect subjunctive would normally represent the future perfect but the historic present *praedicit* may govern primary sequence if the writer so wishes.

6. *ex flumine, quam*: *quam* refers to *flumine* but is attracted to the gender of *aquam*. *ad Thaliam*: see note 57, 1.

7. *ad id loci*: "to that place"; *loci* is a partitive genitive, and the use is the same as *ad id locorum* of 63, 6, except that *loci* is here used in the sense of "place", not of "time" or "circumstances". *tanta... missa vis aquae dicitur*: supply *esse* with *missa*. *ea modo*: "that alone", *i.e.* the water obtained from the downpour was sufficient without the water supplied by the Numidians. *commeatus*: "the supply", *i.e.* of water.

8. *sicuti plerique in nova deditioe*: "like most people whose surrender is still recent"; this is an unusual meaning of *novus*. *officia intendantur*: "he stretched their services", *i.e.* "had done more than was asked of them".

9. *religione pluvia magis usi*: supply *sunt* with *usi*, "preferred to use (lit. 'used rather') the rain-water from feelings of religious awe"; *religione* is ablative of cause, and *pluvia* the ablative regularly governed by *utor*: "Religious motives led the soldiers to prefer...". *ea... res*: "its fall", *i.e.* the fall of the rain. *rati*: supply *sunt*. *sese... curae esse*: "that they were under the protecting care of the gods"; lit. "for a care to", *curae* being predicative dative.

10. *locorum asperitate*: "by the inaccessibility of the country". *percussis*: participle used with concessive force: "though amazed by...".

76

1. *infectum*: "impossible", a less common meaning of the adjective (usually meaning "unaccomplished"). *quippe qui... industria vicerat*: "inasmuch as he had overcome by his energy...": for *quippe qui* with the indicative see note 7, 6. *arma tela: arma* signified arms for defence or close fighting, *tela* weapons used for fighting at a distance; *i.e.* "missiles and other weapons". *natura... ceteris imperitantem*: "nature herself who ruled all other mortals". The frequentative *imperitare* is not common in literature until after the Augustan period, though Sallust uses it five times in this work. *amplius uno die*: the more regular construction would be *amplius unum diem* where the accusative expresses duration of time. *posse*: supply *se*. *talia consilia: i.e.* the plots against him. *capit*: dependent on *parabat*: "for he thought that such plots required (lit. were formed only when there was) leisure and opportunity".

2. *proelio intentos*: "eager for battle": *proelio* is most probably dative, though an ablative is also used with *intentus*: see 44; 3 *expectatione... intentos*: cf. 89, 3.

3. *locis... idoneis*: "in the most suitable places that he could find"; *ex capia* means "according to the circumstances": cf. 39, 5. *aggerem*: The *agger* was a mound built up to the walls of a beleaguered city by the besieging army, so that huge movable towers could be brought along it into a position from which the assailants could drive the defenders from the wall, and cross into the city by means of drawbridges let down from the towers. *administratos*: The word is used particularly of military engineers, but here it means the men occupied with the siege, *i.e.* those working the battering rams or scaling the walls.

4. *nilhil relicum fieri*: "nothing was left undone". This phrase normally means "nothing was left behind" (= *nilhil relictum est*) but here Sallust uses it as the equivalent of *nilhil omisum est* "nothing was neglected".

5. *multo ante labore... fatigati*: lit. "fatigued by the much previous toil and the battles", *i.e.* the toil and fighting which occurred during the siege before the fall of the city: *ante* is hardly necessary; it is used here virtually as an epithet, a common use of such adverbs in Greek (cf. *ῥᾶν ἤντιν κωκῶν*: "of the previous evils"). *oppido modo*: "nothing but the town", ablative

PART III

NOTES

governed by *potiri*. *conrupta*: "destroyed", as § 6: *ignis consumpsum*.

6. *alia quae prima ducuntur*: "other valuables"; lit. "other things which were considered valuable ('first')". *Hiague*: i.e. their treasures. *victi*: this participle has a conditional force, "if they were defeated"; "in the event of defeat".

77

1. *pariter cum capta Thala*: "at the same time as the capture of Thala"; see note 68, 2. *Lepti*: For Leptis Magna see Map, and 78, 1. *praefectumque*: "and an officer to command it". *Hannicarem . . . studere*: "(saying that) a certain nobleman named Hannicars, who was given to intriguing (*factosum*), was plotting to seize power" (lit. "was striving after a new government"). *valeret*: "were effective"; normal subjunctive of a subordinate clause in *oratio obliqua*. *ni id festinaret*: "unless he acted promptly in this matter"; *id* is an internal accusative; many verbs which are otherwise intransitive take an accusative denoting some external manifestation of the action [see Woodcock, § 13 (3)-(iv), pp. 8 and 9].

2. *iam inde a principio*: "at the very beginning . . ."; *inde* is redundant, being explained by *a principio*, but it is nearly always found in combination with *iam* to mean "from that time".

3. *ubi ea impetrata*: supply *sunt*, "and when their requests (lit. 'those things') were granted"; i.e. that a garrison be sent to Leptis along with a *praefectus*. *nave*: "diligently"; a rare form of the adverb from *nautis*, the usual form being *nautiter*.

78

1. *id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est*: Leptis Magna was the easternmost of the three cities of Tripolitania, the other two being Sabrara and Oea (the modern Tripoli). Sailors from Sidon (in Phoenicia) founded Leptis about the sixth century B.C. in rich agricultural country. It traded in goods brought from the Fezzan in the south and exported corn and oil. A bitter trade jealousy resulted in hostility with Oea and this lasted even when both had been included in the Roman province of Africa; as late as A.D. 70 Oea joined with the Garamantes in an attack upon Leptis. The emperor Septimus Severus (A.D. 193-211) beautified Leptis, his native city, with ornate public buildings, and during the third century it was very prosperous. In the fourth century it was sacked by marauding tribes from the Fezzan in the south. Though re fortified by the Byzantines, it was soon after destroyed by the

256

Berbers. The ruins of Leptis are the most extensive and imposing in Roman Africa, including amongst other things a hippodrome seating 50,000, baths, forum, theatre, and amphitheatre. *duas Syrtes*: The Greater Syrtis, modern gulf of Sidra and the Lesser Syrtis, modern gulf of Gabès, are bays in which the tide has some influence. They are obstructed by shifting sand-banks which accumulate as the result of the currents of the outer sea; parts of the banks are uncovered at low water. Legends, possibly propagated to protect Phoenician trade-monopoly, exaggerated the dangers of these bays which did not seem to hamper Phoenician commerce in Tripolitania. To the west, Meninx, the modern island of Djerba, which was the mythical island of the Lotus-eaters, did a prosperous trade in purple dye. Lucan's description of the Syrtis in *De bello civili* IX, 303 ff., gives some idea of the "respect" which the Romans had for these waters; also, cf. *Acts* 27, 17. *quibus . . . inditum*: "whose name is derived from their nature"; *re*, lit. "facts of their case" (see § 3).

2. *in extrema Africa*: see note 17, 3. *pari natura*: ablative of quality. *proxima terrae*: "the parts near the coast" (lit. "nearest to the land"). *tulit*: "has brought it about"; this absolute use of *fero* is derived from such phrases as *id quod fors tulit*, "what fortune has caused".

3. *ubi . . . coepit*: "whenever the sea begins"; when *ubi* means "whenever" it is used with the perfect indicative in primary time, pluperfect in historic time. *magnum esse*: "to run high"; "to rise". *saevire ventis*: "to be whipped into a fury by the winds"; strictly, *ventus* is ablative of cause ("to rage because of the winds"). *trahunt*: "sweep about". *Syrtis ab tractu nominatae*: "The name Syrtis comes from this sweeping action". Sallust derives the name of the Syrtis, in accordance with the ideas of the Greek geographers, from the Greek verb *σφραίνω* (*sphrainō*) meaning "to sweep"; referring to the mud and sand swept along by the changing currents.

4. *eius civitatis lingua modo*: "only the language of that state" (i.e. Leptis). *conubio Numidarum*: "by intermarriage with the Numidians"; *Numidarum* is oblique genitive; see note *praemia Metelli* 70, 5. *legum cultusque pleraque Sionicae*: supply *sunt*; *pleraque* is here a neuter plural pronoun meaning "the greatest part"; hence it governs the genitives *legum* and *cultus*: "their laws and civilisation are for the most part Sidonian". *regis*: i.e. of Numidia. *frequentem Numidiam*: "the populous part of Numidia".

B. I.

257

9

1. *eam rem nos locus admonuit*: "the place has reminded me of this event"; verbs of remembering, forgetting, and reminding usually govern an accusative of the person and a genitive of the thing, but an accusative of the thing of which one is reminded is used when this is indicated by a neuter pronoun or adjective, or similar expression (as *eam rem*, here). This may be looked upon as a cognate accusative; see note on *ni id festinare*, 77, 1.

2. *pleraque Africa*: local ablative. It is usual in classical Latin for the preposition *in* to be used with the name of a country, but in ante-classical and colloquial Latin it seems frequently to have been omitted. The singular *pleraque* is rare in prose outside Sallust's works: cf. 18, 12. *Cyrenenses*: for Cyrene see note 19, 3. The hostility of Carthage to Cyrene was part of her general policy to keep Greek traders out of her waters. Herodotus tells how Darius, the Spartan (sixth century B.C.), had founded a colony on the River Cinyps (now the Cinifo) which flowed through a very fruitful region in Libya between the two Syrtis, but was driven out by the Carthaginians (Herod. V, 42).

3. *ager*... *una specie*: supply *erat*, "between the two states lay a sandy and featureless plain". *qui fines eorum discernere*: "to serve as a boundary to their territories": a consecutive relative clause "so that it divided their territories". *habuit*: "kept"; cf. 94, 3.

4. *alteri alteros aliquantum adriverant*: "they had considerably impaired each other's strength". *alius*: "some one else", i.e. "some fresh enemy". *sponsorum factum*, *ut*... *proficiscerentur*: "come to an agreement that... envoys should set out...": this *ut*-clause is a final noun clause (indirect command): it is to be observed that many expressions other than actual verbs of commanding can introduce an indirect command if an original direct command or jussive subjunctive is being reported: here the original direct form would be *legati proficiscantur*, "let envoys set out". *quo in loco*... *fussent*, *is*... *haberetur*: "that the spot where they met should be treated as the common frontier of the two peoples"; *fussent* represents the future perfect indicative of the original *oratio recta* ["where they (shall have met) meet"]: *quo in loco fuerint* and *haberetur* is subjunctive of indirect command.

5. *quibus nomen Philaenis erat*: *Philaenis* is dative, attracted into the case of the relative instead of being the nominative complement of *women*: this is so common as to be regarded as

regular Latin idiom. *pergere*: is more commonly used with an object clause, and only rarely with a noun in the accusative.

6. *parum cognovi*: "I have not sufficiently ascertained"; i.e. "I cannot say for sure". *solet*... *retinere*: "often causes delay"; i.e. to travellers. *ubi*... *loca*... *nuda gignentium ventus*... *excitavit*: "when the wind rises on those level and barren plains it sweeps up the sand from the ground"; for *ubi* with the perfect indicative see note 78, 3. *gignentium* is the genitive neuter plural of the present participle of *gigno* used as a noun with the meaning of "things that grow"; hence, *nuda gignentium* means "bare of trees, etc."; "barren": the expression recurs in 93, 4. *ea*: i.e. the sand, subject of *solet*. *morari*: still dependent upon *solet* and governs *iter*, "delays one's journeying".

7. *aliquanto posteriores*: lit. "considerably behind", but it is clear from what follows that the two parties have met, and this phrase must therefore mean, "considerably behind" the Carthaginians in miles covered; "considerably outdistanced". *ob rem corruptam*: "on account of the matter being ruined". i.e. "because of their mismanagement of the affair". *domi poenas dandi* is practically equivalent to an adjective: "punishment when they returned". *digressos*: supply *esse*; "they accused the Carthaginians of having left home (lit. 'that they had left...'). *rem conturbare*: "confused the issue"; i.e. "they refused to abide by the agreement".

8. *tantum modo aequam*: "so long as it was fair". *Graeci*: The Cyrenians were of Greek origin, see 19, 3. *optinonem Carthaginiensium faciunt*: lit. "make it the choice of the Carthaginians"; i.e. "gave the Carthaginians the choice". This then governs first a final noun clause, *ut*... *obvenerint* and then an accusative and infinitive construction, *esse*... *processuros*. *illi*: i.e. the Carthaginians. *quos fines*... *petere*: "which they claimed as the boundary of their country" (lit. "for their people"; dative of advantage). The antecedent to *quos* is the *ibi* of the following clause which is equivalent to *eo loco*, but the plural *quos* is attracted into the number of *fines*. *eadem conditione*: of being buried alive there. *processuros*: i.e. so as to fix the boundary nearer to Carthage.

10. *Philaenis fratibus aras*: Hence, the name of the place, *Philaenon arae* (see 19, 3). Although Strabo (III, 5) and Pliny (V, 5) both speak of the altars of the Philaeni, they give no definite description of them: they could have been mounds of earth or huge blocks of stone with a horizontal impost like those

of Stonehenge, some of which are to be found in the hills near Tripoli.

1. *postquam amissa Thala... putat*: see note on *omissa delitio*, 66, 1 and for *postquam* with the historic present see note 76, 6. *nihil satis firmum*: supply *esse*, "nothing was strong enough"; "nothing could resist". *per magnas solitudines... ad Gaetulos*: The Gaetuli peoples inhabited the vast area stretching from the Saharan Atlas mountains in the west to the great plains of Southern Tunisia in the east. This is a hot dry desert area, relieved only occasionally by oases where cultivation is possible. The Gaetuli were nomads, as are the people who inhabit the region to-day: see 18.

2. *eorum multitudinem in unum cogit*: "he gathered together a large number of them in one place": as already indicated (§ 1), being nomadic tribes they would be scattered over a large area. *consuefacit ordines habere*: "trained them to keep ranks". Jugurtha was trying to make them into a regular army of the Roman fashion. Jugurtha would have learnt a great deal about Roman military discipline when he had fought under Scipio at Numantia.

3. *regis Bocchi proximos*: "King Bocchus' closest friends". For Bocchus see 19, 7 and below, § 5. *magnis numeribus et maioribus promissis*: "by lavish presents and by promises of more lavish gifts to come". *ad studium sui perducti*: "enlisted their support"; lit. "he led them over to support for himself": *sui* is an objective genitive commonly used with *studium*.
4. *ea gratia*: = *eius rei gratia*, "for this reason" (*gratia* = for the sake of), cf. 54, 4; this is explained by the *quod*-clause. *pettum*: supine of purpose, "to ask for".

5. *quis omnia... vendere mos erat*: lit. "for whom it was the custom to sell everything..."; i.e. "who had become accustomed to making money out of every political issue...". *Jugurthae filia Bocchi nupserat*: *Jugurthae* dative regularly governed by *nubo*: although the best MSS have *Boccho* (and *Ligurthae* is then genitive), Plutarch says that Jugurtha was Bocchus' son-in-law (*Marius* X; *Sulla* III), and so does L. Annaeus Florus, the historian of the second century A.D. (II, 1, 17).

6. *ea necessitudo*: "such a tie (of family connection)"; from the basic idea of "necessary connection" in *necessitudo* comes the idea of relationship, "family connection". *eo amplius*: "a still

greater number"; i.e. because as kings they had greater means (ref. to *pro opibus quisque*). *ita animus multitudine distrahitur*: "Thus their affection is distributed among a large number" (lit. "is drawn in different directions by the large number...").
7. *nulla pro socia optinet*: "no wife occupies the permanent position of a partner"; *opinere* is here used in an absolute sense of "to last" or "prevail".

1. *placitum*: "agreeable"; "acceptable": the adjective *placitus* (from the verb *placere*) is rare in prose with this meaning. *eandem... causam*: "the same motive". *Inbidnem imperitandi*: explains *causam*. *quis*: relates to *illos*, "for to them". *tum sese... Carthaginienses... regem Persen... hostem fore*: supply *esse* with *sese*, and *fuisse* with *Carthaginienses*; *tum* represents *nunc* of *oratio recta*. *Persen* is the Greek accusative of *Perses*, a not uncommon form for the name of Persus, King of Macedon. He was the last King of this state and was defeated by Aemilius Paulus at the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.). There was some justice in these charges of Jugurtha: as the attack upon Carthage (146 B.C.) in the Third Punic War was wholly unprovoked but rather the result of Rome's alarm at the growing prosperity of Carthage, so the attack on Persus was the outcome of the Senate's suspicions about Persus' accumulation of treasure. [For a full account of the events leading up to the Third Macedonian War see M. Cary's *History of Rome* (1935) pp. 205-207.] *ut... videtur: uti*, meaning "as", takes the indicative, but as it introduces a subordinate clause in *oratio obliqua* the verb must be subjunctive.

2. *ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituent quod ibi Metellus... locaverat*: "they decided to march on the town of Cirta because there Metellus had placed...". It was the original capture of Cirta (modern Constantine) by Jugurtha, and his murder of Adherbal and the resident Italian traders, which had stirred the Senate to declare war upon Jugurtha (26). However, it is another example of Sallust's vagueness as an historian that he has not stated before this present chapter how or when the Romans recaptured the town. S. A. Handford (note on p. 114 of his translation) suggests that the reason for Sallust's silence may be that its fortifications, destroyed at the time of Jugurtha's siege, had never been restored, and that Metellus may merely have taken possession of a more or less unoccupied site. Capes (p. 291) conjectures that it was probably given up by Jugurtha when he had

agreed to surrender (61), but it is still surprising that no mention of so important a recovery was made.

3. **dux Romanus**: This is an unusual expression for Sallust, and as *dux* is omitted in some MSS it may be an interpolation; certainly, *Romanus* would be sufficient. **auxilio suis**: "to the aid of his men (i.e. the garrison in the town)"; *auxilio* is a dative of purpose, lit. "as a help". **proelio sese certaturos**: "there would be a battle".

4. **callidus id modo festinabat**: "the cunning Numidian's haste was only that he might involve Bocchus in war"; *id*, an internal accusative (see note 77, 1), is explained by *inimera*, which is in apposition to it, lit. "to destroy the peace of Bocchus", i.e. his present peaceful relationship with Rome. **moras agitando**: = *si moras agitare*, "if there should be any delay"; cf. I, 1: *reputando aliud*.

82

1. **non temere neque... omnibus locis**: "not at any cost (lit. 'rashly') nor on any ground"; **haud procul ab Cirta... oppertur**: The last time Sallust mentioned Proculus he was in the south-east around Thala (77): he has said nothing of the long and difficult march over desert and mountainous country to Cirta, well over two hundred miles from Thala (see Map). **cognitis Mauris**: When he had found out the kind of soldiers they were, and their manner of fighting. **quoniam is novos hostis adcesserat**: "now that this new enemy had come upon the scene"; *novos* = *novus*; the original stem of the second declension masculine adjectives (like the *-us* nouns of the second declension) ended in *-o*, and this was weakened to *-u* during the classical period. **ex commodo**: "to better advantage", i.e. "when it suited him".

2. **nam**: this conjunction suggests an ellipse of some such clause as "and this came as no surprise". **consulem factum**: supply *illum* as the subject accusative of the infinitive, and *esse* with *factum*; *consulem* is the complement: "for he had previously heard that he had been elected consul". **supra bonum aut honestum percussus**: supply *est*; "he was more affected than was right or becoming". **neque moderatilinguam**: "nor controlled his tongue". **vir egregius in aliis artibus**: "though he was a great man in respect of the other qualities he displayed". **nimis... patii**: "he displayed little courage in bearing tribulations"; lit. "he suffered... too weakly".

3. **quam rem**: "this behaviour". **in superbiam vertebant**: "attributed to his arrogance". **alii... accensum esse**: A verb of saying must be provided with this second *alii* clause, and with *nihil* must be understood another verb of saying or thinking; "others said that his noble spirit had been exasperated by humiliation (lit. 'insult') and many thought it was because the victory which was all but won was being torn from his grasp". **nobis satis cognitum est**: "Personally, I feel sure that". For the dative *nobis* see note 75, 2. Note the plural pronoun used for *nihil*: this is commonly used by Latin writers as an affection of modesty just as English writers, particularly during the last century, tended to use "we" rather than "I". **illum magis honore Mari... excruciatum**: "that he was tormented more by the honour conferred upon Marius than by any injustice he himself suffered"; *Mari* is an objective genitive (the people had honoured Marius). **neque... laturum fuisse**: "and would not have resented it so much" (lit. "would not have borne it with such distress"). **si... alii quam Mario traderetur**: *alii* is dative; "if the province taken from him was being given to any other person than Marius"; *traderetur* represents the imperfect subjunctive of *oratio recta* ("if the province were being given to another, he would not resent it so much"); *si alii... traderetur, non tam anxie ferret*: the imperfect subjunctive of a present unreal condition in *oratio recta* does not change in the protasis in *oratio obliqua* but the apodosis becomes the accusative future participle with *fuisse* (here, *laturum fuisse*); see Woodcock, §§ 280 and 282(2), pp. 235-36.

83

1. **inpeditus**: "checked". **quia stultitiae videbatur... curare**: "because he considered it (lit. 'it seemed') foolish to trouble about..."; the possessive genitive is sometimes used idiomatically to express "it is the part of" or "it is a mark, or characteristic of"; hence *stultitiae videbatur* means "it seemed the mark of folly". **alienam rem**: "another's interests": now that Marius had become consul, the war against Jugurtha was his concern, and Metellus, according to Sallust, saw no reason why he should run risks to promote Marius' interests. Certainly Metellus refused to meet him when he arrived from Rome and left his second in command, Rutilius, to hand over the army: see 86, 5 and Plutarch, *Marius*, X. **habere... copiam**: supply (1) a verb of saying and (2) *eam* as the accusative subject of *habere*; "he pointed out that he had a splendid opportunity of

1. *cupientissima plebe*: ablative absolute, "with the eager support of the common people"; *cupiens* is only rarely used as an adjective to mean "eager": *plebe optime cupiente* would be a more regular expression. *ei provinciam . . . populis inssit*: "the Assembly voted the province of Numidia to him"; *ubere* is the verb used of the decree of the people's Assembly: the dative *ei*, expressing the person in whose interest the decree is made, is used with *ubere* by analogy with *decernere*, the verb used to express a Senatorial decree. *ante iam infestus . . . tum vero mulus atque ferox instare*: "though previously (*i.e.* before his election) hostile to the nobility, he now attacked them persistently and insolently". The adjectives *mulus* and *ferox* are used instead of the adverbs. *dictitare* is a frequentative verb "kept saying". *singulos . . . universos laedere*: "assailed individuals on some occasions, and on others the whole party (of the nobility)". *consulatum . . . spolia cepisse*: "that he had captured the consulship from them as the spoils of his victory" (lit. "as spoils from them conquered"); *spolia* is a metaphor from the practice of stripping a slain enemy of his armour. *alia . . . magnifica pro se et illis dolentia*: "(and said) other things designed to extol himself while causing hurt to them". The use of *dolere* with the dative to mean "cause pain to" is in fact an ante-classical idiom.

2. *quae bello opus erant*: "the preparations for the war"; lit. "what things were needed for the war"; explained in the sentences that follow. *opus* (with *est*, *erat*, etc.) "there is (was, etc.) need" generally governs an ablative of the thing needed, but the thing needed, especially when this is expressed by a neuter pronoun, may, as here (*quae*), be the subject, and *opus* the predicate; *bello* is dative. *prima habere*: "he gave priority to" [lit. "he held to be first (in importance)"]. *auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque arcessere*: "summoned auxiliary troops from foreign peoples (*populis*), and from kings and their Italian allies (*sociis*)"; see Introduction, Chapter 3, I on troops supplied by Rome's subject peoples. *ex Latio*: see note 39, 2. *fortissimum quemque*: "all the bravest men". *plerosque militiae paucos fama cognitos*: "most of them known to him by their service in

war, a few by reputation"; *plerosque* is in apposition to *quemque*. *ambundo*: "by canvassing"; "by personal appeals"; although *ambire* is derived from *eo*, *ire* it is conjugated regularly like *ambire*. *homines emeritis stipenditis*: "veterans who had served their full time"; the technical term for such men was *evocati*; the ablative is one of quality. *mereri stipendium* means "to earn military pay", *i.e.* "to serve in a campaign"; hence, *emeriti stipendia* means "to serve the full number of campaigns". During the Republican era the full period of military service was reckoned in number of campaigns: a citizen could be called upon to serve sixteen or twenty campaigns, but with the expansion of the empire the equivalent number of years was substituted for the number of campaigns. In the second century B.C. the legionaries received 120 denarii a year.

3. *neque . . . senatus . . . abnere audebat*: The Senate was always consulted by the consuls regarding the levying of troops, Roman or allied. *etiam laetus*: "actually pleased (to decree)"; his other requests, perhaps for extra money, supplies, and equipment, they were reluctant to grant, but were glad to vote reinforcements believing it to be an unpopular measure. *quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur*: "for military service was not thought to be to the liking of the people"; *plebi . . . volenti* (supply *esse*) lit. "to be to the people as wishing it" and is an imitation of the Greek idiom: cf. Thucydides II, 3: $\tau\tilde{\omega} \pi\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota \alpha\delta \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omega \tilde{\eta}\nu$. Sallust seems to have been the first writer to introduce this idiom into Latin. It is afterwards found in Livy (*e.g.* XXI, 50) and Tacitus (*e.g. Agric. XVIII, 3*); cf. 100, 4. *Marius . . . amissurus*: The *neque* after *quia* indicates that the *et Marius* clause is also dependent upon *putabatur*: "and Marius would have to go without . . ." *belli usum*: "the needs of the war"; *i.e.* "the men he required for the campaign".

4. *animis trahent*: "were occupied with the thought"; "imagined"; and governs *se . . . fore*; *quisque* is in apposition to the subject of *trahent*, "every man imagined". *alia huiuscemodi* are also governed by *trahent* ("and other such thoughts").

5. *hortandi causa, simul et . . . exagrandi*: "in order to encourage (recruitment) and at the same time to irritate the nobles, as had become his practice". *contionem*: see note, 30, 3.

1. *Quiritis*: the title by which citizens were addressed in their civil capacity. *non eisdem artibus . . . petere et . . . gerere*:

PART IV

"that it is with very different conduct that men canvass . . . for power from that with which they exercise that power once they have obtained it"; *i.e.* election to high office changes men's characters. **supplices**: "humble"; ("suppliants" for support). **mibi contra ea videtur**: lit. "to me the opposite course to this seems right"; "the right course, as I see it, is just the opposite". *ea* is neuter accusative plural governed by *contra*.

2. **quo pluris . . . eo maiore cura**: lit. "by how much the State is more (important) than the consulship or the praetorship, with that much greater care (do I consider) that it should be governed than these (offices) are sought after"; *i.e.* "Just as the whole State is of far greater importance than any consulship or praetorship, so ought we to show far more care in governing it than in canvassing for these offices". *quo* and *eo* are ablatives of the measure of difference; *illam administrari quam . . . debere* is an indirect statement dependent upon *videtur* (§ 1).

3. **cum maximo beneficio vostro**: "in conjunction with (because of) the very great favour you have bestowed upon me"; *beneficium* is often applied to the conferring of office by the people. **aerario parcere**: "to spare the treasury"; *i.e.* "not to overstrain the treasury". **eos quos nolis offendere**: "men whom one (you) would not wish to offend"; *nolis* is potential subjunctive often used when the second person singular has an indefinite meaning. **ea agere inter invidios occurrentes factosque**: "to do all these things in the midst of jealousy, opposition, and intrigue" (lit. "amidst jealous, hostile, and seditious men"); the lack of connecting words (asyndeton) is characteristic of Sallust's style. **opinionum . . . asperius est** = "is a harder task than one may imagine".

4. **alibi si deliquere, vetus nobilitas . . . praesidio adsunt**: "if (ever) others make mistakes, their ancient lineage, the glorious deeds of their ancestors . . . are there to help them". When *si* is used in a general condition (= "if ever"), it normally takes a perfect indicative when the apodosis is present indicative, that is so long as the action of the protasis happens before that of the apodosis. **clentelae**: = *clivae* (the abstract for concrete), the word used in the earliest period of Rome's history to denote plebeians in their dependence upon patricians (see Introduction, Chapter 2, 1), but later was used of any who attached themselves to important persons and lived in dependence upon them. **mennet**: see note 4, 2. **alia infirma sunt**: supply *mihi* from the preceding sentence, "all my other supports (*i.e.* other than *virtus* and *innocentia*) are weak".

NOTES

5. **rei publicae procedunt**: "benefit the State"; see note 65, 5. **locum invadendi**: supply *me*, "an opportunity to attack me".

6. **ut . . . sint**: "that you are not deceived (in me) and that they may be disappointed"; *captivum* here has the meaning of *deipamini*.

7. **ita . . . fui**: "I have so lived"; cf. *abunde erant* 63, 2. **consuetia habeam**: lit. "I have as accustomed things"; *i.e.* "I have been constantly accustomed to".

8. **ea ut . . . deseram**: it is a final noun clause explaining *non est concilium*, though an accusative and infinitive construction would have been more regular: "it is not my intention to relax my principles (*ea*)".

9. **in potestatibus**: "when in office"; cf. 63, 5. **temporare**: supply *sibi*: lit. "to control themselves"; *i.e.* "to show restraint". **bene facere**: supply *rei publicae*; the phrase is equivalent to *bene mereri de republica*, "to serve the State honourably". **mibi . . . ex consuetudine . . . voriti**: "has become second nature to me"; *bene facere* being subject of *voriti*.

10. **reputate . . . num id nutare melius sit, si quem . . . mittatis**: Sallust has combined two constructions here, (1) *num id nutare melius sit et nutare*, and (2) *num si mittatis melius sit; si mittatis* really explains *id nutare*: "consider whether it is better to alter your decision—I mean, to send some member . . ." **ex illo globo nobilitatis**: "from that clique of nobles"; *globus* is regularly used of a small number of soldiers in dense array; it is here used to malign the nobility as a band of conspirators. **hominem veteris prosapiae**: "a man of ancient lineage"; *prosopia* is an archaic word. **multarum imaginum et nullius stipendi**: a bold use of the genitive of quality, "(a man) of many ancestral masks—but no experience of military service". *imagines* were death-masks of distinguished ancestors; see note 4, 5 and Plate III. *stipendia* means "campaigns" (see note 84, 2) but the singular is rare in this sense.

12. **praeposteri homines**: "men who put the cart before the horse!"; *praeposteri* is used here in its literal sense from *prae* ("before") and *post* ("after") "putting things in reverse order": our word "preposterous" derives from this, and indeed the Latin word sometimes has this meaning. **nam gerere . . . prius est**: lit. "for discharging one's duties (*gerere*) comes after the election (*ferri*) but in actual practice (*re atque usu*) it comes first". Sallust means that there is need for experience in the duties of high office (*e.g.* military service) before one is elected to it.

13. *hominem novum*: see note 4, 7: for the *-om* ending, see note 82, 1.
14. *mihi fortuna . . . obiectantur*: "my humble birth . . . is thrown up against me"; *fortuna* means one's "state" or "circumstances", therefore, in this context, his humble birth.
15. *sed . . . generosissimum*: supply *esse*, "but that it is the bravest who are the noblest"; *quemque* qualifies *fortissimum* ("all the bravest").
16. *Albini aut Bestiae*: Bestia and Albinus were successive consuls sent against Jugurtha at the beginning of the war: see Chapters 27-30 and 36-40. *si . . . quaeri posset*: The apodosis of this hypothetical condition of present time (present unreal condition) is contained in *respondens* (supply *fuisse*) which in *oratio recta* would have been *respondent*. *mene an illos . . . maluerit*: "whether they would have preferred to have me or them as sons"; the perfect subjunctive in this indirect question is potential, the direct form would be "would you have preferred?" the perfect subjunctive is retained in the indirect form because the sequence is primary. *se . . . voluisse*: lit. "themselves to have wished"; *i.e.* "that they had wished". *liberos quam optimos*: understand *ex se gigni*, "to have the best possible children".
18. *illum*: *i.e.* the *honor*.
19. *vostros honores*: "the honours you bestow".
20. *ne*: "surely". cf. 14, 21. *pariter expectant*: "expect to enjoy both at the same time".
21. *pleraque oratione*: "in almost every speech"; for the singular *pleraque* see 79, 2.
22. *quod contra est*: "the opposite is true".
23. *quasi lumen*: "as it were a light"; *quasi* (and *tantquam*) is often used to introduce a metaphor in Latin. *in occulto*: supply *esse*: "to be hidden"; *i.e.* the glory of one's ancestors shows up one's own virtues or faults.
24. *meamet . . . licet*: "I can speak of my own deeds"; for *meamet* see note on *stamet*, 8, 2.
25. *quod*: *i.e.* the credit that accrues from brave deeds. *quam acceptam corrupisse*: "than to have inherited it and then disgraced it".
26. *compositam*: "elaborate"; meaning a careful arrangement of words to achieve rhetorical force. cf. § 31 below. *in vostro maximo beneficio*: "considering the favour you have bestowed upon me". *omnibus locis*: "at every opportunity". *ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret*: "in case someone should interpret my reticence as a consciousness of

- my unworthiness" (*in conscientiam* lit. "for consciousness . . ."), *i.e.* he was speaking so that the nobility should not be able to say that his silence was an admission on his part of the truth of their accusations.
27. *ex animi mei sententia*: "and I say this with all sincerity"; an idiom, and found in the formula of an oath, especially in law (= "to the best of my knowledge and belief"). *quippe vera necesse est bene praedicent*: "for the truth must inevitably bear witness in my favour"; *vera* (neuter, plural) is the subject of *praedicent* which is the subjunctive regularly governed by *necesse est* without *ut*. *falsi*: neuter accusative plural "falsehood"; or "slander".
28. *num eorum paenitentium sit*: "whether you will regret what you have decided"; *paenitere*, along with four other verbs of emotion (*phidere*, *taedere*, *pigere*, *miserere*) are only used impersonally; they govern an accusative of the person who feels the emotion and a genitive of the cause of the emotion: hence *vos* should be supplied here; *eorum* relates to *consilia*.
29. *fidei causa*: supply *danda*, gerundive to agree with *fidei*: "to justify your confidence". *triumphos*: see note 31, 10. *hastis vexillum phaleras*: The *hastis* presented to a soldier who had distinguished himself was known as the *hastis parva*, as it was without its metal point. The *vexillum* was a streamer at the end of a spear; *phalerae*, were thin plates of gold or silver, strung on strips of leather, fastened to the breastplate of the soldier. *alia militaria dona*: see notes, 54, 1. *cicatrices advorso corpore*: "scars on the front of my body"; *i.e.* suffered while facing the enemy, not fleeing, when they would be on the back.
30. *relicta*: neuter plural; supply *mihi*, lit. "things left to me".
31. *composita*: see 26 above. *parvi id facio*: "I care little for that"; *parvi* is genitive of value.
32. *quippe quae . . . profuerant*: "inasmuch as they did nothing for the professors to improve their characters". Plutarch says that Marius thought it ridiculous to study the literature of the Greek people whose teachers were subjects of another race, but he considers that if he had done so he would not have spoiled an illustrious career by barbarous actions (*Marius* II, 3); for the indicative with *quippe qui* see note 7, 6.
33. *illa multo optima . . . doctus sum*: "I have been taught those lessons which are by far the most beneficial to my country"; *praesidium agitare*: "to mount guard". *humni*: locative case, "on the bare ground".

34. *neque illos arte colam, me opulenter: colam* governs both *illos* and *me* though its use is zeugmatic (see note 55, 1) for its regular meaning is "to treat *well*"; *arte* = *arce*; "I shall not treat them meanly and myself generously"; *utile*: supply *rei publicae*: "beneficial to the State"; *civile*: "democratic"; treatment such as one citizen may fittingly dole out to another citizen; there is a contrast in *id est dominum*, § 35 below.

35. *cum tute . . . agas*: "for you yourself to live in luxury"; for the emphatic *tute* cf. 55, 2: the subjunctive is due to the concessive use of *cum* (lit. "though you live"); *cogere*: the equivalent of *cohibere* "to control", "to discipline"; *id est dominum non imperatorem esse*: "this is to act like a tyrant not a commander".

37. *quis*: = *quibus*, ablative governed by *freta* ("relying on") and relates to *maiores*.

38. *domo*: predicative dative, "as a gift".

39. *sordidum . . . et incultis moribus*: "vulgar and unpollished in manner"; for the combination of an adjective with an ablative of quality see note on *inbecilla*, I. 1. *neque histrionem . . . pluris preti . . . habeo*: "I do not have any actors (at my table) or keep a cook who costs me more than my farm overseer"; *preti*: genitive of indefinite price. It was common for Romans to employ a butfoon or dancer to provide entertainment for guests at an extravagant dinner. The overseer was usually a slave or freedman whose task was to be responsible for the running of the estate.

40. *sanctis viris*: not "holy men" but "men of blameless life"; *sanctus* combines the ideas of purity and conscientiousness. *omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae . . . esse*: lit. "it is right that there be more (of) glory than (of) riches to all good men"; *i.e.* "every good man should have more fame than money".

41. *Quin ergo . . . faciant*: "Well then, let them continue to do what pleases them, and what they hold dear"; *quin* (from *qui*, the old ablative, and *-ne* = "why not") is often used with the imperative or, as here, with the jussive subjunctive. *ubi adulescentiam . . . ibi . . . agant*: "let them pass their old age in the pursuits of their youth"; lit. "in that condition (*ibi*) in which (*ibi*)".

42. *ereptum*: supine, common after verbs of motion to express purpose, "they come to rob".

43. *pessumae artes*: in apposition to *luxuria* and *ignavia*. "those foul vices"; *illis*: dative governed by *officiam*. *qui coluere eas*: "who practise them" (lit. "have practised"); *rei*

publicae . . . cladi sunt: "are the ruin of their blameless country"; *cladi* is predicative dative.

44. *quantum mei mores . . . posebant*: "to the extent that my character—though not their crimes—demanded".

45. *bonum habere animum*: "take heart". *locorum sciens*: "familiar with the terrain"; *sciens* used as an adjective ("having knowledge"; "knowledgeable") taking an objective genitive. *mehercule*: a mild oath equivalent to our "by heaven!"; it is corrupted from *me hercules iurei*, "so may Hercules help me".

47. *quibus militaris aetas est*: "who are of military age"; *i.e.* from 17 to 46 years of age; see Introduction, Chapter 3, I. *capessite rem publicam*: usually means "undertake the affairs of State" and is mainly used to refer to taking up civil duties; here it means "serve your country". *neque quemquam . . . metus cepertit*: "and do not let fear seize anyone because of disasters to others or the annoyance of generals"; *ex*: lit. "arising out of"; *ceperit* is the perfect subjunctive used in a jussive sense; here it is the equivalent of *capiat*. *iuxta geram*: "I shall treat alike"; cf. 55, 1.

48. *quae si dubia . . . essent, omnes bonos . . . decebat*: "but even if these rewards were doubtful . . . it was the duty of all loyal citizens . . ."; *decebat* is in the indicative to imply an indisputable fact; see note on 14, 7.

49. *neque quisquam parens liberis . . . optavit*: "and no parent has ever wished for his children that they might live for ever"; *forent* = *essent*.

50. *nam*: as if *plura non dicam* had preceded it.

86

1. *legatum*: See Introduction, Chapter 3, I, Section 4. Officers.

2. *non more maiorum . . . plerosque*: Marius departs from the practice of his predecessors, indeed, from the ancient institution of the State, in two particulars, (1) instead of assembling the people in the Campus Martius and calling them by their centurions (see note 36, 1) for enlistment, he permitted them to enrol indiscriminately (*uni cuiusque libido erat*) for military service; (2) he discarded the system by which soldiers were only selected from the five classes of the Servian Census (see Introduction, Chapter 3, I). Most of Marius' recruits came from the poorest citizens, men who were too poor to be included even in the lowest of the five classes: these were called *capite censi* ("rated by the

head', i.e. they were entered on the censor's lists only for their persons, not for property tax). Marius' new soldiers were the army of the future, made up for the most part of needy men who served only for pay and plunder, and having little stake or interest in the institutions of the commonwealth.

3. *inopia bonorum*: "because of the scarcity of good soldiers".
per ambitionem: cf. 85, 9. Here it is the favour of men of low conditions that is courted. *celebratus auctisque erat*: *augere* is often used in the sense of "extol", "promote", etc. *et homini potentiam quaerenti*: This is a new clause, not dependent upon the preceding *quod*, but expressing Sallust's own opinion upon an unworthy method of seeking *potentia*, "political power" (not *potestas*, notice, which is "magisterial power", or "rule"), *opportunissimus*: supply *est*, "is the most helpful", i.e. "the readiest supporter". *cui neque sua cura*: supply *sunt*, "whose possessions (*sua*) are not cherished". *cum pretio*: lit. "(if associated) with reward"; "so long as they are paid for it".
4. *maiore numero, quam decretum erat*: It was the right of the Senate to determine the size of the levy.
5. *Metellus... fugerat*: see note, 83, 1.

87

1. *expletis legionibus*: "after making up his legions to their full strength". *cohortibus... auxiliariis*: see Introduction, Chapter 3, I, Section 2. Auxiliary Troops. *natura et viris parum munita*: lit. "insufficiently fortified by nature and by men"; i.e. "towns with little natural strength and ill-manned".
proelia... alia aliis locis facere: *aliam* refers to *proelia*; *facere* is an historic infinitive: "he fought a number of engagements, though only minor ones, in a number of places".
2. *novi milites*: "the new recruits"; but *novi* in the sense of "raw", "inexperienced". *pugnae adesse*: "learned to go into battle"; *pugnae* is the dative commonly used with *adesse*; *adesse* and *videre* are historic infinitives, but the infinitives that follow are dependent upon *videre* in indirect statement. *tutissimum*: supply *esse*. *armis*: "by means of arms"; i.e. "It was by fighting that...". *parentes*: see note 3, 2. *quaeri*: "were won".
3. *reges*: i.e. Jugurtha and Bocchus; see 80-83.
4. *ita Jugurthae placuerat speranti*: "It was arranged in this way by Jugurtha who hoped..."; i.e. "This manoeuvre was deliberately arranged by Jugurtha in the hope that...". *posse*:

310

"would be able": in indirect statement the present infinitive *posse* is often used with future meaning. *Romanos... futuros*: also dependent upon *speranti*. *sicuti plerosque*: "like most armies". *laxius licentisque futuros*: "would relax their caution and their discipline"; for the use of adverbs with *esse*, cf. *abunde erant*, 63, 2, *frustra sim*, 85, 6.

88

1. *contra spem suam*: "contrary to his expectations"; it is very rare that *spes* is used in the sense of "anticipation" or "apprehension". *plebi patribusque... iuxta curas*: "popular with (lit. 'dear to') the people and senators alike". *invidia*: "the feeling against him"; see 73. Metellus was granted a triumph and received the name of Numidicus in honour of his distinguished service.
2. *suorum et hostium res*: "the situation of his own and the enemy's forces". *cognoscere quid boni... esset*: "acquainted himself with the strong and weak points on both sides"; *boni* is partitive genitive (lit. "what there was of advantage"); note the variety, the adverb *contra* being used to counter the neuter noun *boni*. *antevenire*: "forestalled", cf. 4, 7. This compound is first found in Latin in this work. *nihil... pati*: "he allowed his own army no relaxation and the enemy's (*illos*) no respite from fear" (lit. "no feeling of safety").
3. *ex sociis nostris praedas agentes*: "while they were plundering our allies"; this probably means when they were driving off cattle seized from the fields. Although most commentators consider that this refers to the inhabitants of the Roman province of Africa, Capes (p. 296) is probably right in thinking that these *socii* were the communities that had surrendered to Rome earlier in the war. *armis exuerat*: "he had forced the king's troops to throw away their arms and flee"; this is a common phrase denoting a complete rout, when the soldiers throw away their shields and weapons so that they can run away faster from their attackers.
4. *gloriosa modo*: supply *esse*; "merely brought glory". *neque belli patrandi*: again supply *esse*, "but did not bring the war to an end"; the genitive *gerundive* here is one of quality used to indicate "the end aimed at". *viris aut loco*: "by reason of the strength of their garrison or their natural position"; ablatives of cause. *praesidiis nudatum*: supply *fore*, "would be deprived of his defences"; the past participle is occasionally

311

PART IV

combined with *fore* in *oratio obliqua* to represent a future perfect of *oratio recta*. **si ea pateretur**: "if he put up no resistance"; **aut proelio certaturum**: "or he would be compelled to fight" (lit. "he would fight").

5. eum: *i.e.* **Marius. velle**: supply a verb of "saying" and *se* as the accusative subject of *velle*. **ne quid . . . timeret**: "and that Marius need fear no hostility from him". **improvvisus**: "if it was unexpected".

89

1. partim . . . alia: "sometimes . . . at other times"; both words are adverbs: *partim* means literally "partly" or "in part"; and *alia* "in another way", "in a different manner"; Sallust likes to vary the regular construction of *alms* . . . *alms. metu aut praemia ostentando*: "by intimidation or by bribery (lit. offering bribes)"; for the meaning of *metu* see note on *formidinem*, 23, 1.

2. mediocria gerebat: "he engaged in minor operations"; **ob suos tutandos**: "in order to protect his subjects"; *ob* is rarely so used instead of *ad* to introduce a notion of purpose.

3. maiora . . . visum est: "he considered that the time was ripe for bigger and more arduous undertakings".

4. Capsa: This is the modern Gafsa in southern Tunis about 130 miles south of the River Mithul. Strabo mentions it among the ruined cities of Numidia, calling it the treasury of Jugurtha, though this is probably a mistake for Thala. Justinian restored it during the sixth century and it became the seat of government in Byzacium. To-day it is a lively market for Arab traders, and chief among its ancient ruins are its baths. See Map. For a delightfully interesting account of life in twentieth-century Gafsa see *Remains in the Sand* by Norman Douglas (1912). **Hercules Libys**: see note 18, 3. **immunes, levi imperio**: "exempt from taxation and governed with a light hand". The old towns in the territory conquered by the Numidians were occupied by a Libyan-Phoenician people. These often retained their own forms of local government but paid tribute to the kings, as they had done before to Carthage.

5. praeter: preposition; governs the neuter plural *propinqua* adjective (used as a noun), which itself governs the dative *oppido*, *i.e.* "except the immediate neighbourhood of the town". **omnia**: "the whole district"; supply *sunt*. **egentia aquae**: We are not told the route by which Marius marched but it does not seem to have been from the north by the modern Feriana as this follows

312

NOTES

the course of a stream and is easy of access. He must have taken a less known route across the desert. **infesta**: usually means "hostile", but here used with a passive meaning "rendered dangerous"; "infested with". **quarum vis**: "whose ferocity". **inopia cibi actori**: supply *fit*, "is exacerbated by the scarcity of food". **natura serpentium**: "the venom of serpents".

6. eius potundi . . . cupido: "a passionate desire to take possession of this city"; usually only transitive verbs may be used personally in the gerundive construction, though *potior* (as well as *utor, fruor, jingor*, and *vescor*) sometimes has the personal construction, as here, because in early Latin it was often used with a transitive force. **propter usum belli**: "because of its strategic importance" (lit. "usefulness in the war"). **Thalam**: see 75-76. **una modo . . . ingi aqua**: Both *una (aqua)* and *ingi aqua* as well as *cetera (aqua)* which follows are ablative governed by *utabantur*. "had only one never-failing (*ingi* from *ingis*, *o*) spring". **pluviae**: predicative, "the rest of the water they used was rain water".

7. idque: "this scarcity of water". **qua . . . incultius agebant**: "where men lived in a less civilised manner"; with *omni Africa*, "in all the less civilised parts of Africa". **inventa gulae**: "appetisers" (lit. "stimulants to the appetite"). **advorsus famem**: supply *erat*, "was to relieve hunger . . .". **non lubrici neque luxuriae**: datives of the "end aimed at"; "not to minister to extravagant cravings" (lit. "to pleasure and extravagance").

90

1. consuli: subject of *exornat* after the long parenthesis. **credo dis fretus**: "putting his trust in the gods; I suppose". Sallust is here quoting the words of the soothsayer; see 63, 1. It is best not to try to reproduce this long parenthesis in English. Translate the ablative absolute *omnibus exploratis* as a main clause. **quippe . . . temptatur**: "for he was hampered even by a dearth of corn"; *etiam*, *i.e.* as well as by a shortage of water. In Sallust and especially in Livy and later writers, *quippe* is equivalent to *enim* and governs the indicative. **pabulo pecoris**: "grazing" (lit. "food for their cattle"). **arvo**: "raising crops" (lit. "ploughed land"). **quodcumque natum fuerat**: "whatever corn had been grown"; the pluperfect *fuerat* is used with the past participle *natus* instead of the regular *erat* to form the pluperfect of *nascor*. **frugum vacuos**: "stripped of their crops"; *vacuos* = *vacuus*, see 63, 7; this is the only example in Latin of *vacuus* governing a genitive instead of an ablative; cf. *muda* with the genitive,

313

79, 6. *pro rei copia*: "under the circumstances" (*pro* = "considering"). *satis providenter exornat*: "he made the best possible provision": *exornare* usually means "to fit out" and governs an object; here it is used absolutely to mean "provides" and is a very bold use of the verb.

2. *praedae fuerat*: "had been captured"; lit. "had been (for) plunder"; *praedae* being predicative dative. *equitibus auxiliariis*: see Introduction, Chapter 3, I, Section 2. Auxiliary Troops. *agendum*: "to be driven", *i.e.* taken with them on the march. *Lares*: This town is about eleven miles south of Sicca, the modern Le Kef. The walls built by Justinian in the sixth century still remain. *dictique*: "and he let it be known"; this was not his real intention, as the next sentence indicates. Marius had evidently discovered that Jugurtha was keeping well-informed as to his movements. *praedabundum*: an adjective, "after a plundering expedition".

3. *ad flumen Tanain*: The Tanais cannot be identified with any certainty, though Capes (p. 297) suggests that it is the Wady Harab which flows east-west at some distance north of Capsa. Marius was marching south, and starting probably from the neighbourhood of Lares he reached the Tanais in six days (91, 1). It then took him two nights and part of a third to reach Capsa (91, 3).

91

1. *per centurias item turmas*: see Introduction, Chapter 3, I, Sections 1 and 2. The *turma* was a division of cavalry, the tenth part of an *ala*, and consisted of about thirty men; it is usually translated as "squadron". *simul . . . forent*: *i.e.* Marius achieved two things, he provided the soldiers with meat to make up for the short supply of corn ("he made the want of corn felt less"—*lenire*) and at the same time he provided himself with a stock of water bags for future use. *cum . . . ventum est*: "by the time they reached the river"; *cum* defines *sexto die*, and takes the indicative because it merely defines the time of the event. *vis*: "stock" or "quantity".

2. *ut . . . egrederentur paratos esse iubet*: in 46, 5 *paratus* is used with an infinitive: it may also be used with *ad* and an accusative (e.g. *ad pugnam paratus*). *onerare*: governed by *iubet*.

3. *consedit*: "halted"; lit. "pitched camp", as the Romans always did if they were staying in a place for only one night. *proxima*: supply *nocte*; so also with *tertia*. *non amplius*

duum milium intervallo: "not more than two miles away"; *intervallo* is ablative of comparison, *duum* genitive plural alternative for *duorum*.

5. *res trepidae*: "their utter confusion" (lit. "disordered state"). *pars*: along with the other previous nominatives, *res trepidae*, *mens ingens*, and *malum improvisum*, is subject of *coegere* which requires *eos* to be supplied as object.

6. *puberes*: "adult men", *i.e.* those capable of fighting. *venundati*: formed from *venum* (an old word meaning "sale") and *dare*, and means "were sold", here "into slavery". *id factum*: It was usual in war for a city which surrendered to escape the severe treatment usually inflicted upon a city taken by storm. Sallust's attempt to justify Marius' action is weak and unacceptable. Since the city was now in Roman hands the difficulties which he expresses in the following sentences are unfounded and the expression describing the inhabitants as showing themselves "amenable neither to kindness nor fear" (*neque beneficio neque metu coercitum*) is mere idle talk as Rome had done nothing to win the friendship of these people.

7. *aditu difficilis*: "difficult of access"; *aditu* is ablative supine used to complete the meaning of an adjective.

92

1. *magnus et clarus antea*: This has a concessive force "although he was already great and famous".

2. *omnia . . . trahebantur*: "every rash action of his was considered as a proof of his gallantry": this means that any action that proved dangerous because he had not given it the proper thought, as a general should, was not regarded as incompetence but as a proof of his bravery; *trahuntur* signifies an improper interpretation of events meaning "were set down" or "attributed (but wrongly so)". *locupletes*: "growing rich"; *i.e.* "with plunder". *ad caelum ferre*: supply *eam*, "praised him to the skies"; cf. 53, 8. *mentem*: "insight". *deorum nutu cuncta portendi*: "that everything was revealed to him by the will of the gods"; *nutu* means literally a "nodding" of the head, hence "agreement", "will", or "pleasure".

3. *ea res*: *i.e.* the attack upon Capsa. *deserta propter Capensium miseria*: "which had been abandoned because of the terrible fate suffered by the people of Capsa".

4. *plertisque exercitu incruento*: "most of them (*i.e.* the towns captured) without losing any of his men"; (lit. "without his

army's blood being shed"). **haud secus difficilem**: "equally difficult". The River Mulucha (the modern Moulouya) which forms the western boundary of Algeria is 650 miles, as the crow flies, from Gafsa, a very long and difficult march. It is almost inconceivable that Sallust should say nothing about this enormous feat of endurance, nor about the seeming rashness of the march inasmuch as Marius' main body of cavalry had not yet arrived in Numidia (see 95, 1). See Introduction, Chapter 2, Section 4: Sallust as Historian.

5. **erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus**: "a rocky hill rose out of the surrounding plain": *ceteram* qualifying *planitiem* means that the "other part" of the district was flat, hence "surrounding"; this is a good example of Sallust's terse style. **mediocri castello satis patens**: "broad enough to accommodate a fort of moderate size"; *castello* is dative (lit. "for a fort"); cf. 98, 3. **uno . . . relicto**: "accessible only by one very narrow path". **omnis**: supply *mons*, *natura* being ablative. **velut opere atque consilio**: "as if it had been deliberately man-made".

6. **summa vi capere intendit**: "determined to make the greatest possible effort to capture it"; for *intendit* cf. 25, 10. **consilio**: "by good strategy". **melius gesta**: supply *est*: lit. "was carried out better"; i.e. "the success of that attempt (*ea res*) was due rather to . . .".

7. **aggeribus . . . locus importunus**: see Introduction, Chapter 3, I, Section 5. The Siege. **utrimque praecipuum**: supply *erat*, *praecipuum* being an adjective, "steep"; "with precipices on either side of it".

8. **vineae**: see note 21, 3.

9. **pro opere**: "in front of the siege works". **propter iniquitatem loci**: This could mean either "because of the steepness of the slope" or "because of the vulnerability of their position"; i.e. because of the fortress towering above them: *iniquitas* can have the meaning both of "unevenness" or "steepness" and of "unfavourableness". **inter**: here means "inside" or "under cover of" (lit. "amongst the mantles"). **administrare**: "operate": both this verb and *consistere* are historic infinitives and each requires the idea of "ability to do" to be understood: "the soldiers could neither keep their footing . . . nor operate".

93

1. **trahere cum animo suo**: "began to consider"; for this meaning of *trahere* (here an historic infinitive) see note 84.

316

4 and for *cum animo suo* see the note on *multa . . . volebat*, 6, 2. **qua . . . usus fuerat**: "which he had so often enjoyed"; *fuerat* is used instead of *erat* to form the pluperfect tense.

2. **aestivans agitarer**: "he was pondering the matter (*quae*) unable to come to a decision"; *aestivans* means "tossing" like the waves of the sea, hence "this way and that"; cf. 113, 3; *secum . . . agrivasse*. **Ligus**: The Ligurians lived in the eastern half of the French Riviera and along the north-west coast of Italy around Genoa. As a people they do not seem to have risen much above a state of quite rude barbarism. They are mentioned by Herodotus (VII, 165.1) as serving as mercenaries of Carthage in early times; they joined Hannibal in his attack on Italy (Polybius: II, 60); and they were found useful as guerilla troops in the war against Jugurtha. Roman poets speak of their hardihood (Virgil, *Georg.* II, 168), of their speed (Silvius Italicus VII, 607), and their craft (Virgil *Aen.* II, 700). **aquatum**: "to fetch water"; supine of *purpose*. **avorsum proeliantibus**: "on the opposite side to where they were fighting"; *proeliantibus* is dative. **ad summum montis**: the neuter of the adjective and a partitive genitive is rarely found in prose before Sallust.

3. **solitudinem**: "loneliness"; i.e. "when he found that he was quite alone there". **more ingeni humani**: "as is natural to mankind" (lit. "in the manner of the human disposition"). **animum vorit**: "changed his thoughts"; i.e. from collecting snails to the notion of climbing to the top of the hill.

4. **paulum modo prona**: "growing out horizontally for a short way" (lit. "bending forward for only a little"). **inflexa . . . altitudinem**: "then turning and growing upwards". **quocuncta signentium natura fert**: lit. "whither nature bears the whole of the growing things" (see note 79, 6); "as is natural for everything that grows". **castelli plantitem**: "the level space around the fortress". **quodi**: this clause explains how the Ligurian managed to reach the fortress without being seen, namely, the minds of the Numidians were otherwise occupied upon the battle. **proeliantibus**: dative governed by *intenti*.

5. **quae . . . ducebat**: "which he thought would be useful later".

6. **acta edocet**: "he gave a full account of what he had done"; note the brevity of the Latin, *acta* being neuter accusative plural of the past participle of *ago*, "the things done"; equivalent to "quae egisset". **policetur sese itineris periculique ducem**: supply *futurum esse* "offered himself as a guide in this dangerous

317

ascensum" (lit. "promised that he would be"); *itinens periculique* is best taken as a hendiadys (see note 83, 1) for *itinens periculosi*.

7. *promissa* . . . *misit*: "he sent some of his staff officers to explore the practicability of his proposals"; the brevity of the Latin is noteworthy: *promissa* means literally "the things promised" but must contain the idea of "the possibility of his carrying out what he promised to do"; *cognitum* is the supine commonly used after verbs of motion to express purpose, *ex praesentibus* means "some of those about him" and forms the object of *misit*. *Paulum adrectus*: "somewhat encouraged"; *ex copia*: "at his disposal" (with *quinque quam velocissimos*, "five of the most agile men he could find").

8. *tubicinum et cornicinum*: Marius' reason for sending trumpeters and hornblowers is seen in 94, 5: while the Numidians were resisting the Roman soldiers who were attacking them up the hill, these were to sound their trumpets and horns in the rear of the enemy and throw them into a panic. *praesidio qui forent*: "who were to protect them"; *forent* is a final subjunctive. *ei negotio*: "for that operation", dative of the "end aimed at".

94

1. *sed*: see note 5, 5. Here it seems to indicate a change of subject from Marius to the Ligurian. *ex praeecepto*: "according to his instructions" (i.e. from Marius). *ornatum*: "equipment". *uti prospectus* . . . *facilius foret*: lit. "so that the view and the climb might be (carried out) with greater ease"; "so that they could see better and clamber more easily over the rocks"; for the use of the adverb *facilius* with *foret* cf. 63, 2; 85, 7, etc. *ea*: relates to *scuta*; with *ex coris* some such verb as *facta* must be understood. *ponderis gratia*: "because they were lighter" (lit. "for the sake of their weight", i.e. it was not so great as that of the metal shields). *offensa*: "if struck (against anything)".

2. *saxa* . . . *vinciebat*: lit. "he bound with nooses rocks and if any old roots were projecting"; "he fastened ropes over rocks or projecting roots of old trees where they appeared (lit. "if there were any)"). *insolentia itineris*: they were not used to rock-climbing and the sense will be clear if the phrase is translated "because they were unaccustomed to rock-climbing"; for *insolentia* with this meaning cf. 50, 6. *dubia nisi*: lit. "doubtful rather than any one else"; cf. 14, 9: he insisted on trying these difficult ascents himself first. *digrediens*: "stepping aside", i.e. to leave room for the others to ascend.

318

3. *toto die*: for the ablative used to express duration of time see note 54, 1. *testudine acta*: "forming a 'tortoise-shell'"; see Introduction, Chapter 3, I, Section 5. The Siege. *succedere*: "came up close to the walls"; historic infinitive, as in *terre sagittariisque et funditoribus*: These two words are assimilated to the case of *tormentis*, whereas the normal construction would be *per* with the accusative.

4. *non*: supply *iam*, "no longer". *moenibus*: "behind the fortification". *agitare*: "moved about"; see note 18, 9; historic infinitive as are the infinitives that follow. *Mario vecordiam obiectare*: "taunted Marius with madness".

5. *pro gloria* . . . *his illis pro salute certantibus*: "the one side (*his*) fighting for glory and conquest, the other (*illis*) for their lives". *a tergo signa canere*: This sound was made by the trumpeters and hornblowers whom the Ligurian had been leading up the mountain behind the fortress. *figere*: This must be supplied with the *deinde* and *postremo* clauses too; i.e. first the women fled, then those nearest the wall, and finally everybody whether armed or not.

6. *funderere*: "scattered their opponents". *forte correcta Mari temeritas*: "Marius' rashness was made (i.e. turned out) successful by a lucky chance". The "rashness" referred to was Marius' decision to make the long march to the River Muluccha. *ex culpa*: "instead of blame".

95

1. *L. Sulla*: This is Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138-78 B.C.) who later became leader of the *nobiles* and finally dictator with extraordinary powers in 81 B.C. Until the Jugurthine War he had had an uneventful career. Later in the year 106 B.C. Marius chose him to negotiate with Bocchus to procure the surrender of Jugurtha. After this war he again served with Marius in campaigns against the Cimbric and the Teutones (102-101 B.C.), but after that became Marius' great rival and enemy. He was the first general ever to march upon Rome with his army to force his will upon the people (in 88 B.C.): he thus inaugurated the new period of military dictatorship which finally led to the collapse of the Republic. *quaestor*: see note 29, 4. *quos*: relates to *equites* understood in *equitum*. No mention is made of the great march required to be made by Sulla in order to join up with Marius. *ex latro et a sociis*: see notes 39, 2 and 69, 4, and Introduction, Chapter 3, I, Section 2.

319

PART IV

NOTES

2. *nos . . . res admonuit*: "since my subject has brought this remarkable man to our attention" (lit. "has reminded us of . . ."). *neque . . . alio loco*: It would appear that Sallust had not yet planned his *Histories* (see Introduction) at the beginning of which he gives a summary of the struggle between Sulla and Marius. **L. Sisenna**: Lucius Cornelius Sisenna (118-67 B.C.), praetor in 78 B.C., orator and historian, wrote *Historiae* in at least twelve books which treated in particular the Social War and the Sullan Civil War (90-82 B.C.) and probably covered the period to the death of Sulla in 78. Cicero considered that he excelled all earlier writers of history, though he criticised his affected style (*Brut.* LXXXV, 260). He was recognised both by Sallust and by the great scholar Varro (116-27 B.C.) as an authority on Roman history. He died in 67 while serving as one of Pompey's legates in the Aegean Sea. **optume . . . persecutus**: "though of all those who have written of his life he has given the best and most careful account". **parum . . . libero ore**: "with insufficient frankness" or "not (to have spoken) with sufficient frankness".

3. **Igitur Sulla**: "Sulla, then . . .", see note 64, I. **nobilis**: This adjective is not superfluous in coming after *patriciae* for those families only were "noble" which had borne curule offices (see 4, 7) and not all patrician *gentes* (see note on *familia* below) had necessarily done so. The Cornelian *gens* had at this time seven patrician families, a larger number than any other: of these the "Sullae" were the least known. **familia**: ablative of origin. The *gens* was the "clan" or the group of families linked together by a common ancestor. Originally only patricians belonged to *gentes* but when in time plebeians gained social recognition, the wealthiest of these organised themselves on the model of the patrician *gentes*; some seem even to have gained admission to patrician *gentes* as in some cases both plebeian and patrician *familiae* exist within the same *gens*. The *familia*, on the contrary, in the sense meant in this passage is virtually the same as our "family": but strictly it signified all persons living together under the *potestas* of the head of the family, the father (*pater familias*), and this included slaves. The Cornelian *gens*, to which Sulla belonged, contained among others the famous family of the Scipios; his own family was of course that of the Sullas. **iuxta atque**: "as much as"; take with *doctissimum*, "equal to that of the best scholars ('the most learned?')". **otio luxurioso**: ablative of quality, "spent his leisure time in pursuit of enjoyment". **nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consulti**: "except that his conduct towards his wife might have been more to his credit".

320

potuit . . . consulti is impersonal "concern could have been shown . . .". To what specific act Sallust is referring it is difficult to say. Plutarch tells us (*Sulla* 35) that he married five times, and this was regarded as a scandalous excess even in those times. Sallust may therefore be referring to his readiness to divorce his several wives (using *uxore* in a collective sense) or perhaps to his tendency towards infidelity. **ad simulanda negotia**: "in disguising his intentions". **altiludo ingeni incredibilis**: "an unbelievable depth of cleverness"; i.e. "he was unbelievably clever in . . .".

4. **illi, felicissimum . . . fuit**: "Before his victory in the Civil War he had enjoyed unparalleled good fortune, but it was never greater than he deserved" (lit. "never above his energy"); *illi . . . erat*: "there was to him", i.e. "he had" or "enjoyed". The *civilium victoriam* refers to Sulla's victory at the Colline Gate (82 B.C.) when he defeated the forces of the democratic government which had been established in Rome by Lucius Cornelius Cinna in 87. This victory left Sulla master of Rome and Italy, and triumphant over the Marian party: because of his success in war he assumed the title of *Felix*. **quae fecerit**: After Sulla's victory over the Marians he carried out reprisals against the defeated party on a scale which made the atrocities committed by Marius upon Sulla's supporters (87 B.C.) seem insignificant. He massacred captured Samnites and this was followed by a long train of isolated murders. From time to time he posted up lists of names (the "proscriptions"), men who were therewith "enemies of the State" and had a price on their heads. The total number of persons despatched by Sulla's paid murderers amounted to several thousands. **pudeat an pigeat**: Both verbs which are impersonal require *me* to be supplied as object: "I am not sure it would cause me more shame or disgust to describe . . .".

96

1. **supra**: see 95, I. **in Africam atque in castra Marii**: He came first into the province of Africa and then marched to Marius' camp in the far west. **rudis**: "inexperienced in", and like *ignarus* governs the genitive *belli*.

2. **mautis**: dative governed by *dare*. **alils per se**: "to others without being asked"; *per se* lit. "on his own initiative". **accipere**: supply *beneficia*. **aes mutuum**: "a debt of money" (*mutuus* = "borrowed"). **id**: see note 77, I: it is explained by the *ut*-clause that follows: "he strove to have as many men as possible indebted to him". **illi**: either nominative

B. I.

321

11

plural, *quam plurimi* being predicative or more likely is the dative singular used irregularly for *sibi*.

3. *multus adesse*: "spent much time with his men" (lit. "was frequently present") cf. 84, 1. *quod prava ambitio sollet*: supply *facere*, "as those actuated by petty ambition like to do"; the abstract being used for the concrete. *neque . . . priorem alium pati*: "he did not allow anyone to outdo him . . .". *manu*: "in action". *antevenire*: "he surpassed"; see note 56, 2 and cf. 4, 7; 48, 2; 88, 2.

97

1. *pecuniam*: the treasure referred to in 92, 6. *nuntios misit . . . adduceret*: After the verb *misit* a verb of "ordering" or "saying" must often be supplied; "he sent messengers to Bocchus urging him to lead . . .". *proeli . . . adesse*: as this clause gives a reason for the previous clause "since" needs to be supplied to introduce it.

2. *quem*: Bocchus. *rationes*: This is a term used in accounting, "calculations as to the relative advantages of"; *trahere* implies his delay and hesitation in making up his mind. *antea*: see 80, 3. *expulsi aut . . . foret*: The pluperfect subjunctive in *oratio obliqua* represents the future perfect indicative of *oratio recta*. *integris suis finibus*, "without any loss of his territory".

3. *diei*: an archaic genitive form of *dies*: cf. 52, 3. *victis*: = *si vici essent*. *nullo impedimento*: It is possible that this is predicative dative, as a dative -o ending of *nihilus* existed in early Latin and is found occasionally in classical Latin (cf. Caesar: B.C. II, 7 *nullo usum*), but it may be the ablative used for variety's sake (cf. Cicero *ad Att.* X, 18 *maiore impedimento fuerunt*); it is then an ablative of quality, "not (in the nature of) a hindrance". *utrumque casum*: "either event", i.e. victory or defeat.

4. *simul . . . et*: "at the same time . . . and"; "no sooner . . . than . . .". *ex multis*: "from many of his scouts". *instrui . . . colligere*: supply *quirit* from the *antequam*-clause with both these infinitives. *colligere* means "to pile". *signum*: i.e. the trumpet call. *nullo more*: "in any regular formation".

5. *capientes alios . . . defensabant*: "protected others who were still arming . . ."; *defensare* is rare and archaic, first found (in prose) in Sallust; cf. 26, 1; 60, 3. *pugna latrocinio . . . similis fieri*: "the fight was more like an encounter with bandits than a proper battle". *cedere alius alius obtruncari*: "some

gave ground while others were cut down". *et ob ea scientes belli*: relating to *veteres*, "who as such were experienced in such tactics". *si quos . . . coniunxerat*: "if the nature of the ground or chance brought any of them together"; the pluperfect is used in a past generalising condition. *orbis facere*: "formed circles"; this formation is often referred to by ancient writers, and corresponded to the modern "square" where a body of infantry is formed into a rectangular figure to provide the same kind of protection as the Roman *orbis* provided.

98

1. *denisso animo*: ablative of quality, with *fuisset* translate "did he lose heart". *turma sua*: "his own bodyguard"; see Introduction, Chapter 3, I, Section 3. The General's Bodyguard. *manu*: "by taking part in the battle himself"; the meaning "by gestures" given by Rolfe (Loeb) is hardly likely, considering the fierceness and confusion of the battle. *consulere militibus*: "he aided his soldiers"; *militibus* being the regular dative governed by *consulere* when it has the meaning of "to have regard for".

2. *cum . . . remittere*: an inverted *cum*-clause; see note 12, 5. It is rare to find an historic infinitive in a subordinate clause, but cf. 100, 4. *pro se*: supply *esse*, "was in their favour".

3. *consilium trahit*: "devised a plan"; *trahere* has already been used by Sallust to indicate hesitation in doing something (cf. 93, 1): here it is used to imply difficulty of choice. *quaerebat*: "required", a rare meaning of the word.

4. *agitare*: here seems to be being used like *agere* ("to spend") with *noctem* as its object; however, it could mean absolutely "to stay", with *noctem* an accusative of the duration of time: "to pass the night". *neque minus hostibus conturbatis*: *neque* does not link two comparable expressions here but introduces a further circumstance (expressed by the ablative absolute) affecting the phrase in *unum contrahit*; "while the enemy were in equal disorder". *pleno gradu*: "at a rapid pace"; this was a military term which, according to Vegetus (I. 9), the fourth century writer on the art of war, meant that 20 (Roman) miles had to be covered in five "summer" hours (i.e. six hours of our time).

5. *plerumque noctis*: see note 21, 2. *feroces*: "boastful"; see note 11, 3. *pro victoribus agere*: "acted as if they were victorious (already)".

6. *visu*: ablative supine.

PART IV

2. *nos* . . . *res admonuit*: "since my subject has brought this remarkable man to our attention" (lit. "has reminded us of . . ."). *neque* . . . *alio loco*: It would appear that Sallust had not yet planned his *Historiae* (see Introduction) at the beginning of which he gives a summary of the struggle between Sulla and Marius. **L. Sisenna**: Lucius Cornelius Sisenna (118-67 B.C.), praetor in 78 B.C., orator and historian, wrote *Historiae* in at least twelve books which treated in particular the Social War and the Sullan Civil War (90-82 B.C.) and probably covered the period to the death of Sulla in 78. Cicero considered that he excelled all earlier writers of history, though he criticised his affected style (*Brut.* LXXXV, 260). He was recognised both by Sallust and by the great scholar Varro (116-27 B.C.) as an authority on Roman history. He died in 67 while serving as one of Pompey's legates in the Aegean Sea. *optume* . . . *persecutus*: "though of all those who have written of his life he has given the best and most careful account". *parum* . . . *hibero ore*: "with insufficient frankness" or "not (to have spoken) with sufficient frankness".

3. *Legitur Sulla*: "Sulla, then . . .", see note 64, I. *nobilis*: This adjective is not superfluous in coming after *patriciae* for those families only were "noble" which had borne curule offices (see 4, 7) and not all patrician *gentes* (see note on *familia* below) had necessarily done so. The Cornelian *gens* had at this time seven patrician families, a larger number than any other: of these the "Sullae" were the least known. *familia*: ablative of origin. The *gens* was the "clan" or the group of families linked together by a common ancestor. Originally only patricians belonged to *gentes* but when in time plebeians gained social recognition, the wealthiest of these organised themselves on the model of the patrician *gentes*; some seem even to have gained admission to patrician *gentes* as in some cases both plebeian and patrician *familiae* exist within the same *gens*. The *familia*, on the contrary, in the sense meant in this passage is virtually the same as our "family": but strictly it signified all persons living together under the *potestas* of the head of the family, the father (*pater familiae*), and this included slaves. The Cornelian *gens*, to which Sulla belonged, contained among others the famous family of the Scipios; his own family was of course that of the Sullae. *iuxta atque*: "as much as"; take with *doctissimi*, "equal to that of the best scholars (the most learned)". *otio iuxurioso*: ablative of quality, "spent his leisure time in pursuit of enjoyment". *nisi quod de uxore potuit honestus consuli*: "except that his conduct towards his wife might have been more to his credit".

320

NOTES

potuit . . . *consuli* is impersonal "concern could have been shown . . .". To what specific act Sallust is referring it is difficult to say. Plutarch tells us (*Sulla* 35) that he married five times, and this was regarded as a scandalous excess even in those times. Sallust may therefore be referring to his readiness to divorce his several wives (using *uxore* in a collective sense) or perhaps to his tendency towards infidelity. *ad simulanda negotia*: "in disguising his intentions". *altiludo ingenti incredibilis*: "an unbelievable depth of cleverness"; i.e. "he was unbelievably clever in . . .".

4. III, *felissimum* . . . *fuisset*: "Before his victory in the Civil War he had enjoyed unparalleled good fortune; but it was never greater than he deserved" (lit. "never above his energy"); *illi* . . . *erat*: "there was to him", i.e. "he had" or "enjoyed". The *civilium victoriam* refers to Sulla's victory at the Colline Gate (82 B.C.) when he defeated the forces of the democratic government which had been established in Rome by Lucius Cornelius Cinna in 87. This victory left Sulla master of Rome and Italy, and triumphant over the Marian party: because of his success in war he assumed the title of *Felix*. *quae fecerit*: After Sulla's victory over the Marians he carried out reprisals against the defeated party on a scale which made the atrocities committed by Marius upon Sulla's supporters (87 B.C.) seem insignificant. He massacred captured Samnites and this was followed by a long train of isolated murders. From time to time he posted up lists of names (the "proscriptions"), men who were thereafter "enemies of the State" and had a price on their heads. The total number of persons despatched by Sulla's paid murderers amounted to several thousands. *pudeat an pigreat*: Both verbs which are impersonal require *me* to be supplied as object: "I am not sure it would cause me more shame or disgust to describe . . .".

96

I. *supra*: see 95, I. in African atque in castra Marii: He came first into the province of Africa and then marched to Marius' camp in the far west. *rudis*: "inexperienced in", and like *ignarus* governs the genitive *belli*.

2. *mutatis*: dative governed by *dare*. *allis per set*: "to others without being asked"; *per se* lit. "on his own initiative". *acciperet*: supply *beneficia*. *aes mutuum*: "a debt of money" (*mutuus* = "borrowed"). *Id*: see note 77, I: it is explained by the *ut*-clause that follows: "he strove to have as many men as possible indebted to him". *III*: either nominative

B. I.

321

11

1. *imperitia*: ablative of cause, "by (lit. 'because of') the enemy's want of experience", evident from their carelessness at this particular time. *signa* . . . *canere*: "to sound the bugle-calls". *signa* may be the accusative subject of *canere*, or an internal accusative (see below). *per vigilias*: As the day was divided into twelve *horae*, so the night was divided into four *vigiliae* ("watches") measured by the clepsydra (or water-clock). It was the duty of the bugler (the *buginator*) to sound the end of each watch; hence *per vigilias* (lit. "throughout the watches") "at the end of each watch". *paulo ante somno captis*: "only just overcome by sleep". *cohoritum turmarum legionum tubicines*: "the hornblowers of the auxiliary cohorts, of the cavalry squadrons, and of the legions"; when *cohors* is used as distinct from the *legio*, as here, it refers to the auxiliary infantry. *signa canere*: here *signa* is a cognate accusative [see Woodcock, § 13 (1)] *poris*: "from the gates of their camp".

2. *ignoto et horribili sonitu*: The Numidians knew the bugle-sound well enough, but it was a completely new experience for Bocchus' troops. *strepitu* . . . *formidine*: all the ablatives of this sentence are causal, *nullo subterfugio* and *nostris instantibus* being at the same time ablative absolutes; the lack of connecting words heightens the excitement of the sentence; *nullo* is ablative of *negatio*.

1. *in oppidis maritimis*: Presumably Sallust is referring to the coastal towns of the Roman province of Africa as Marius takes Cirta on the way. However, the whole account of this campaign is questionable for at the close of the summer Marius is represented as near Cirta, then as marching by way of Laras (90) to Capsa (91); from there he marched 700 miles westward to the River Mulucha, then back again, returning by Cirta (101) to winter quarters on the coast (103), and during all this time there had been sieges and battles. It is probable that Sallust has mistakenly crammed into one campaigning season the operations of two. *ager*: supply *hiemem*, "to spend the winter". *partem atque*: "as though"; "exactly as if". *quadrato agmine*: "in square formation"; the army marched in four divisions forming a rectangle: the front and rear divisions marched in battle-order and those on the flanks in columns: the baggage was placed in the

centre. This formation was often used when the army had to march in the presence of the enemy. *incedere*: historic infinitive.

2. *apud dextrimos*: = *a dextera*, "on the right"; *dextrimus* is an ancient and rare superlative of *dexter*; Scott-Kilvert translates this as "on the extreme right", but as *dextrimus* is used in contrast to *sinistra* it is probably used, for variety's sake, to carry the same meaning as the positive *dexter*. *Sulla cum egulatu* . . . *Manlius cum funditoribus* . . . *praeterea cohortes* . . . *curabat*: There is a double construction with *curabat*: it is first used intransitively, and then transitively to govern *cohortes*; "Sulla was in command on the right with . . . Manlius, on the left with . . . reinforced by the Ligurian cohorts". *primos et extremos*: quality *tribunos*, but the meaning is "in the front and in the rear"; supply *Marius* as subject of *locaverat*. *manipulis*: i.e. the infantry of the legions: see Introduction, Chapter 3, I.

3. *minime cari*: "who were considered the most expendable" (lit. "the least valued"). *quasi nullo imposito*: "as though no officers had been put in charge".

4. *neque secus atque iter facere*: lit. "and not otherwise than he marched"; i.e. "the same caution that he showed on the march was observed in fortifying the camp". For the use of the historic infinitive in a subordinate clause cf. 98, 2. *non tam diffidentia futurum quae imperavisset quam uti*: "not so much because he feared that his orders (*quae imperavisset*) would not be carried out, as in order that . . .": *diffidentia* is ablative of cause ("because of distrust"), the future infinitive, *futurum (esse)* is dependent upon *diffidentia* but would normally agree with the neuter accusative plural *ea* obtained from *quae*: Aulus Gellius (2nd century A.D. writer and scholar) gives several examples of the future participle in *-rus* used by early Latin writers as an infinitive without its agreeing with its subject (i.e. it was indeclinable): this could mean that *futurum* here is an archaism, but its use has led to variations in the MSS. *militibus exaequatis* . . . *labor volentibus esset*: "that the soldiers would do the work willingly if the commander did his full share (lit. 'that the work would be to the wishes of the soldiers')".

5. *pudore magis quam male*: "by appealing to their sense of honour rather than by punishment"; for *malum* meaning "punishment" cf. Terence, *Adelphi*, 69, *male coactus qui suum officium facit*, and Livy, II, 54, 10. This was probably the usual term for it amongst the soldiers. *alia, quae* . . . *vocant, voluptati habitasse*: supply *eam* as subject of *habuisse*: "that he

had taken pleasure in other kinds of hardship (*alio*—neuter accusative plural) which the rest of men call afflictions"; that is, these people were explaining Marius' willingness to share the work with his soldiers because he had always been used to hardship. *nisi tamen*: "be that as it may". *decore* is the adverb, not the ablative of *decus*.

101

1. *intellegitur*: impersonal, a rare usage.
 2. *alios ab alia*... *significabant*: "all of them from their several directions brought the same report"; *viz.* that enemy forces were approaching. *nullo ordine commutato*: "making no change in his formation" (see 100, 2).
 3. *Frustrata*: supply *est*, *spes* being its subject. *ratus ex omnibus aequo aliquos*... *venturos*: "thinking that some in any case out of their whole force would take the Romans (*hostibus*) in the rear"; Marius' decision to stay in the "square" formation had balked Jugurtha's reasoning.
 4. *quam maxime conferis equis*: "keeping the horses in as close a formation as he could". *ceteri*: *i.e.* the rest of Sulla's troops. *si qui in manus venerant*: "any who succeeded in getting to close quarters"; pluperfect indicative because it is a generalising conditional clause (cf. *cum* = "whenever").
 5. *neque*... *adhuerant*: *neque* = *quique*... *non*; "and which, owing to a delay (*morati*) on their way there, had not taken part in the previous battle".
 6. *plurimis*: These were cavalry, see § 10. *Numida*: *i.e.* Jugurtha. *clam*... *ad pedices convertit*: Jugurtha has left the front where he was leading the cavalry against Marius and has gone back to the rear where Bocchus was leading his infantry against the Roman rear. *apud Numantiam*: at the siege of Numantia (133 B.C.) where Jugurtha had fought for the Romans under Scipio; see 7, 2. *satis impigre*: "valiantly", though the *satis* conveys sarcasm on the part of Sallust: this may well imply that the *pedie nostro* means only *one* infantryman and does not have a collective meaning as some take it to have.
 7. *atrocitare rei*: *i.e.* "by the thought of how dreadful such a happening would be".
 8. *paulum*... *aberant*: "were on the point of flight".
- 8. paulum**: The sequence of the battle so far is:
1. Marius leads the front against Jugurtha with Sulla on the right with the cavalry; Sulla attacks the Moors (§ 4).
 2. Bocchus attacks the Roman rear (§ 5).

326

3. Jugurtha secretly joins Bocchus, shouting that he had slain Marius (§ 6).
4. Sulla, having defeated the Moors, comes back and falls on the flank of Bocchus and Jugurtha (§ 8). Bocchus' troops collapse.
5. Jugurtha now escapes, though his cavalry are surrounded (§ 9).
6. Marius, who has just heard of the plight of his men in the rear, comes back to their aid. The enemy is everywhere routed.
9. *adeptam*: though deponent, it has a passive sense "which had been won". *omnibus*: *i.e.* his comrades.
10. *fugatis equitibus*: the cavalry that Jugurtha had first led against Marius. These were probably not difficult for Marius to defeat once Jugurtha had left them to join Bocchus.
11. *sequit*: Note especially the historic infinitives of this paragraph which well convey the excitement, confusion, and slaughter of the scene: "pursuing, fleeing, killing, capturing...". *mitti modo statim consideret*: "struggling to get up only to collapse at once".

102

1. *post ea loci*: cf. 63, 6. *quo*... *intenderat*: "which he had intended to reach from the first"; for *intenderat* cf. 74, 1.
2. *post*... *quam iterum*... *pugnauerant*: "five days after the second defeat of the natives": the construction has the same meaning as *die quinto postquam* but the noun being put between the *post* and the *quam* is governed by *post* and becomes accusative; *postquam* normally takes a perfect indicative, but a pluperfect is used when a definite interval of time is expressed. *regis verbi*: "in the King's name". *petiveret*: This is followed by *oratio obliqua* first as an indirect command expressed by the jussive subjunctive *mitteret* and then as an indirect statement expressed by *velle* with *se* (Bocchus) to be supplied.
3. *acciti*: lit. "summoned"; *i.e.* "at the King's invitation". *placuit*: supply *eis*, "they decided". *aut avorsum*... *aut cupidam*: "if he was hostile... or... if he already desired (peace)".
4. *cinis facundiae*... *concessum*: supply *est*, lit. "to whose eloquence it was yielded"; *i.e.* "Manlius, though the older man, allowed Sulla to act as spokesman because of his eloquence".

327

PART IV

5. *cum . . . di monere*: "that the gods have led (lit. 'advised') you, so great a man . . .". After *laudo* and *grator* and expressions of similar meaning (here *laetitia nobis est*) *cum* is found with the indicative in the same sense as *quod*. *necessitudinem pariter . . . persequi*: "the necessity of meeting out the same punishment to you"; Sallust occasionally uses an infinitive after nouns which have a verbal force; cf. *hibido . . . granficari*, 3, 3; the regular construction would be the noun governing a genitive gerund: cf. 74, 3; *hibido . . . eundi*.

6. *iam a principio inopi*: Most commentators regard *inopi* as meaningless, since Rome would not have been able to enslave others if in a "weak" position herself, but Handford's translation (p. 138) seems very reasonable: "even from those early days when they possessed nothing"; *rati*: supply *sunt*, and *Romani* from *populo Romano*.

7. *nostra*: "than ours", ablative of comparison. *amicitia* may be nominative or ablative, *nulla* agreeing with it if nominative. *offensae minimum*: "very little (of) friction"; *i.e.* "there will be very little opportunity for quarrelling"; *offensae*, partitive genitive. *gratia par*: "but just as much support from us". *ac si prope adessemus*: the apodosis is suppressed, "as (there would be) if we were close at hand". *parentes*: "subjects"; from *pareo*; see note 3, 2. *cuiquam omnium*: "anyone else". 9. *pleraque regit*: "has chief control of"; *pleraque* (neuter accusative plural) governing the genitive *rerum*. *cu . . . placuit . . . te experiri*: "and it has indeed been her pleasure that you should experience"; *quando*: "since"; Sallust frequently uses *quando* in this sense. *illam*: *i.e.* fortune.

10. *multa atque opportuna*: neuter accusative plural adjectives; "a great opportunity"; *errata officis superes*: "you may make amends for your mistakes by good services".

11. *quid valeat*: "what power it has"; *tute*: emphatic, "you yourself".

12. *pro*: "in defence of".

13. *unde vi Iugurtham expulerit*: The perfect subjunctive means that Bocchus is making this assertion, not Sallust. This is a false claim, for Jugurtha had promised (97, 2) to give him a third part of his kingdom if he assisted him in driving out the Romans. Bocchus had not expelled Jugurtha from any part of Numidia. *neguivisse*: supply *se* as its subject, and with the other infinitives which follow. *missis . . . legatis*: for other mention of this, see 80, 4.

15. *copia facta*: ablative absolute, "through the opportunity

NOTES

(of sending them) was provided"; probably by Marius after the return of Sulla and Manlius.

103

1. *hibernaculis*: strictly, tents or huts for wintering in, as distinct from *hiberna*, permanent winter quarters: however, Sallust has already spoken of them as *hiberna* (100, 1) and *hibernaculis* is probably used as a variation; hence "winter quarters". *loca sola*: "the desert". *praesidium*: in apposition to *perugas*; more regularly a predicative dative (*praesidio*) would be used: in fact, *praesidium* carries the meaning of "so as to be a garrison"; "to garrison it".

2. *quae sibi . . . venerant*: the use of the reflexive *sibi* indicates that this clause is dependent upon *reputando* (that is, it is an indirect question) so that the subjunctive *venissent* would normally have been expected. Another explanation is that this is a relative clause (*ea*) *quae . . .* and *sibi* is used irregularly for *ei*. The dative with *venire* is used when it means "to happen"; cf. 4, 4: *rei publicae venturum*, and 8, 2: *ill . . . venturum*. *alitis amicis*: *i.e.* other than those of 102, 15.

3. *si placceat*: supply *Mario* "if he agreed" (*placceat* = *placbit* of *oratio recta*). *agendarum rerum . . . licentiam*: "full powers to negotiate".

4. *sine decore*: "in a sorry plight". *pro praetore*: "as praetor"; the regular title for the deputy of a provincial governor or commander-in-chief.

5. *uti meriti erant*: that is, their appearance after their experience with the brigands was hardly that of envys; "as their appearance entitled him to do". *in sese*: take with *munificentiam*, "because of his generosity towards them".

6. *etiam tum largido multis ignota erat*: Presumably the *multis* ("many men") relates to backward people like the Moors. Sallust is saying that even as late as this period there were those who did not realise that behind largess there was an ulterior motive! *nemo . . . volens*: "anyone who was generous was considered as acting from sincere motives"; *mi pariter volens* is literally "unless equally well-disposed". *in benignitate*: "as a token of kindness" (lit. "in the nature of kindness"). *quaestori*: *i.e.* Sulla, in his official capacity (95, 1). *fidem*: "integrity"; *magnitudinem*: "might". *utilia*: lit. "useful" to them, "things which would benefit their cause". *benivolentiae*: dative of "end aimed at"; "or would produce good-will" (*i.e.* in the Romans towards them). *oratione*

PART IV

extollunt: "exaggerated". *docet*: "and he (Sulla) had instructed them".

104

1. *confectio*... *negotio*: *i.e.* he had captured the fortress (*iuris regia*) of 103. 1. *ab Uice*: This is the first mention of the location of the winter quarters. 1. *Bellennum praetorem*: Bellennus was the governor of the province of Africa and his seat would be in the capital, Uica; Marius had received Bellennus, and his province. As consul, Marius was superior to Bellennus; he could rightly summon him to such a council. *cognoscit*: "examined".

2. *fit*: "is granted". *indutiae postulabantur*: *i.e.* by the envoys. *pauci ferocius decernunt*: "a few voted for harsher terms". *semper in advorsa mutatur*: "are always changing from one extreme of fortune to the other".

3. *quaestor*: Ruso was one of the two *quaestores urbani*, the magistrates at Rome who were responsible for the public treasury (the *aerarium*) and were never attached to the staff of generals in the field; see note 29, 4. Evidently, Ruso, who had brought the soldiers' pay to Africa, had to return at once to Rome. Payment to the soldiers would be made by Marius' quaestor, Sulla. *cum cetera tum maxime*... *Iubens accepit*: "Boochus heard their other news with joy, but especially of the kindly interest shown by Sulla"; when *cum* and *tum* have the same verb, this verb is always indicative and they have the force of "both... and" and a strengthening adverb such as *maxime* or *praecipue* is often added to *tum*.

4. *Iugurthae scelere lapsam*: supply *esse*, "had been led astray by Jugurtha's wickedness". *deprecati sunt*: the verb *deprecari* normally means to "ward off from one's self by earnest prayer"; also simply "to pray"; here it has a meaning not found elsewhere, "pleaded in excuse". *respondetur*: impersonal passive.

5. *paenitet*: supply *eum*: see note 85, 28. *delicti gratiam facit*: "it (*i.e.* the Roman government) grants pardon for his offence". *meruerit*: future perfect.

105

1. *cuius arbitrato*... *consuleretur*: *cuius = ut eius* "that he might have full power to negotiate terms to their common interest"; *consuleretur* is impersonal passive.

2. *funditorum Balearium*: see Introduction, Chapter 3, 1.

330

NOTES

Section 2. The Balearic Islands are Ibiza, Majorca, and Minorca, just to the east of Spain. *cohors Paelligna*: The Paelligni were a tribe of Sabine origin who lived in Central Italy about 70 miles from Rome; their chief town was Corfinium. *cum velitaribus armis*: *i.e.* "equipped as velites"; see Introduction, Chapter 3, 1, Section 1. *neque his... hostium... muniri*: "just as effective as any others (*i.e.* heavier arms) in protecting them against the missiles of the enemy"; *armis* relates to their defensive armour rather than their weapons.

3. *cum mille non amplius equitibus*: *equitibus* is most likely ablative governed by *cum*, as *amplius* (like *plus* and *minor*) generally omits *quam* ("than") without affecting the construction. *Sullae alisque*... *efficiebant*: "made Sulla and his companions think they were numerous and caused them to fear an attack"; *Sullae* and *alique* are datives while the verb *efficiebant* governs *metum* directly, when it means "caused", and *numerum* by zeugma (see 55; 1) when it means "made... seem".

4. *se... expedit*: "got ready for combat"; *i.e.* laid aside their *impedimenta*, their travelling equipment and luggage (*i.e.* kit of cooking vessels, clothes, and rations, and entrenching tools). *temptare*: "checked". *invidere* means "kept on the alert". *aliquantus*: "some"; see note 74, 3. Supply *eis erat* with *timor* (also with *spes amplior*) and translate "they were somewhat alarmed". *sed spes amplior... victoribus*: "but their confidence was greater in view of their victories". *victoribus* is dative in apposition to the *eis* supplied with *timor*. *et advorsum eos*: "and that they were facing those...".

5. *exploratum*: supine of purpose. *rem... quietam*: supply *esse*, lit. "that the affair was peaceful"; "that Volux had no hostile intentions". *ut erat*: "as in fact was the case".

106

1. *adveniens*: Sallust sometimes uses the present participle as though it were a past active participle; here as the equivalent in Latin of *cum advenisset*; cf. 35, 10, *respicens*. *coniuncti*: "in company".

2. *diei vesper*: cf. note 52, 3. *Maurus*: *i.e.* Volux. *incerto vultu*: "with a troubled look on his face". *sibi... cognitum*: see note 75, 2. *Metello comperte sunt*.

3. *ille*: as often, is used here to mark a change of subject; "Sulla". *fusum*: qualifies *Nimidian*. *pestis*: "destruction". *mansurum*: future infinitive dependent upon the affirmative

331

dicar to be supplied from *negar* above. *potius quam... parceret*: "rather than attempt to save"; a final subjunctive is used after *potius quam* to express an action which must be guarded against. In *oratio recta* the sentence would be *manebo potius quam parcerem*. The context requires *parceret* to carry the meaning of "attempt to spare" as Sulla could not have been sure of saving his life by flights in a country so inhospitable to the Romans. *proditis*: supply *eis*, ablative absolute. *incertae*: like *interituras*, qualifies *vires*, which is the dative regularly governed by *parceret*: "a life which he might well lose".

4. *cenatos esse... iuber*: "he orders the soldiers to get their supper over"; the perfect infinitive is used to emphasise the promptness with which the order was to be carried out. *prima vigilia*: see note 99, 1; this is winter time, and although it would be at some time between 6 o'clock and 9 o'clock in the evening, it would be dark.

5. *pariter cum*: "just at...". *cum... nuntiant*: an "inverted" *cum*-clause; see note 12, 5.

6. *credere*: historic infinitive. *manu vindicandum*: an impersonal gerundive supply *esse* and *in eum* (cf. 31, 18), "some said that he ought to be executed". *apud illum*: *apud* sometimes means "in the possession of" (lit. "such a crime in his possession"), "and that he should not be allowed to commit such an act of treachery and get away with it".

107

1. *ab iniuria Maurum prohibet*: lit. "he protected the Moor from harm"; i.e. "he prevented his soldiers from harming the Moor": this use of *prohibere* to mean "preserve", "protect" is rare. *paucis strenuis*: When the apparent agent is regarded as the instrument of another, say of the general in military operations, the preposition *ab* is not used. However, this could be a dative of agent not uncommonly found with the perfect passive tense; supply *esse* with *pugnantem*. *quanto... minus pepercissent*: "the less they spared themselves..."; *pepercissent* represents the future perfect indicative *pepercerint* of *oratio recta*. *qui manus armaverit*: "who has weapons in his hands". *ab incernis pedibus*: the form *inernus* was used as much as *inernus* in earlier writers; cf. 94, 2. "From feet which bear no arms". *nudum et caecum corpus... vortere*: "to turn the part of the body which is defenceless and blind..."; the expression is a direct imitation of Xenophon, *Cyrop.*, III, 3, 45.

2. *quoniam hostilia faceret*: "since he was acting like an enemy". When the subjunctive is used, as here: in a causal clause, it implies that the reason is a quoted one; here it is Sulla's words to Volux which are being quoted. This subjunctive is said to be due to "Virtual *oratio obliqua*".

3. *dolo*: "by any treachery on his part"; *suo* is required here so that the phrase should not become connected with *Jugurthae magis callidate Jugurthae*: the positive *factum* must be supplied from *nihil factum*, "but was rather due to the cunning of Jugurtha".

4. *haberet*: i.e. Jugurtha; so below, *eius* and *illum* relate to Jugurtha. *credere*: supply *se* as subject.

5. *facti*: an ablative supine. *vel praemisissis vel ibidem relicta Mauris*: "whether his Moors were sent ahead or left where they were, as Sulla wished"; ablative absolute.

6. *Ha res*: "that proposal". *ut... negotio*: "in view of their situation". *acciderant*: the verb is here used of persons instead of events; translate with *improviso*, "because their action was unexpected".

108

1. *cum Boccho... multum et familiariter agebat*: "was frequently (*multum*) in the company of Bocchus and was on familiar terms with him" (lit. "spent time with Bocchus, much and familiarly"). *orator et... speculatum*: "to speak on his behalf and secretly spy upon Bocchus' plans"; *orator* is often used by Latin writers to mean "spokesman" or "ambassador". *Masugradae*: Nothing is known of Masugrada but he may have been a son of Masinissa (see Introduction, Chapter 2, Section 2), and therefore Dabar a grandson. *ex gente*: "of the family"; i.e. "a descendant of". *materno genere impari*: "of inferior birth on his mother's side" (*genus* = "descent"). *eius*: "her".

2. *ipse*: i.e. Sulla. *neu... pertimesceret*: "and not to be alarmed at the presence of Jugurtha's ambassador". *consulto esse omnia cum illo integra habere*: "he had purposely kept up friendly relations with Jugurtha" (lit. "had kept all things unchanged"). *quo... licentius gereretur*: "so that their common interests might be pursued with greater freedom". *aliter caveri nequivisset*: *nequissime* is impersonal, "that it had been impossible to protect himself in any other way..."; i.e. other than having the envoy present. If he had not allowed this Jugurtha might well have attacked him at once; for the passive *caveri*, cf. 67, 2.

3. **Punica fide:** "Carthaginian treachery" was proverbial in Rome. **attinuisse:** "had led on" (lit. 'detrained'). **multum-que . . . solitum:** "had debated with himself many times"; **libidinem . . . suscipisse:** "that his inclination urged him against us, but his fear in our favour".

109

1. **respondit . . . locuturum:** supply *se*. **nullo:** ablative of *nemo*, and part of the ablative absolute with *quam paucissimus praesentibus*, "with nobody else, or as few persons as possible present". **quae sibi responderentur:** "what answer should be given to him (i.e. Sulla himself); this is an indirect deliberative question: the direct form would have been in the present subjunctive, *quae . . . responderantur*, "what answer is to be given".

2. **postquam . . . congressi:** supply *sunt*, the "they" being Sulla and Bocchus. **se missum . . . venisse:** lit. "that he had come, sent . . ."; "that he had come on the consul's behalf".

3. **praeceptum fuerat:** used loosely for *praeceptum erat*. This relates to instructions given to him by Sulla referred to in *quae sibi responderentur* above (§ 1). Jugurtha's spy Aspar (108, 1) was to be led to think that Bocchus and Sulla were not meeting for another ten days. **ac nihil . . . decrevisse . . . responsurum:** supply a verb of "saying" to govern this indirect statement (see note on *se . . . venturum*, 12, 3); *nihil . . . decrevisse*, "that he had not yet reached any decision". **ubi plerumque noctis processit:** "when most of the night had gone"; i.e. "in the middle of the night". **plerumque** is the neuter singular of *plerumque* (rare outside Sallust) used as a noun meaning "the greater part". **adhibentur:** "were admitted". **sanctus vir:** see note, 85, 40. **ex sententia ambobus:** lit. "in accordance with the wishes of (to) both"; i.e. "trusted by both of them"; note the use of *ex sententia* practically as an adjective qualifying *Dabar*.

110

1. **ratus sum fore uti . . . deberem:** This is a common periphrasis of *fore ut* with a consecutive subjunctive, used instead of the accusative and future infinitive (here = *ratus sum me . . . debiturum esse*). cf. 112, 3, where both the periphrasis and the accusative and infinitive appear in the same sentence. **gratiam deberem:** "I should be indebted" (lit. "owe a favour").

2. **mehercule:** see note 85, 45. **ante te cognitum:** "before I knew you"; this use of a noun, or pronoun, with a

334

predicated participle to do the work of an abstract noun with a dependent genitive (here, "before my knowledge of you") is frequent in some Latin authors. **ultra:** "without their asking", "of my own accord", and is opposed to *orantibus*; *ultra* means lit. "to the further side", "beyond"; hence, from the notion of going beyond what may be expected comes the meaning of "unasked", "unprovoked", "of one's own accord". **nullius:** although *indigeo* does sometimes take a genitive instead of an ablative, *nullius* is here probably dependent upon *ope* ("help") to be supplied from *open*.

3. **id imminutum:** supply *esse*, "that this has been impaired", and the phrase is either dependent upon *laetor*, or without *esse* comparable with *te cognitum* above; *id* refers to the "independence" expressed in the previous sentence; with the *quod*-clause, translate, "the loss of such independence—something that others usually resent—I rejoice in". **fuereit mihi . . . pretium:** an idiom meaning "it will have been worth my while"; i.e. to give up his independence. **eguisse aliquando . . . tuae amicitiae:** "to have come to need your friendship at last". **apud:** here = "in". **adeo:** used here, as often, to throw emphasis on the preceding pronoun, "and that very fact". **licet:** supply *tibi*, "you may now put to the test".

4. **nunquam . . . putaveris:** equivalent to *ne unquam . . . putaveris* where the verb is jussive subjunctive, perfect tense, "never think . . ."; this construction, is rarely used in polished prose as an alternative to *nohi* with the infinitive, but its use is appropriate here (in the letter of Bocchus) as the style of letters is generally more colloquial than the narrative style of history. **redditam gratiam:** supply *esse*, "that my debt of gratitude has been paid"; the whole letter is somewhat extravagant in its flattery and expressions of gratitude: here, Bocchus must be referring to Sulla's generous entertainment of his envoys (103) who had arrived at the Roman camp in the absence of Marius. **integra:** "whole", "unpaid"; referring to *gratia*.

6. **cuus curator:** lit. "whose guardian"; "whose interests you have been sent here to protect". **paucis accipere:** "hear a few words". **finis meos:** He is still keeping to the tale of 102, 13, but in view of what Sallust has said at the end of 108 about Bocchus' vacillation over choice of ally, this letter merely serves to emphasise the treacherous and artful character of the Moor.

7. **id omitto:** "I now cease to do that".

8. **numen . . . non egrediar:** "I will not cross (lit. 'pass beyond')"

335

the River Mutucca"; *flumen* is used loosely to mean the territory bounded by the river; hence, *id intraret*. The transitive use of *egredior* is not common, but is found in Caesar (cf. *Civ. B.* III, 52, 2) and Livy (cf. I, 29, 6). **Mulucham**: see note on *haud seuis difficillem* 92, 4. **meque vobisque dignum**: "which it is proper for you to ask and which I can grant without loss of honour"; the brevity of the Latin is able to contain all this meaning.

III

1. multis: opposed to *brevis*. **quod polliceretur**: object of *habituos* "his promises" (lit. "what he promised"). *polliceretur*, like *valissent*, is the subjunctive regularly used in subordinate clause within *oratio obliqua*, non in *gratiam habituros*: "would not consider (his promises) as requiring their gratitude"; the reason is in the *quam*-clause: they had already shown him that they were his superior on the field of battle. Sulla's bluntness contrasts well with Bocchus' fawning attitude. **faciundum**: supply *esse* and *illi*, "he must do something". **quod... videre-tur**: "which might seem to have been more to their interest than his own": with *referet* and *interest* (both of which mean "it is important") the person to whom the thing is important is denoted by the ablative singular feminine of the possessive adjective (as *sua* in this clause). Sallust seems to be the first to use a genitive of the person with *referet* (*illorum* in this clause). **id adeo**: see note 110, 4. **copiam**: "access to". **fore ut... deberetur**: see note 110, 1. **si... tradidisset**: see note 6, 3 (*si... inter-fecisset*). **plurimum**: subject of *deberetur*, lit. "very much would be owing to him", i.e. "the Romans would be very much in his debt".

2. negitare: "refused this", giving various excuses in succession as follows—hence, the frequentative verb: the verb passes into the force of *dichere* (cf. 106, 3). **cognationem affinitatem**: "ties of kinship and marriage"; Jugurtha had married Bocchus' daughter (80, 5). No indication is given as to what the *cognatio* was between them. **intervenisse**: "existed between them". **metuere**: supply *se* as subject to this infinitive. **fluka fide usus**: lit. "practising (such) changeable loyalty", i.e. "by acting so treacherously". **quis**: = *quibus*, dative. **erant**: The use of the indicative in a subordinate clause with *oratio obliqua* after Sallust's manner; cf. *quae levita sunt*, 54, 1. **3. fatigatus**: lit. "importuned"; with *saeptus*, "after much persuasion". **lenitur**: "he gave way". **ad simulandam**

pacem: "to make a show of peace", i.e. to make it appear that negotiations for making peace had begun. **cuius Numida defessus bello avidissimus**: "which the war-weary Jugurtha (lit. 'Numidian') greatly desired"; *cuius* is the genitive regularly governed by *avidus*. **quae utilla visa**: supply *sunt*, lit. "the things which seemed most suitable", (i.e. *ad simulandam pacem*); with *constitunt* "they took the appropriate steps".

III

1. dicitque sibi... cognitum: supply *esse*, "and he said it had been learned by him", where *sibi* is the dative of agent sometimes used with the perfect passive. **posse... poni**: "that the war could be brought to an end on certain conditions". **sententiam exquirere**: "he should find out the views"; the subjunctive is jussive, representing the imperative of *oratio recta*, *exquire*.

2. properato itinere: "post-haste"; *properatus* is an adjective derived from the past participle of *properare* and means "rapid"; "swift". **saepe antea**: an exaggeration, but certainly the terms of peace that Jugurtha had forced upon Albinus (39, 3) had not been ratified by the Senate. **pacem conventam**: This is used for *pacem quae convenisset*, "peace which had been agreed upon" (cf. *pax conventi*, 38, 10): the passive of *convenire* is very rare (cf. Livy XXX, 43, 7: *quibus conventis*).

3. si ambobus consultum... velle: "if Bocchus wanted the interests of both to be provided for", i.e. of Bocchus and Jugurtha; *consultum* (supply *esse*) is impersonal passive (lit. "it to have been provided for"). **raram pacem**: again, supply *esse*. "peace to be firmly established"; *raram* is an adjective from the past participle (*rarus*) of the deponent verb *reor*, and means "fixed"; "firm"; "unalterable". **ut una... veniretur**: "for a conference of all the interested parties to be held ostensibly (*quasi*) to discuss (*de*) peace". **una** is an adverb "together"; *veniretur* is impersonal passive. **in potestatem habuisset**: this is a compressed construction for "got him into his power and kept him there". **fore uti... heret neque hominem... relictum iri**: see note 110, 1. **non sua ignavia... potestate**: Note the brevity of this sentence where *in potestate* must be taken first with *ignavia* "who was in the hands of the enemy through no fault of his own" and then with *relictum iri*, "would be left there". In addition, with the first part of the sentence a relative clause (*qui sua ignavia... hostium in potestate esset*) would be normally expected, rather than the phrase *in... potestate* qualifying *hominem*.

1. *dolo*: supply *utrum* before this: for variety this noun is parallel with the adverb *vere* "whether he hesitated by deceit or truly", *i.e.* "whether his hesitation was feigned or genuine"; with *conicitus* supply *siz*. *ut vehementes sic mobiles*: lit. "as they are strong so they are changeable"; "as unstable as they are strong". *ipsae sibi advorsae*: lit. "themselves (*i.e.* the desires) opposite to themselves", *i.e.* "contradictory".

2. *in colloquium*: belongs to the *uti*-clause.

3. *adhibitis amicis . . . remotis*: "having summoned his friends, he immediately changed his mind and dismissed them". *volu et oculis . . . varius*: "changing in face and eyes as much as in mind", *i.e.* "and the conflict in his mind was reflected in the changes in his eyes and expression". *tacente ipso*: ablative absolute with concessive force, "although he himself said nothing". *quae . . . patefecisse*: The accusative (*quae*, neuter plural) and infinitive depends either upon *scilicet* (see note 4, 6) or possibly upon *dicitur*; "his features, it is clear, revealed the secrets of his heart".

4. *ex illius sententia*: "according to his (Sulla's) wishes", *insidias tendit*: "laid a trap", *tendere* meaning "to spread out" as of nets in a snare.

5. *quaestore nostro*: *i.e.* Sulla.

6. *uti dictum erat*: "as had been agreed".

114

1. *Per idem tempus*: The Romans had suffered from invasions of the Cimbri and Teutones, Germanic tribes from Jutland and Frisia, on their northern frontiers on several occasions during the period of Jugurthine War; but the mention of Q. Caepio, a proconsul, and Cn. Manlius, the consul for 105, indicates that *idem tempus* is that year, for on October 6th of 105 Caepio and Manlius were defeated by these German tribes at the Battle of Arausio (the modern Orange). This fixes the year of Jugurtha's capture. Sallust is wrong in calling these tribes *Galli*, as they were Germans. Q. Caepione et Cn. Manlio: The Battle of Arausio was lost because Caepio (who had been consul in 106) did not obey the orders of Manlius nor co-operate loyally with him. The estimate of 80,000 Roman casualties is undoubtedly exaggerated, but this was certainly the most disastrous defeat the Romans had suffered since Cannae (216 B.C.).

2. *Illinc*: an early form for *illinc*, "from that time". *sic*: an

accusative and infinitive clause (here *clia . . . esse*) often stands in explanation of a preceding *sic* or *ita*. *virtutis suae prona*: "easy for their valour", *i.e.* "could be easily surmounted by their courage"; the usual construction with *pronus* (lit. "inclined") is *ad* with the accusative.

3. *consul*: *i.e.* for 104. *absens*: This was irregular for two reasons. Normally a candidate for the consulship was required to be at Rome in order to give in his name (*proferri*); secondly, an interval of ten years was required before the consulship could be held a second time. The elections must have been very late in 105, as the news of the capture would not have reached Rome till late in October. *Calendis Ianuariis . . . triumphavit*: for the "triumph" see note 31, 10. Again, it was most unusual for a consul to be having a triumph. In this very abrupt close to the book, Sallust says nothing more of the fate of Numidia or even of Jugurtha. According to Plutarch (*Marius*, XII): after the triumph, during which he was exposed to view, he was flung into the notorious dungeon called the Tullianum, and that after some had torn his robe off his back and others had pulled the lobe off his ear in their greed to get his earrings, he was left there to die of starvation. Bocchus now gained the prize which he had coveted, and was permitted to annex the region between the River Mulucha and the River Ampsaga. Jugurtha's half-brother Gauda (see 65) succeeded to the throne of Numidia as a puppet-monarch.

4. *spes . . . in illo sitae*: "the hopes and welfare of the State were placed in his hands"; and not in vain, for in 102 and 101 he inflicted crushing defeats upon the enemy at Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae which practically annihilated the invaders.