

## PROLOGUE

huiusce modi per se ipsa clara et magnifica sint ac non  
perinde habeantur, ut eorum qui ea sustinent virtus est.  
9 verum ego liberius aliusque processi, dum me civitatis  
morum piget taedetque. nunc ad inceptum redeo.

## PART I

(5-26)

### THE RISE OF JUGURTHA

5 *My subject is Rome's war with Jugurtha, both because it was  
hard-fought and because it was the first challenge to the  
arrogance of the nobles. Numidia had been Rome's gift to  
King Masinissa for his services against Carthage during the  
Second Punic War. Loyal to Rome till his death, he was  
succeeded by Micipsa who had two sons and Jugurtha, his  
brother's son whom he had taken into his household.*

1 Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum  
Iugurtha rege Numidarum gessit, primum quia magnum et  
atrox variisque victoria fuit, dein quia tunc primum  
2 superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est. quae contentio divina  
et humana cuncta permiscuit eoque recordiae processit, divina  
studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem  
3 faceret. sed priusquam huiusce modi rei initium expeditio,  
pauca supra repetam, quo ad cognoscendum omnia  
industria magis magisque in aperto sint.

4 Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium  
Hannibal post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiae opes  
maxime adtriverat, Masinissa rex Numidarum in amicitiam  
receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen  
ex virtute fuit, multa et praeclara rei militaris facinora  
fecerat. ob quae victis Carthaginiensibus et capto  
Syphace, cuius in Africa magnum atque late imperium  
valuit, populus Romanus, quascunque urbes et agros manu  
5 ceperat, regi dono dedit. igitur amicitia Masinissae bona  
atque honesta nobis permansit. sed imperi vitaeque eius  
finis idem fuit.

6 Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale

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7 et Gulussa fratribus morbo absumptis. is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit Iugurthamque filium Mastanabalibus fratribus, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatim dereliquerat, eodem cultu quo liberos suos domi habuit.

6 *As a young man Jugurtha had been handsome and clever, taking part in every kind of sport but always maintaining a modesty of mien. Micipsa, though at first pleased with him, grew alarmed at his prestige, believing that he would become ambitious, but he saw that he could not get rid of him by treachery.*

1 Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio validus, non se luxu neque inertiae conrundendum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, iaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare et, cum omnes gloria antiret, omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire, plurimum facere, et 2 minimum ipse de se loqui. quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existimans virtutem Iugurthae regno suo gloriae fore, tamen postquam hominem adolescentem exacta sua aetate et parvis liberis magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer eo negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. terrebat eum natura mortaliū avida imperi et praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem, praeterea opportunitas suae liberorumque aeratis, quae etiam mediocres viros spe praedae transvorsos agit; ad hoc studia Numidarum in Iugurtham accensa, ex quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oitretur anxius erat.

7 *Micipsa decided to make Jugurtha leader of the Numidian force that he was sending to Numantia to assist the Romans, thinking that the fortunes of battle might carry him off vicin.*

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*But Jugurtha soon showed great skill in military affairs and by his great energy, loyalty, and courage won the affection of both the Roman commander and the soldiers.*

1 His difficulteribus circumventus ubi videt neque per vim neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus, quod erat Iugurtha manu promptus et adpetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum obiectare periculis et eo modo fortunam temptare.

2 Igitur bello Numantino Micipsa, cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans vel ostentando virtutem vel hostium saevitia facile eum occasurum, praefecit Numidius, quos in Hispaniam 3 mitebat. sed ea res longe aliter ac ratus erat, evenit. 4 nam Iugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator erat, et morem hostium cognovit, multo labore multiaque cura, praeterea modestissime parendo et saepe obviam eundo periculis in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrore 5 esset. ac sane, quod difficillimum in primis est, et proelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio, quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem 6 adferre plerumque solet. igitur imperator omnes fere res asperas per Iugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque eum in dies amplecti, quippe cuius neque 7 consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. huc addebat munificentia animi atque ingeni solertia, quibus rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia coniunxerat.

8 *Jugurtha's ambition was first fired by certain unscrupulous Romans in the army who intimated that his abilities entitled him to the Numidian throne when Micipsa died and that Rome's support could be bought with money. After the fall of Numantia Scipio highly commended Jugurtha before the soldiers: in private he urged him to retain his friendship*

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*with Rome by honourable means and to avoid corruption in his desire for power.*

- 1 Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiarum bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam honesti, qui Iugurthae non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore uti solus imperi Numidae potiretur: in ipso maximum virtutem,
- 2 Romae omnia venalia esse. sed postquam Numantia delata P. Scipio dimittere auxilia et ipse revorti domum decrevit, donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro contione Iugurtham in praetorium abduxit ibique secreto monuit, ut potius publice quam privatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret neu quibus largiri insuesceret: periculose a paucis erui quod multorum esset. si permanere, vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam et regnum venturum; sin properantius pergeret, suamet ipsam pecunia praecipitem casurum.

9 *Scipio sent Jugurtha home with a letter to Micipsa congratulating him on having so valiant a man in his family as Jugurtha who had distinguished himself so highly at Numantia. Micipsa then decided that it was best to adopt him as his son. Some years later, when dying, he called his family together.*

- 1 Sic locutus cum litteris eum, quas Micipsae redderet, dimisit. eorum sententia haec erat: "Jugurthae tui in bello Numantino longe maxima virtus fuit, quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse. nobis ob merita sua carus est: ut idem senatui et populo Romano sit, summa ope nitentur. tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. en habes virum dignum te atque avo suo Masinissa".
- 3 Igitur rex ubi ea, quae fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, cum virtute tum gratia viri permotus flexit animum suum et Iugurtham beneficiis

vincere aggressus est statimque eum adoptavit et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit.

- 4 Sed ipse paucos post annos mortuo atque aetate confectus cum sibi finem vitae adesse intellegeret, coram amicis et cognatis itemque Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis dicitur huiusce modi verba cum Iugurtha habuisse:

10 *In his parting address to Jugurtha and his sons he first praised Jugurtha for his past services and then implored him to befriend his brothers and to keep the kingdom strong through unity of rule. He urged Adherbal and Hiempsal to respect and emulate Jugurtha.*

- 1 "Parvum ego te, Iugurtha, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus in regnum meum accepi, existmans non minus me tibi quam liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore.
- 2 neque ea res falsum me habuit. nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua omitam, novissime rediens Numantia meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti tuaque virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti. in Hispania nomen familiae renovatum est. postremo, quod difficilem inter mortales est, gloria invidiam vicisti.

- 3 "Nunc, quoniam mihi natura finem vitae facit, per hanc dexteram, per regni fidem moneo obtestorque te, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas neu malis alienos adiungere quam sanguine coniunctos retinere. non exercitus neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere neque auro parare queas: officio et fide parantur. quis autem amicior quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis, sin mali, inbecillum. nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur.

- 7 "Ceterum ante hos te, Iugurtha, qui aetate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. nam in

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omni certamine qui opulentior est, etiam si accipit  
 8 iniuriam, tamen, quia plus potest, facere videtur. vos  
 autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite observate talem hunc  
 virum, imitiamini virtutem et entiamini, ne ego meliores  
 liberos sumpsisse videar quam genuisse."

11 118 B.C. *After Micipsa's death the brothers met to discuss  
 their affairs. Hiempsal openly showed his contempt for  
 Jugurtha, and Jugurtha's proposal that Micipsa's decrees of  
 the previous five years should be annulled was sarcastically  
 accepted by Hiempsal inasmuch as Jugurtha had been adopted  
 during this time. This determined Jugurtha to get rid of  
 Hiempsal.*

1 Ad ea Jugurtha, tamen si regem facta locutum intellegebat  
 et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore  
 benigne respondit.  
 2 Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. postquam illi more  
 regio iusta magnifice fecerant, reguli in unum convenerunt,  
 3 ut inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. sed Hiempsal,  
 qui minimus ex illis erat, natura ferrox et iam antea  
 ignobilitatem Jugurthae, quia materno genere impar erat,  
 despicens, dextra Adherbalem adsegit, ne medius ex  
 4 tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret.  
 dein tamen, ut aetati concederet, fatigatus a fratre, vix in  
 5 partem alteram transductus est. ibi cum multa de  
 administrando imperio disserent, Jugurtha inter alias res  
 iacti oportere quinqueanni consulta et decreta omnia  
 rescindi, nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam  
 6 parum animo valuisse. tum idem Hiempsal placere sibi  
 respondit, nam ipsum illum tribus proxumis annis adopti-  
 7 atione in regnum pervenisse. quod verbum in pectus  
 Jugurthae altius quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit.  
 8 itaque ex eo tempore ira et metu anxius moliri parare atque  
 ea modo cum animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolium

9 caperetur. quae ubi tardius procedunt neque lenitur  
 animus ferrox, statim quovis modo inceptum perficere.

12 *The brothers, after deciding to partition the kingdom and to  
 divide the treasures, and arranging certain days for this to be  
 done, each took up residence near the treasury. Hiempsal  
 happened to take a house belonging to one of Jugurtha's  
 dependants who so planned it that a force of Jugurtha's  
 soldiers could enter the house by night. This they did, and  
 the servants were killed, the house ransacked, and Hiempsal  
 murdered.*

1 Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi,  
 2 propter disensionem placuerat dividi thesauros finesque  
 imperi singulis constitui. itaque tempus ad utramque rem  
 decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam.  
 3 reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio con-  
 cessere. sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmita forte eius domo  
 urebatur, qui proximus hictor Jugurthae carus acceptusque  
 ei semper fuerat. quem ille casu ministrum oblatum  
 promissis onerat impellitque, uti tanquam suam visens  
 domum eat, portarum claves adulterinas parat—nam verae  
 ad Hiempsalem referebantur—ceterum, ubi res postularat,  
 4 se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata  
 brevi conficit atque, uti doctus erat, noctu Jugurthae  
 5 milites introducit. qui postquam in aedes intrupere,  
 divorsi regem quaerere, dormientes alios, alios occurrentes  
 interficere, scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere, strepitu  
 et tumultu omnia miscere, cum interim Hiempsal reperitur  
 occultans se tugurio mulieris ancillae, quo initio pavidus et  
 6 ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidae caput eius, uti iussi  
 erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

13 117 B.C. *The news of Hiempsal's murder split Numidia  
 into two parties, the largest number siding with Adherbal,  
 but the best soldiers supporting Jugurtha who soon gained*

*control of several towns. Adherbal, who had sent envoys to Rome, took the field in confidence, but was defeated in the first battle. Jugurtha, fearing Rome's reaction sent envoys loaded with gifts to win Senatorial support, and in this he was successful. Both parties were summoned before the House.*

1 Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africanam brevi divulgatur. Adherbalem omnesque, qui sub imperio Micipsae fuerant, metus invadit. in duas partes discedunt Numidae: plures Adherbalem secuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. igitur Jugurtha quam maximas potest copias armat, urbes partium vi alias voluntate imperio suo adiungit, omni Numidae imperare parat. Adherbal, tamen si Roman legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de caede fratris et fortunis suis, tamen fretus multitudine militum parabat armis contendere. sed ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex proelio profugit in provinciam ac deinde Romanam contendit.

2 Tum Jugurtha patris consiliis, postquam omnis Numidiae potiebarat, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans timere populam Romanam neque advorsus iram eius usquam nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua spem habere. itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Roman legatos mittit, quis praecipit, primum uti veteres amicos numeribus expleant, deinde novos adquireant, postremo quaecumque possint largiundo parare ne cunctentur. sed ubi Roman legati venire et ex praeepto regis hospitibus aliisque, quorum ea tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat, magna munera miseret, tanta commutatio incessit, ut ex maxima invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret. quorum pars spe alii praemio inducti singulos ex senatu ambitando ritebantur, 9 ne gravius in eum consuleretur. igitur ubi legati satis confidunt, die constituto senatus utrisque datur. tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus:

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14 *Adherbal began his speech by referring to his father's dying words that Numidia was only theirs to administer for the Romans who were the real rulers, and that Adherbal could always appeal to Rome for help. Although he himself had complied with his father's wishes, Jugurtha had been able to drive him from his Kingdom. He only wished he could claim their assistance in return for services of his own instead of those of his ancestors, but he could not.*

1 "Patres conscripti, Micipsa pater meus moriens mihi praeecepit, uti regni Numidae tantum modo procurrationem existimarem meam, ceterum ius et imperium eius penes vos esse; simul enterer domi militiaeque quam maximo usui esse populo Romano, vos mihi cognatorum, vos adfinium loco duceren: si ea fecissem, in vostra amicitia exercitum divitias munimenta regni me habiturum. quae cum praeepta parentis mei agrerem, Jugurtha, homo omnium quos terra sustinet sceleratissimus, contempto imperio vostro Masinissae me nepotem et iam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi Romani regno fortunisque omnibus expulit.

3 "Atque ego, patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, velle potius ob mea quam ob maiorum meorum beneficia posse me a vobis auxilium petere, ac maxime debere mihi beneficia a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. sed quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi in manu fuit Jugurtha qualis foret, ad vos confugi, patres conscripti, quibus, quod mihi miserum est, cogor prius oneri quam usui esse. ceteri reges aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti sunt aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram adpetiverunt. familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Cartaginensi amicitiam instituit, quo tempore magis fides eius quam fortuna petunda erat. quorum progeniem vos, patres

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conscripti, nolite pati me nepotem Masinissae frustra a vobis auxilium petere.

*If he had no other reason for appealing to them there was the fact that he was being driven from the lands the Romans had given to his family for their services against the Carthaginians. They had enjoyed peace for many years until Jugurtha's murder of Hiempsal and his attack upon Adherbal's kingdom. Now there was no safety for him in Africa.*

7 "Si ad impetrandum nihil causae haberem praeter miserandam fortunam, quod paulo ante rex genere fama atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus aerumnis inops, alienas opes expecto, tamen erat maiestatis populi Romani prohibere iniuriam neque pati cuiusquam regnum per scelus crescere. verum ego eis finibus eiectus sum, quos maioribus meis populus Romanus dedit, unde pater et avos meus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. vestra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, patres conscripti, vos in mea iniuria despecti estis. eheu me miserum! hucine, Micipsa pater, beneficia tua evasere ut, quem tu parem cum liberis tuis regnique participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tuae extinator sit? nunquamne ergo familia nostra quiescit? semperne in sanguine ferro fuga 10 versabitur? dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, iure omnia saeva patebantur: hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. postquam illa pestis ex Africa electa est, laeti pacem agitabamus, quippe quis hostis 11 nullus erat, nisi forte quem vos iussissetis. ecce autem ex improviso Iugurtha, intoleranda audacia scelere atque superbia sese eferens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto primum regnum eius sceleris sui praedam fecit; post, ubi me eisdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus quam vim aut bellum expectantem in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, extorrem patria domo, inopem et cooperitum miseris effecit, ut ubivis tutus quam in meo regno essem.

*A friend of Rome, he had always believed Rome would protect him. What was he to do now that all his relatives had been destroyed by Jugurtha in one way or another? Numidia had never cultivated the friendship of other peoples believing that it could always call on the protection of Rome.*

12 "Ego sic existimabam, patres conscripti, uti praedictam audiveram patrem meum, qui vestram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, 13 ceterum ex omnibus maxime tutos esse. quod in familia nostra fuit, praestitit, uti in omnibus bellis adesset vobis; nos uti per otium tui simus, in vestra manu est, patres 14 conscripti. pater nos duos fratres reliquit, tertium Iugurtham beneficiis suis ratus est coniunctum nobis fore. alter eorum necatus est, alterius ipse ego manus impias vix 15 effugi. quid agam? aut quo potissimum infelix adcedam? generis praesidia omnia extincta sunt. pater, uti necesse erat, naturae concessit. fratri, quem minime decuit, propinquos per scelus vitam eripuit. adfines amicos propinquos ceteros meos alium alia cladibus oppressit: 16 capti ab Iugurtha pars in crucem acti, pars bestis obiecti sunt, pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi in tenebris cum maerore et luctu morte graviores vitam exigunt.

17 "Si omnia, quae aut amisi aut ex necessariis advorsa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex improviso mali accidisset, vos implorarem, patres conscripti, quibus pro magnitudine imperi ius et iniurias omnes curae esse deceat. 18 nunc vero exul patria domo, solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens quo adcedam aut quos appellem? nationesne an reges, qui omnes familiae nostrae ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt? an quoquam mihi adire licet, ubi non maiorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima sint? aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis 18 hostis fuit? postremo Masinissa nos ita instruit, patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus nisi populum Romanum,

ne societates, ne foedera nova acciperemus: abunde magna praesidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore; si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una occidendum nobis esse.

*His only fear was that some Senators would be influenced by their friendship with Jugurtha and by the lies Jugurtha's supporters were telling that Adherbal was feigning exile. He wished that that were so and that he was in a position to avenge the death of his brother. As it was, he was at a loss to know what to do and could only beg for aid in his affliction.*

- 19 "Virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et opulenti, omnia secunda et oboedientia sunt; quo facilis sociorum amicitia Iugurthae parum cognita transversos agit, quos ego audio maxima ope niti ambire fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente incognita causa statuat; fingere me verba et fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere.
- 20 quod utinam illum, cuius impio facinore in has miseras proleptus sum, eadem haec simulantem videam, et alihumana cura oritur: ne ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferrox atque praeclearus est, omnibus malis excruciatu impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis nunquique miseriarum graves poenas reddat.
- 21 "Iam iam, frater animo meo carissime, quamquam tibi immaturum et unde minime decuit vita erepta est, tamen laetandum magis quam dolendum puto casum tuum. non enim regnum, sed fugam exilium egestatem et omnes has quae me premunt aerumnas cum anima simul amissit. at ego infelix, in tanta mala praecipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam, tuasne iniurias persequar ipse auxilli egens an regno consulam, cuius vitae necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pender. utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset

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neu vivere contemptus viderer, si defessus malis iniuriae concessissem. nunc neque vivere libet neque mori licet sine dedecore.

25 "Patres conscripti, per vos, per liberos atque parentes vestros, per maiestatem populi Romani, subvenite mihi misero, ite obviam iniuriae, nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae tabescere."

*15 Jugurtha's envoys maintained that Hiempsal had been killed because of his cruelty, that Adherbal had been guilty of aggression and was now suffering the consequences, and that Jugurtha was still a loyal ally of Rome. They had support in the Senate from members who had been bribed by Jugurtha. Among those who attacked his treatment of Adherbal was Scaurus, a powerful and ambitious noble.*

- 1 Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Iugurthae largitione magis quam causa freit paucis responderunt: Hiempsalem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum, Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, quod iniuriam facere nequivisset: Iugurtham ab senatu petere, ne se alium putarent ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent. deinde utriusque curia egrediuntur. senatus statim consulitur. factores legatorum, praeterea senatus magna pars gratiam depravata Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Iugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria nitebantur. at contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequum divitiis carius erat, subveniendum Adherbali et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant, sed ex omnibus maxime Aemilius Scaurus, homo nobilibus impiger factiosus, avidus potentiae honoris divitiarum, ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. is postquam videt regis largitionem

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famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubricine continuit.

16 116 B.C. *A commission of ten headed by L. Opimius was appointed to divide Numidia between Jugurtha and Adherbal. To secure the support of Opimius and the other commissioners Jugurtha lavished gifts upon them. He was given the most fertile and thickly populated part of Numidia, and Adherbal the region with more harbours and buildings.*

- 1 Victi tamen in senatu pars illa, quae vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. decretum firmit decem legati regnum, quod Micipsa obtinuerat, inter Iugurtham et Adherbalem dividerent. cuius legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens, quia consul C. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis acerrime victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. eum Iugurtha tametsi Romae in inimicis habuerat, tamen accuratissime recepit, dando et pollicendo multa perfecti, uti fama, fide, postremo 4 omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferebat. reliquos legatos eadem via adgressus plerosque capit, paucis carior fides quam pecunia fuit. in divisione, quae pars Numidiae Mauritaniam attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Iugurthae traditur; illam alteram specie quam usu potiore, quae portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

- 17 *A geographical description of North Africa. It is usually regarded as a third continent bounded on the west by a strait and on the east by a sloping plateau. There are few harbours but the soil is good for arable farming. The inhabitants are healthy and very hardy; wild animals abound. This account is based upon Punic books attributed to King Hiempsal.*
- 1 Res postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere et eas gentes, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, attingere.

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THE RISE OF JUGURTHA

- 2 sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem aut asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de eis haud facile conperitum narraverim. cetera quam paucissimis absolvam.
- 3 In divisione orbis terrae plerique in parte tertia Africam posuere, pauci tantum modo Asiam et Europam esse, sed 4 Africam in Europa. ea fines habet ab occidente fretum nostri maris et Oceani, ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem, 5 quem locum Catathamon incolae appellant. mare saevum, importunos; ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus; caelo terraque penuria aquarum. 6 genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum; plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestitis interiire, nam moribus haud saepe quemquam superat; ad hoc malefici generis plurima animalia. sed qui mortales 7 initio Africam habuerint quique postea adcesserint aut quo modo inter se permixti sint, quamquam ab ea fama, quae plerosque optinet, divorsum est, tamen uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est utique rem sese habere cultores eius terrae putant, quam paucissimis dicam. ceterum fides eius rei penes auctores erit.

- 18 *Originally Africa was inhabited by the nomadic Gaetulians and Libyans. When Hercules died in Spain his soldiers, Medes, Persians, and Armenians, crossed to Africa. The Persians and Gaetulians intermarried, calling themselves Nomads: the Medes and Armenians settled near the Libyans and all three soon built towns. The younger Persians took possession of the area now called Numidia and gradually the Numidian races conquered most of North Africa.*
- 1 Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyae, asperi incultique, quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum 2 uti pecoribus. ei neque moribus neque lege aut imperio cuiusquam regebantur: vagi palantes quas nox coegerat 3 sedes habebant. sed postquam in Hispania Hercules,

67



*Jugurtha ruled the Gaetulians and Numidia as far as the River Mulucha, and King Bocchus the Moors.*

1 Postea Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia, pars imperi cupidine sollicitata plebe et aliis novarum urbium avidis, Hipponem Hadrumentum Lepidum aliasque urbes in ora maritima condidere; eaeque brevi multum auctae pars originibus suis praesidio aliae decori fiere. 2 nam de Carthagine silere melius puto quam parum dicere, quoniam alio properare tempus monet.

3 Igitur ad Catathamon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari prima Cyrene est, colonia Theraeon, Philaenon arae, quem locum Aegyptum versus finem imperi habuere Carthaginienses, post aliae Punicae urbes. 4 cetera loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidae tenent, 5 proximi Hispaniam Mauri sunt, super Numidiam Gaetulios accepimus partim in tuguriis alios inculitus vagos 6 agitare, post eos Aethiops esse, dein loca exusta solis 7 ardoribus. igitur bello Iugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida et fines Carthaginiensium, quos novissime habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat; Gaetulorum magna pars et Numidae usque ad flumen Muluccham sub Iugurtha erant; Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, praeter nomen cetera ignarus populi Romani itemque nobis neque bello neque pace 8 antea cognitus. de Africa et eius incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

20 *The Roman commissioners left Africa. Jugurtha, convinced that everything at Rome had its price, immediately invaded Adherbal's territory and then retreated to await his counter attack. When this did not come because of Adherbal's refusal to fight, he again marched with a view to conquering the whole of Numidia.*

1 Postquam divisio regno legati Africa decessere et Iugurtha

sicuti Afri purant, interit, exercitus eius, compositus ex varis gentibus, amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus brevi dilabitur. ex eo numero Medii, Persae et Armenii navibus in Africam transvecti proximos 5 nostro mari locos occupavere, sed Persae intra Oceanum magis, eique alveos navium invorsos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris neque ab Hispanis emundi aut 6 mutandi copia erat: mare magnum et ignara lingua con- 7 mercio prohibebant. ei paulatim per conubia Gaetulios secum miscuere et, quia saepe temptantes agros alia deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Nomadas appellavere. 8 ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga incurvis lateribus tecta quasi 9 navium carinae sunt. Medis autem et Armeniis adessere Libyes—nam ei propius mare Africum agitabant, Gaetuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus—eique mature oppida habuere: nam freto divisi ab Hispania mutare res 10 inter se instituerant. nomen eorum paulatim Libyes conrumpere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis appellantes. 11 sed res Persarum brevi adolevit, ac postea nomine Numidae, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possedere ea loca, quae proxuma Carthaginem Numidia appellatur. 12 deinde utrique alteris freti finitimos armis aut metu sub imperium suum coegere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere, magis ei, qui ad nostrum mare processerant, quia Libyes quam Gaetuli minus bellicosi. denique Africae pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est, vici omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

19 *Later, the Phoenicians founded coastal towns. Westwards from Egypt Gyrene is the first town, then the Syres with Leptis between them and then the Altars of Philaeni and other Punic towns. South of Numidia are the Gaetulians and further south the Ethiopians. At the time of Jugurtha Rome governed most of the Punic and Carthaginian cities,*

contra timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum sese videt, certum esse ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paulo ante numeribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit, ipse acer, bellicosus; at is quem petebat quietus, inbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus iniuria, metuens magis quam metuendus. igitur ex improviso fines eius cum magna manu invadit, multos mortales cum pecore atque alta praeda capit, aedificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu adcedit, deinde, cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convortit, existumans Adherbalem dolore pernotum iniurias suas manu vindicaturum eamque rem belli causam fore. at ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de iniuriis questum misit. qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retrulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit quam bellum sumere, quia temptatum antea secus cesserat. neque eo magis cupido Jugurthae minuebatur, quippe qui totum eius regnum animo iam invaserat. itaque non uti antea cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato bellum gerere coepit et aperte totius Numidiae imperium petere. ceterum quae pergebat, urbes agros vastare, praedas agere, suis animum hostibus terrorem augere.

21 *Adherbal was thus forced to take the field, but after a night raid by Jugurtha upon his camp he fled to Cirta. Here he was besieged by Jugurtha who attempted by every means to take the city before Rome took action. In fact, Rome sent three young envoys to mediate.*

- 1 Adherbal ubi intellegit eo processum, uti regnum aut relinendum esset aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat et Jugurthae obvius procedit. interim haud longe a mari prope Cirtam oppidum utriusque exercitus consedit

et, quia diei extremum erat, proelium non inceptum. sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine milites Jugurthini signo dato castra hostium invadunt semisomnos partim alios arma sumentes fugant funduntque. Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentes moenibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum foret. igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumsegit, vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare adgreditur, maxime festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos ante proelium factum ab Adherbale Romanam missos audiverat.

4 Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adulescentes in Africanam legantur, qui ambos reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuntient velle et censere eos ab armis discedere, de controversiis suis iure potius quam bello disceptare: ita seque illisque dignum esse.

22 *Jugurtha assured these envoys that he was anxious to please the Romans as he had in the past when serving under Scipio. He had always acted honorably but had been forced to retaliate when he learned that Adherbal had treacherously plotted against his life. He would inform Rome more fully on the situation through envoys.*

- 1 Legati in Africanam maturantes veniunt, eo magis quod Romae, dum proficisci parant, de proelio facto et oppugnatione Cirtae audiebatur: sed is rumor clemens erat. quorum Jugurtha accepta oratione respondit sibi neque maius quicquam neque carius auctoritate senatus esse: ab adolescentia ita se enisum, ut ab optimo quoque probaretur; virtute, non malitia P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse; ob eandem artes a Micipsa non penuria liberorum in regnum adoptatum esse. ceterum quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum iniuriam minus tolerare. Adherbalem dolis vitae suae insidiatum;

quod ubi conperisset, sceleri eius obviam isse. populum Romanum neque recte neque pro bono facturum, si ab iure gentium sese prohibuerit. postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romanum brevi missurum. ita utrique digredium-  
5 tur. Adherbals appellandi copia non fuit.

23 *When the envoys had gone, Jugurtha blockaded Cirta using persuasion and threats to induce the inhabitants to surrender. Adherbal, thus reduced to extremities, persuaded two soldiers to try to get a message through to Rome.*

1 Jugurtha ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa moenia circumdat, turres extruit easque praesidiis firmat; praeterea dies noctesque aut per vim aut doctis temptare; defensoribus moenium praemia modo modo formidinem ostentare; suos hortando ad virtutem  
2 arrigere; proptus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal ubi intellegit omnes suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariorum bellum trahi non posse, ex eis qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxime impigros delegit. eos multa pollicendo ac miserando casum suum confirmat uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romanam pergerent.

\* 24 *Adherbal's letter which was read in the Senate deplored the situation in which Adherbal found himself, for he had been besieged for four months without any help from Rome. Jugurtha clearly was aiming not so much at his downfall as at controlling the whole of Rome's possessions in Africa. Adherbal was willing to forfeit his kingdom if Rome would save him from torture and death.*

1 Numidae paucis diebus iussa efficiunt. litterae Adherbals in senatu recitatae, quarum sententia haec fuit:  
2 "Non mea culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthae subigit, quem tanta lubido

extinguendi me invasit, ut neque vos neque deos immortales in animo habeat, sanguinem meum quanti omnia malit. itaque quintum iam mensum socius et amicus populi Romani armis obsessus teneor; neque mihi Micipsae patris mei beneficia neque vestra decreta auxiliantur; ferro an fame acrius urgear incertus sum.

4 "Plura de Jugurtha scribere deboratur me fortuna mea. 5 etiam antea expertus sum parum fidei miseris esse. nisi tamen intellego illum supra quam ego sum petere neque simul amicitiam vestram et regnum meum sperare. 6 initio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem meum, deinde patrio regno me expulit. quae sane fuerint nostrae iniuriae, nihil 7 ad vos. verum nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet; nihil quem vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum 8 obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea 9 declarant. quid est reliquum nisi vis vestra, quo moveri quae antea in senatu questus sum vana forent potius quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret.

10 "Sed quoniam eo natus sum, ut Jugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non iam mortem neque aerumnas, tantum modo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. regno Numidae, quod vestrum est, uti lubet consulite: me manibus impiis eripite, per maiestatem imperi, per amicitiae fidem, si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Massinissae."

25 *Some Senators urged that an army be sent at once, but Jugurtha's partisans prevented this. Instead, men of high rank, including Scaurus, embarked within three days to deal with the situation. When Jugurtha was summoned to appear before them he first made a final effort to take Cirta, but when this failed he decided to see the envoys. The discussion that ensued achieved nothing.*

## PART I

1 His litteris recitatis fuere qui exercitum in Africanam  
mittendum censerent et quam primum Adherbali  
subveniendum; de Iugurtha interim uti consuleretur,  
2 quoniam legatis non parvisset. sed ab eisdem illis regis  
3 factoribus summa ope enisum, ne tale decretum fieret. ita  
bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata  
4 gratia devictum. legantur tamen in Africanam maiores natu  
nobiles, amplis honoribus usi. in quis fuit M. Scaurus, de  
quo supra memoravimus, consularis et tum senatus  
5 princeps. ei, quod res in invidia erat, simul et ab Numidius  
obsecrati, triduo navem ascendere. dein brevi Uticam  
adpulsi litteras ad Iugurtham mittunt: quam occisum ad  
6 provinciam adcedat seque ad eum ab senatu missos. ille  
ubi accepit homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae  
pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse, primo  
commotus metu atque lubricum divorsus agitabatur.  
7 timebat iram senatus, ni parvisset legatis: porro animus  
8 cupidine caecus ad inceptum scelus rapiiebatur. vicit tamen  
9 in avido ingenio pravum consilium. igitur exercitu circum-  
dato summa vi Cirtam intrumpere nititur, maxime sperans  
diducta manu hostium aut vi aut dolis sese casum victoriae  
10 inventurum. quod ubi secus procedit neque quod  
intenderat efficere potest, ut, prius quam legatos con-  
veniret, Adherbaliis potiretur, ne amplius morando  
Scaurum quem plurimum timebat incenderet, cum  
11 paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. ac tamen si senati  
verbis graves minae nuntiabantur, quod ab oppugnatione  
non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumpta legati  
frustra discessere.

26 112 B.C. *Believing that they would escape injury because of  
Rome's prestige, the Italian inhabitants of Cirta urged  
Adherbal to surrender and he agreed. Once the city was in  
his hands Jugurtha first tortured Adherbal to death and then  
murdered all those who were found with arms.*

## THE RISE OF JUGURTHA

1 Ea postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute  
moenia defensabantur, confisi deditone facta propter  
magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore,  
Adherbali suadent, uti seque et oppidum Iugurthae tradat,  
tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur; de ceteris senati curae  
2 fore. at ille, tamen si omnia potiora fide Iugurthae  
rebat, tamen quia penes eosdem, si advorsaretur, cogundi  
potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditonem facit.  
3 Iugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat, deinde  
omnes puberes Numidas atque negotiatores promiscue,  
uti quisque armatus obvius fuerat, interficit.

## PART II

### THE FIRST PHASE OF THE WAR (111-109 B.C.) (27-42)

This part of the work might equally well have been entitled "Jugurtha's gold defeats Rome", for it is the story of the successful corruption of Rome's ruling class by a rich, cunning, and insolent prince who believed that if a bribe were big enough no man could resist it. The news of his outrageous conduct at Cirta clearly stunned the Senate (27), but his resident supporters were quick to defend him and to minimise the seriousness of his insult to Rome. It was a tribune, Gaius Memmius, who came to the defence of Rome's honour and secured the declaration of war.

A legation sent by Jugurtha to appeal to the Senate was refused permission to enter the city and sent home. The consul, Lucius Calpurnius Besta, was instructed to levy an army and deal with this impudent king. But Sallust, by his description of the consul, leaves us in little doubt as to the likely outcome of the expedition: though Besta was a man with many good qualities these were all overshadowed by his *avaritia*, the one weakness that Jugurtha desired in his opponents. Even the noble Scaturus, Besta's lieutenant, seems to have had his price, for Jugurtha secured an end to the expedition before it had properly got under way. Sallust clearly states that though Jugurtha surrendered officially to the Roman Council of War the details of his "surrender" were arranged privately with Besta and Scaturus.

News of this agreement naturally incensed the Roman populace, and while the Senate were vacillating, the tribune Memmius went about stirring the people to action. As a result, the praetor L. Cassius was given the task of

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THE FIRST PHASE OF THE WAR

bringing Jugurtha to Rome to give evidence against the victims of his bribery. The king's supporters in Rome, anxious in their guilt, now made use of the tribunate to their own advantage, for when Jugurtha was called to speak, the tribune C. Baebius, who had himself been adequately bribed to do this, vetoed the proceedings. It was an angry and frustrated people that left the meeting on that day.

The lengths to which Jugurtha's audacity would go are shown in the next incident. The new consul, Sp. Albinus, who wanted the whole business brought to the boil again in the hopes that the war would be renewed, urged one of Jugurtha's kinsmen, Massiva, to make a bid before the Senate for the Numidian throne (35). This man, a grandson of Masinissa, had taken refuge in Rome when his support of Adherbal had proved unsuccessful. Within a short time of hearing the news Jugurtha had arranged for his murder through the agency of one of his dependants, Bomilcar; and even when Bomilcar was arrested and only granted bail on the sureties of fifty members of Jugurtha's suite, Jugurtha managed to smuggle him away to Numidia. Rome was learning how determined and how elusive a character Jugurtha really was, and in disgust she sent him back home determined to humble him in battle.

When the war was resumed the consul's mind was already dwelling upon the elections for the next year at which he was obliged to preside, and he was eager to bring the war to a speedy end. He soon found himself at the mercy of Jugurtha's treacherous wiles: he could pin the king down neither by military action nor by diplomacy, and he was reluctantly forced to leave his brother Aulus, a praetor, to deputise for him in Numidia when he returned to Rome to supervise the elections. However, Rome was in a state of turmoil, for two tribunes were blocking electoral proceedings, and this led Aulus to entertain the hope that in the longer period during which he would be exercising

command in Numidia he might bring the war to an end and thus win glory for himself.

But Aulus was no match for Jugurtha, and his rash winter campaign ended in the disastrous surrender of his forces to the king. This second unworthy conclusion to a Roman campaign in Numidia stirred up resentment much more bitter than before, and Albinus, in alarm for his own reputation, sailed for Numidia to take up the war again and to restore the lost prestige of the army. But so demoralised was the army to which he came that he was quite unable to renew hostilities for the time being.

In Rome a tribune, C. Manlius Limetanus, did not wait for Albinus' solution but passed a Bill prosecuting all those who had in any way assisted Jugurtha by support for his policy or had made any agreement with him. Amidst the confused feeling in the city Marcus Scantius, one of the guiltiest of them all, succeeded in getting himself appointed one of the three judges in the courts that were set up, and even Sallust himself, democrat that he was, speaks regretfully of the harshness of the proceedings, and doubts the impartiality of the judgment administered. It is at this point, where the bitterness between the people and the ruling faction is at its greatest, that Sallust digresses to trace the origin of the factions in Rome.

27 III B.C. *When news of Jugurtha's outrage at Cirta reached Rome, his supporters in the Senate sought to minimise the crime, but their bad motives were revealed to the people by Memmius, the tribune-elect. The Senate then assigned the provinces of Italia and Numidia to the consuls, the former to P. Scipio Nasica and the latter to L. Calpurnius Bestia, who then began preparations for war against Jugurtha.*

1 *Quod postquam Romae cognitum est et res in senatu agitari coepit, idem illi ministri regis interpellando ac*

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THE FIRST PHASE OF THE WAR

- 1 saepe gratia, interdum iurgis trahundo tempus, atrocitatem facit leniebant. ac ni C. Memmius tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset id agi ut per paucos factiosos Iugurthae scelus condonaretur, profecto omnis invidia prolarandis consultationibus dilapsa foret: tanta vis gratiae atque pecuniae regis erat. sed ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, lege Semproniana provinciae futuris consultius Numidia atque Italia decretae; consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia: Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit. deinde exercitus qui in Africam portaretur scribitur; stipendium atque quae bello usui forent decernuntur.

28 *Jugurtha, alarmed by this, sent his son and two friends to Rome with orders to use bribery to conciliate the Romans. However, they were refused permission to enter the city and had to return to Numidia. Bestia chose loyal party men as his lieutenants, amongst them Scaurus. On reaching Africa Bestia immediately invaded Numidia, and captured several towns.*

- 1 At Iugurtha contra spem nuntio accepto, quippe cui Romae omnia venire in animo haeserat, filium et cum eo duo familiares ad senatum legatos mittit eisque uti illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, praecipit, omnes mortales pecunia aggrediantur. qui postquam Romanam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus est placere ne legatos Iugurthae recipi moenibus, eique decrevere, nisi regnum ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus proximis decem Italia decederent. consul Numidus ex senatus decreto nuntiarı iubet. ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt.
- 4 Interim Calpurnius parato exercitu legat sibi homines nobiles factiosos, quorum auctoritate quae deliquisset munita fore sperabat. in quis fuit Scaurus, cuius de

- 5 natura et habitu supra memoravimus. nam in consule nostro multae bonaeque artes et animi et corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia praepeditabat: patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimum contra pericula et insidias. sed legiones per Italiam Regium atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvectae. igitur Calpurnius initio paratis comitatibus acriter Numidiam ingressus est multosque mortales et urbes aliquot pugnando cepit.

29 *Jugurtha succeeds in influencing Bestia and even Scaurus by bribery to suspend hostilities. Encouraged by the consul to trust him he went to the Roman camp to arrange a surrender. This was accepted by the council of war and payment was made by Jugurtha in kind and in silver. Bestia returned to Rome.*

- 1 Sed ubi Iugurtha per legatos pecunia temptare bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere coepit, animus aeger avaritia facile convorsus est. ceterum socius et administrator omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus, qui tamen a principio plerisque ex factione eius corruptis acerrime regem impugnaverat, tamen magnitudine pecuniae a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. sed Iugurtha primo tantum modo belli moram redimebat, existmans sese aliquid interim Romae pretio aut gratia effecturum. postea vero quam participem negoti Scaurum accepit, in maximam spem adductus recuperandae pacis statuit cum eis de omnibus pactioibus praesens agere. ceterum interea fidei causa mittitur a consule Sextius quaesor in oppidum Iugurthae Vagam. cuius rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat, quoniam deditiois mora induitiae agitabantur. igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit ac pauca praesenti consilio locutus de invidia facti sui atque uti in deditioem acciperetur, relicta cum Bestia et Scaurio secreta transigit. dein postero die quasi per saturam

PART II

6 sententis exquisitis in deditionem accipitur. sed, uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephanti triginta, pecus atque equi multi cum parvo argenti pondere quaestori traduntur.

7 Calpurnius Romanam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur in Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agiabat.

30 *At Rome the events in Africa were talked about everywhere. The people were indignant and the Senate uncertain what action to take. Memmius again inveighed against the nobility, urging the people to bring the guilty to justice.*

1 Postquam res in Africa gestas quoque modo actae forent fama divulgavit, Romae per omnes locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari. apud plebem gravis invidia, patres solliciti erant: probarentur tantum flagitium an decretum consulis subvertent parum constabat. ac maxime eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiae ferebatur, 2 a vero bonoque impediēbat. at C. Memmius, cuius de libertate ingeni et odio potentiae nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senatus conditionibus populū ad vindicandum hortari, monere ne rem publicam, ne libertatem suam desererent, multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere; prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum incendebat.

4 Sed quoniam ea tempestate Romae Memmi facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existimavi unam ex tam multis orationem eius perscribere, ac potissimum ea dicam, quae in contione post reditum Bestiae huiusce modi verbis disseruit:

31 *Devotion to his country, said Memmius, forced him to address them, when he would otherwise be deterred by adverse circumstances. He was ashamed to speak of the way the nobility had intimidated the people in the past, but he did not urge violence or secession, for the nobility would destroy themselves by their own crimes.*

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1 "Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium rei publicae omnia superet: opes factionis, vestra patientia, ius nullum, ac maxime quod innocentiae plus periculi 2 quam honoris est. nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis quindecim quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum, quam foede quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores, ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque socordia corruptus sit, 3 qui ne nunc quidem obnoxii inimicis exurgitis atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus decet terrori esse. sed 4 quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit. certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente meo tradita est, experiar. verum id frustra an 5 ob rem faciam, in vestra manu situm est, Quirites.

6 "Neque ego vos horror, quod saepe maiores vestri fecere, uti contra iniurias armati eatis: nihil vi, nihil secessionē opus est; necesse est suomet ipsi more praecipites eant. occiso Ti. Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quaestiones habitae sunt. post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvi caedem item vestri ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati sunt: utriusque cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit.

*Even if the nobility's arguments against democracy were allowed, their own crimes against the State and their allies were shameful, and yet they remained arrogant. The commons were standing placidly by while those men committed their crimes unabashed, united in their vices. The people needed their fathers' love of freedom that made them secede from Rome if they were to retain their liberty.*

8 "Sed sane fuerit regni paratio plebi sua restituere; quiddid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, iure 9 factum sit. superioribus annis taciti indignabamini aerarium expliari, reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere, penes eosdem et summam gloriam et

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## PART II

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maximas divitias esse. tamen haec talia facinora impune  
 suscepisse parum habuere, itaque postremo leges, maiestas  
 vostra, divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt.  
 10 neque eos qui ea fecere pudet aut paenitet, sed incedunt  
 per ora vostra magnifici, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars  
 triumphos suos ostentantes: proinde quasi ea honori  
 11 non praedae habeant. servi aere parati iniusta imperia  
 dominorum non perferunt; vos, Quirites, in imperio nati  
 12 aequo animo servitutem toleratis? at qui sunt ei, qui rem  
 publicam occupavere? homines sceleratissimi, cruentis  
 manibus, immmani avaritia, nocentissimi et eidem super-  
 13 bissumi, quibus fides decus pietas, postremo honesta  
 atque inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt. patres eorum  
 occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quaestiones iniustas, plerique  
 14 caedem in vos fecisse pro munimento habent. ita quam  
 quisque pessime fecit tam maxime tutus est. metum ab  
 scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transulere, quos omnes  
 eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem meture in unum  
 15 coegit. sed haec inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio  
 16 est. quod si tam vos libertatis curam haberetis quam illi  
 ad dominationem accensi sunt, profecto neque res publica  
 17 sicuti nunc vastaretur et beneficia vestra penes optimos  
 non audacissimos forent. maiores vestri parandi iuris et  
 maiestatis constituendae gratia bis per secessionem armati  
 Aventinum occupavere. vos pro libertate, quam ab  
 illis accepistis, nomine summa ope nitimini? atque eo  
 vehementius, quo maius dedecus est parva amittere quam  
 omnino non paravisse.

*Let a court be set up to try the guilty and Jugurtha be brought  
 to give evidence. If he were truly a prisoner of war he would  
 obey: his refusal would reveal the true nature of his surrender.  
 They must do this or for ever suffer under the tyranny of the  
 nobility. To overlook these crimes would end in the people's*

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*ruin, and these must be prevented from committing future  
 offences.*

18 "Dicit aliquis 'quid igitur censes?' vindicandum in  
 eos, qui hosti prodidere rem publicam, non manu neque vi,  
 quod magis vos fecisse quam illis accidisse indignum est,  
 19 verum quaestionibus et iudicio ipsius Jugurthae. qui si  
 deditionis est, profecto iussis vestris oboediens erit; sin  
 ea contemnit, scilicet existimabit, qualis illa pax aut  
 deditio sit, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerrimam impunitas, ad  
 paucos potentes maxumae divitiae, ad rem publicam  
 20 damna atque dedecora pervenerint. nisi forte nondum  
 etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet et illa quam  
 haec tempora magis placent, cum regna provinciae leges  
 iura iudicia bella atque paces, postremo divina et humana  
 omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est populus  
 Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium  
 gentium satis habebatis animam retinere: nam servitutem  
 quidem quis vestrum recusare audebat?

21 "Atque ego, tamen si viro flagitiosissimum existimo  
 impune iniuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceler-  
 atissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo  
 22 paterer, ni misericordia in perniciem casura esset. nam  
 et illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est impune  
 male fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur, et vobis  
 aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum intellegitis aut serviun-  
 dum esse aut per manus libertatem retinendam.

*The people and the nobility had nothing in common and there  
 could be no friendship between them. Former crimes had now  
 been exceeded in that the honour of the State had been  
 prostituted to a vicious enemy. The guilty had to be punished  
 or their wickedness would lead them to even greater crimes.*

23 "Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes est?  
 dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi iniurias, vos  
 prohibere; postremo sociis nostris veluti hostibus, hostibus

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24 pro sociis ununtur. potestine in tam divorsis mentibus pax  
 25 aut amicitia esse? qua re moneo hortorque vos, ne tantum  
 scelus inpunitum omittatis. non peculatus aerari factus  
 est neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae, quae quamquam  
 graviora sunt, tamen consensu iam pro nihilo habentur,  
 hosti acerrimo prodita senatus auctoritas, proditum  
 imperium vestrum est: domi militiaeque res publica  
 26 venalis fuit. quae nisi quaesita erunt, nisi vindictam in  
 noxios, quid erit relicum, nisi ut illis qui ea fecere oboedi-  
 27 entes vivamus? nam impune quae libet facere, id est  
 regem esse. neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor ut malitis  
 cives vestros perperam quam recte fecisse, sed ne igno-  
 28 cundo malis bonos perditum eatis. ad hoc in re publica  
 multo praestat benefici quam malefici inmemorem esse:  
 bonus tantum modo segnior fit, ubi negligas, at malus  
 29 improbius. ad hoc si iniuriae non sint, haud saepe auxilii  
 egeas."

32 *As a result of this speech, L. Cassius, the praetor, was instructed by the people to bring Jugurtha to Rome to give evidence. Meanwhile, in Numidia, Bestia's officers had succumbed to Jugurtha's bribes and were returning elephants and deserters, or were attacking peaceful tribes. On his arrival there, Cassius persuaded Jugurtha to come to Rome, giving him a pledge of safety.*

- 1 Haec atque alia huiusce modi saepe in contione dicundo Memmius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum praetor erat, ad Iugurtham mitteretur eumque interposita fide publica Romam duceret, quo facilius iudicio regis Scauri et relicuorum, quos pecuniae captae arcessebat, delicta pateferent.
- 2 Dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relicti a Bestia exercitui praecerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui plurima et flagitiosissima facinora fecere. fuere qui auro corrupti elephantos Iugurthae traderent, alii perfugas

4 vendebant, pars ex pacatis praedas agebant: tanta vis  
 5 avaritiae in animos eorum veluti tabes invaserat. at Cassius praetor perlata rogatione a C. Memmio ac percussa omni nobilitate ad Iugurtham proficiscitur eique timido et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis persuadet, quoniam se populo Romano dedisset, ne vim quam misericordiam eius experiri mallet. privatim praeterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris quam publicam ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

33 *Jugurtha arrived in Rome in mourning garb. He was induced by his supporters to bribe the tribune C. Baebius to protect him against the law. Against the people's noisy demonstrations Memmius appealed for calm and the honouring of the State's pledge of safety. When Jugurtha was brought out Memmius recalled the king's past crimes and bade him now speak the truth.*

- 1 Igitur Iugurtha contra decus regium cultu quam maxime miserabili cum Cassio Romanam venit. ac tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quae supra diximus, C. Baebium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cuius impudentia contra ius et iniurias omnes munitus foret. at C. Memmius advocata contione, quamquam regi infesta plebes erat et pars in vincula duci iubebat, pars, nisi socios sceleris sui aperiret, more maiorum de hoste supplicium sumi, dignitati quam irae magis consulens sedare motus et animos eorum mollire, postremo confirmare, fidem publicam per sese involatam fore. post, ubi silentium coepit, producto Iugurtha verba facit, Romae Numidiaque facinora eius memorat, scelera in patrem fratresque ostendit quibus invanibus quibusque ministris ea egerit. quamquam intellegat populus Romanus, tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere. si verum aperiat, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem

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illi sitam, sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore sed se suasque spes corrupturum.

34 *Then Baebius vetoed the proceedings, preventing Jugurtha from speaking. The people, who were furious but could do nothing, left the assembly humiliated, while Jugurtha and his supporters regained their confidence.*

1 Deinde ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit et Jugurtha respondere iussus est, C. Baebius tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere iubet, ac tamesi multitudine, quae in contione aderat, vehementer accensa terrebat eum clamore, voltu, saepe impetu atque aliis omnibus, quae ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. 2 ita populus hiddrito habitus ex contione discedit; Jugurthae Bestiaque et ceteris, quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi aulescunt.

35 *In Rome at this time was a grandson of Masinissa named Massiva. He was urged by the new consul Albinus, who was eager for war, to ask the Senate for the throne of Numidia. When Jugurtha learned of this he directed his attendant Bomlicar to arrange the murder of Massiva. This he did, but so incautiously was it carried out that he was arrested. Though Bomlicar was on bail, Jugurtha smuggled him back to Numidia, and was himself shortly forced by the Senate to return home.*

1 Erat ea tempestate Romae Numida quidam nomine Massiva, Gullussae filius, Masinissae nepos, qui, quia in dissensione regum Jugurthae advorsus fuerat, dedita Cirra et Adherbale interfecto profugus ex patria abierat. 2 huic Sp. Albinus, qui proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissae sit Jugurthamque ob scelera invidiam cum metu urgeat, regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. 3 avidus consuli belli gerundi movere quam sensescere omnia

4 malebat. ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evenerat. quae postquam Massiva agitare coepit neque Jugurthae in amicis satis praesidi est, quod eorum alium conscentiam alium mala fama et timor impediabat, Bomlicari proximo ac maxime fido sibi imperat, pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivae parat ac maxime occulte, sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidiam interficiat. 5 Bomlicar mature regis mandata exsequitur et per homines talis negotii artifices itinera egressusque eius, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat. deinde, 6 ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad caedem parati erant, paulo inconsultius Massivam aggreditur: illum obruncat, sed ipse deprehensus multis hortantibus et in primis Albino consule, 7 indicium profertur. fit reus magis ex aequo bonoque quam ex iure gentium Bomlicar, comes eius qui Romam 8 fide publica venerat. at Jugurtha manifestus tanti sceleris non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animad- vorit supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti 9 esse. igitur, quamquam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat, regno magis quam vadibus consulens clam in Numidiam Bomlicarem dimittit, veritus, ne relictos populares metus invaderet parandi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumptum foret. et ipse paucis diebus 10 eodem profectus est, iussus a senatu Italia decedere. sed postquam Roma egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse: "urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit".

36 *110 B.C. Albinus renewed hostilities, being eager to finish the war before the approaching elections. Jugurtha, however, prolonged the war by devious means, and Albinus himself came under suspicion of the people for not easily completing the war which had been begun with such urgency. He returned to Rome leaving his brother Aulus in command.*

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- 1 Interim Albinus renovato bello comneatum, stipendium aliaque, quae militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare: ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis aut deditione aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. at contra Iugurtha trahere omnia et alias deinde alias morae causas facere; polliceri deditionem ac deinde metum simulare; cedere instanti et paulo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo, modo pacis mora consulens iudicare. ac fieri qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consili regis existimarent neque ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum socordia magis quam dolo crederent. sed postquam diutius tempore comitorum dies adventabat, Albinus Aulo fratre in castris pro praetore relicto Romanam decessit.

37 *At Rome two tribunes were blocking the elections in order to prolong their term of office. Aulus now hoped to be able to finish the war in Numidia and went into battle despite the severity of the winter. He laid siege to the town of Suthul where the king's treasure was kept.*

- 1 Ea tempestate Romae seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter
- 2 res publica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis resistentibus collegis continuare magistratum nitebantur, quae dissensio totius anni comitia impediēbat.
- 3 ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro praetore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiendi belli aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniae capiundae, milites mense Ianuario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat magnisque itineribus hieme aspera pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi
- 4 regis thesauri erant. quod quamquam et saevitia temporis et opportunitate loci neque capi neque obsideri poterat—nam circum murum situm in praerupti montis extremo planities limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat—tamen aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut

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cupidine caecus ob thesauros oppidi potuendi, vineas agere, aggerem iacere, aliaque quae incepto usui forent properare.

38 *Jugurtha perceived Aulus' inexperience, and while holding out hopes of an agreement he induced him to leave Suthul and come to a remote region, meanwhile bribing his officers. Then at night he attacked the Roman camp causing utter confusion: Ligurians, Thracians, and a centurion conspired with Jugurtha and let him into the camp. The next day Aulus submitted to the terms that his army should pass under the yoke and leave Numidia within ten days.*

- 1 At Iugurtha cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati subdole eius augere amentiam, missitare supplicantes legatos, ipse quasi viabundus per saliosa loca et tramites exercitum ducere. demique Aulum spe pacionis perpulit, uti relicto Suthule in abditis regiones sese veluti cedentem insequeretur: ita delicia occultiora fuerunt. interea per homines callidos diu nocturne exercitum temptabat, centuriones ducesque turmarum parim uti transfugerent
- 2 conrumpere, alii signo dato locum uti desererent. quae postquam ex sententia instruit, intempesta nocte de improviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit.
- 3 milites Romani, percussus tumultu insolito, arma capere alii alii se abdere, pars terros confirmare, trepidare omnibus locis. vis magna hostium, caelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum, periculum anceps; postremo fugere an manere tutius foret, in incerto erat. sed ex eo numero, quos paulo ante corruptos diximus, cohorts una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum et paucis gregariis militibus transiere ad regem, et centurio primi pili terriae legionis per munitionem, quam uti defenderet acceperat, locum hostibus introvendi dedit eaque Numidae cuncti irrumpere.
- 4 nostri foeda fuga, plerique abieciis armis, proximum
- 5 collem occupaverunt. rox atque praeda castrorum hostes,
- 6 quo minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. deinde

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Iugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit. tamen se memorem humanarum rerum, si secum foedus faceret, incolumes omnes sub iugum missurum, praeterea 10 uti diebus decem Numidia decederet. quae quamquam gravia et flagiti plena erant, tamen quia mortis metu mutabantur, sicuti regi Iubuerat, pax convenit.

39 *The news was received with utter consternation at Rome. Albinus referred the treaty to the Senate while he himself enrolled reinforcements. The Senate would not ratify the agreement, and the people refused to allow Albinus to take the reinforcements to Numidia. He returned to the province of Africa to which the army had withdrawn, but because of the army's demoralised state he did not attempt hostilities.*

- 1 Sed ubi ea Romae conperta sunt, metus atque maeror civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloria imperi, pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertatis; Aulo omnes infesti ac maxime qui bello saepe praecleari fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat.
- 2 ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam ac deinde periculum timens senatum de foedere consulabat, et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere, ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia accessere, denique omnibus modis 3 festinare. senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit suo atque 4 populi iniussu nullum potuisse foedus fieri. consul impeditus a tribunis plebis, ne quas paraverat copias secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africanam profisciscitur: nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus in 5 provincia hmanabat. postquam eo venit, quamquam persequi Iugurtham et mederi fraternae invidiae animo ardebat, cognitis militibus, quos praeter fugam soluto imperio licentia atque lascivia conrupterat, ex copia rerum statuit sibi nihil agriandum.

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40 109 B.C. *At Rome, the tribune Mamilius proposed that proceedings should be taken against Romans who had been bribed by Jugurtha. Despite furive attempts to block the Bill it was eagerly passed by the people, and the courts that were set up were harsh and violent.*

- 1 Interim Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat, uti quaereretur in eos, quorum consilio Iugurtha senati decreta neglegisset, quique ab eo in legationibus aut imperiis pecunias acceperissent, qui elephantos quique perfugas tradidissent, item qui de 2 pace aut de bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent. huic rogationi partim conscii sibi alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per 3 amicos ac maxime per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. sed plebes incredibile memoratu est quam inuenta fuerit quantaque vi rogationem inusserit, magis odio nobilitatis cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura rei publicae: tanta lubido in partibus erat. 4 igitur ceteris metu percussis M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae fuisse supra docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis et suorum fugam, trepida etiam tum civitate cum ex Mamilia rogatione tres quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat uti ipse in 5 eo numero crearetur. sed quaestio exercita aspere violenterque ex rumore et lubidine plebis: ut saepe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

41 *Digestion: It was not until after the destruction of Carthage that factions arose in Rome. When fear of that city was removed the vices fostered by prosperity arose. The nobles used their power to enrich themselves and oppress the poor, and the people, in turn, rose against oppression. Thus the State was split by civil dissension.*

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1 Ceterum mos partium et factionum ac deinde omnium  
 2 malarum artium paucis ante annis Romae ortus est otio  
 3 atque abundantia eorum rerum, quae prima mortales  
 4 ducunt. nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus et  
 5 senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rem  
 6 publicam tractabant, neque gloriae neque dominationis  
 7 certamen inter cives erat: metus hostilis in bonis artibus  
 8 civitatem retinebat. sed ubi illa formido mentibus  
 9 decessit, scilicet ea, quae res secundae amant, lascivia  
 10 atque superbia incessere. ita quod in adversis rebus  
 11 optaverant otium postquam adepti sunt, asperius acer-  
 12 busque fuit. namque coepere nobilitas dignitatem,  
 13 populus libertatem in lubricum vertere, sibi quisque  
 14 ducere trahere rapere. ita omnia in duas partes abstracta  
 15 sunt, res publica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata. ceterum  
 16 nobilitas factione magis pollebat, plebis vis soluta atque  
 17 dispersa in multitudine minus poterat. paucorum arbitrio  
 18 belli domique agebatur; penes eosdem aerarium provin-  
 19 ciae magistratus gloriae triumphique erant; populus  
 20 militia atque inopia urgebatur; praedas bellicas imper-  
 21 atores cum paucis diripiebant. interea parentes aut parvi  
 22 liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori confinis erat,  
 23 sedibus pellebantur. ita cum potentia avaritia sine modo  
 24 modestaque invadere, polluere et vastare omnia, nihil  
 25 pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praecipitavit.  
 26 nam ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt, qui veram  
 27 gloriam iniustae potentiae anteponebant, moveri civitas et  
 28 dissensio civilis quasi permixtio terrae oriri coepit.

42 *When the Gracchi brothers asserted the freedom of the people and exposed the crimes of the nobles they were slain, and their deaths were followed by the execution or banishment of many of their supporters. Such behaviour has been the ruin of great states.*

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1 Nam postquam Ti. et C. Gracchus, quorum maiores  
 2 Punico atque aliis bellis multum rei publicae addiderant,  
 3 vindicare plebem in libertatem et paucorum scelera  
 4 patefacere coepere, nobilitas noxia atque eo percussa modo  
 5 per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites  
 6 Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Grac-  
 7 chorum actionibus obviam ierat; et primo Tiberium, dein  
 8 paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Gaium, tribunum  
 9 alterum, alterum triumvirum colonis deducendis, cum  
 10 M. Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverat. et sane Gracchis  
 11 cupidine victoriae haud satis moderatus animus fuit.  
 12 sed bono vincti satius est quam malo more iniuriam vincere.  
 13 igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubricum sua usa multos  
 14 mortales ferro aut fuga extinxit plusque in relicuon sibi  
 15 timoris quam potentiae addidit. quae res plerumque  
 16 magnas civitates pessum dedit, dum alteri alteros vincere  
 17 quovis modo et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. sed de  
 18 studiis partium et omnis civitatis moribus si singillatim  
 19 aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus quam res  
 20 maturius me deseret. quam ob rem ad inceptum redeo.

## PART III

### THE CAMPAIGNS OF METELLUS (109-108 B.C.)

(43-83)

Sallust now focuses the reader's attention upon the war rather than upon political strife, and in this part of the work the scene is mainly Numidia. It was a happy circumstance that at a time when Jugurtha was making a laughing-stock of the Roman armies in Africa a consul was elected who was endowed not only with integrity but also with considerable military skill. This was Quintus Caecilius Metellus, member of a distinguished family which had served the State well ever since the First Punic War, when Lucius Caecilius Metellus (in 250 B.C.) gained a great victory over the Carthaginians at Panormus.

Allotted the province of Numidia as his sphere of activity, Metellus set off for Africa with the enthusiastic support of Senate and people. On his arrival he found an ill-disciplined and dejected army, and though eager to justify the high hopes placed in him as soon as he could, he determined first to create a strong fighting force before he took the measure of Jugurtha. Without delay he administered some old-fashioned Roman discipline in the camp, but he achieved his aim without being unduly harsh, and soon restored morale.

Jugurtha is said to have been alarmed by the reports of Metellus' achievement, and decided to approach Metellus with a view to winning a "settlement" from him: he would surrender so long as he and his family were spared. Metellus was not so easily drawn as his predecessors had been, and he played Jugurtha's own game by bribing the king's envoys to betray their master. When it eventually dawned upon the king that Metellus was as astute a diplomat as himself he decided to try the fortune of battle (48).

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He chose a good spot to deal the Romans a vital blow on the plain by the River Muthul, and had some success at first, but a forceful charge uphill by Metellus' troops took Jugurtha by surprise and his army was soon in full flight.

Observing that Jugurtha was still far from submissive, Metellus changed his tactics (54): instead of seeking out Jugurtha, he decided upon a campaign of devastation. He laid waste the countryside, burned the towns and massacred all men of military age. Jugurtha, alarmed by these operations, was thus forced to become the pursuer rather than the pursued.

In Rome Metellus' success against the king was greeted with unbounded rejoicing, and a public holiday was proclaimed for thanksgiving to be rendered to the gods. Metellus was thus spurred on to finish the war. Jugurtha was now dogging his every step, destroying fodder, and fouling springs, so Metellus decided to change his tactics again, and to besiege the king's principal stronghold, Zama. This, however, was not so successful, and five chapters (56-60) tell of the fierce battle that raged at, and around, the town of Zama before the attempt was finally abandoned by Metellus. The summer of 109 was now at an end. It only remained for the soldiers to be stationed in quarters for the winter: some garrisoned the towns while the rest went into winter-quarters in the province of Africa.

Metellus did not remain idle during the winter months. He took the opportunity to tempt Bomilcar to betray the king, and this almost worked. Jugurtha had surrendered nearly everything before he had second thoughts. At this point (63) the narrative is focused upon the personality of Marius, the vulgar, but most competent of Metellus' *legati*, who, as the result of a soothsayer's prediction, has been stirred to aim for the consulship. Metellus' opposition to Marius in his desire for the highest office engendered

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a bitter hatred between the two men. In Sallust's appraisal of the conflict Metellus comes off better.

Jugurtha was soon active again. Under his direction one particularly loyal town, Vaga, which was occupied by Metellus' troops, planned and carried out successfully the massacre of all the officers and troops of the Roman garrison: but they enjoyed their triumph for two days only, for Metellus soon took vengeance upon them and sacked the town.

At about the same time Bomilcar, who had failed in his efforts to persuade Jugurtha to surrender, now began to feel insecure while Jugurtha was still alive and decided to plot Jugurtha's death before Jugurtha arranged his. But in this enterprise he was unfortunate in his choice of associate. This was Nabdalsa, a trusted officer of Jugurtha, who lost his nerve at the last moment and only just saved his own skin by placing the blame squarely upon Bomilcar's shoulders. Bomilcar and other suspects were executed, and Jugurtha was never again free from anxiety for his own life.

Meanwhile, Marius had gained the consulship, the first "new man" to do so for many years: in addition he had been allotted Numidia as his province. Metellus had not heard this yet, and was looking for Jugurtha after his sack of Vaga. A surprise attack and defeat of Jugurtha sent the king fleeing across the desert to Thala, but Metellus was soon on his heels. Amazed by Metellus' resourcefulness Jugurtha fled from the town at night. The Romans laid siege to the city for forty days before it fell.

Jugurtha now marched south across great tracts of desert to the land of the Gaetulians, collecting an army from amongst these nomadic tribes. He also made contact with Bocchus, king of the Moors, whose daughter he had previously married. Bocchus had already been snubbed by the Romans at the beginning of the war when he had sought

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a treaty with them, so he was disposed to help Jugurtha. When Metellus heard of their alliance he took up position in the strongly fortified city of Cirra to await the approach of the kings and take the measure of the Moors before he committed his troops to battle with them.

He now received news of Marius' appointment to the Numidian command, and we are told that he could neither refrain from tears nor bridle his tongue. Though Sallust regards his reaction as dishonourable, yet it can be understood. Had he not toiled unceasingly against the wildest of kings and the roughest of terrains? Had he not defeated the king time after time, and worn him down to a position where he was all but on his own? He was about to finish this task when he discovers that that honour is to be given to another—and that other, Marius! Sallust is probably right in saying (82) that Metellus would have borne the blow better had the province been given to any other than his former subordinate.

Metellus now turned to diplomacy, refusing henceforth to take risks on the battlefield to further another's interests. But his overtures to Bocchus, who was not yet ready to betray Jugurtha to the Romans, proved a failure, and the war remained at a standstill.

43 109 B.C. *Metellus, one of the new consuls, took up the conduct of the African war with enthusiasm. He raised new levies and collected everything necessary for a varied campaign: both the Senate and Rome's allies supported him, and the people responded eagerly. He thus set off for Numidia, a man of integrity proof against Jugurtha's temptations.*

1 Post Auli foedus exercitusque nostri foedam fugam Metellus et Silanus consules designati provincias inter se partiverant Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro et quamquam adorso populi partium, fama tamen aequabilli

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2 et inviolata. is ubi pirinum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum conlega ratus, ad bellum quod gesturus erat animum intendit. igitur diffidens veteri exercitui milites scribere, praesidia undique arcessere, arma tela equos et cetera instrumenta militiae parare, ad hoc conneatum affatum, denique omnia quae in bello vario et multarum rerum egentii usui esse solent. ceterum ad ea patrandam senatus auctoritate, socii nomenque Latinum et reges ultro auxilia mirtundo, postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. itaque ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque in Numidiam profisciscitur, magna spe civium, cum propter artes bonas tum maxime quod adorsum divitias invictum animum gerbat et avaritia magistratum ante id tempus in Numidia nostrae opes contusae hostiumque auctae erant.

44 *Metellus arrived in Africa to find an ill-disciplined and demoralised army. The lateness of the elections had curtailed the campaigning season and Rome expected a speedy victory, but he refused to fight until he had restored discipline amongst the soldiers. Albinus had not fortified his camps nor posted sentries, and troops had absented themselves in order to loot the countryside and sell their plunder or their rations for luxuries.*

1 Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur a Sp. Albino proconsule iners inbellis, neque periculi neque laboris patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, praedator ex sociis et ipse praeda hostium, sine imperio et modesta habitus. ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis quam ex copia militum auxilii aut spei bonae adcedebat. statuit Metellus, quamquam et aestivorum tempus comitorum mora imminerat et expectatione eventus civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum attingere quam maiorum disciplina milites laborare

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4 coegisset. nam Albinus Auli fratris exercitusque clade percussus, postquam decreverat non egressi provincia, quantum temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris habebat, nisi cum odos aut pabuli 5 egestas locum mutare subegerat: sed neque muniebantur ea neque more militari vigiliae deducebantur. uti cuique libebat, ab signis aberat. lixae permixti cum militibus diu nocturne vagabantur et palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino adreccio et aliis talibus, praeterea frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari: postremo quaecumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaeque probra in illo exercitu cuncta fuere et alia amplius.

45 *Metellus first prohibited the sale of food within the camp, banned camp-followers, and forbade the soldiers to possess slaves or pack-animals. He carried out field exercises, and set, and supervised, watches in the camp. On the march he moved up and down the column inspecting the troops. Thus discipline was restored.*

1 Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus quam in rebus hostilibus magnam et sapientem virum fuisse conperio: tanta temperantia inter ambitionem saevitiamque moderata- 2 tum. namque edicto primum adiumenta ignaviae sustulisse, ne quisquam in castris panem aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet, ne lixae exercitum sequerentur, ne miles gregarius in castris neve in agmine servom aut inmentum haberet; ceteris arte modum statuisse. praeterea trans- 3 voris itineribus cotidie castra movere, iuxta ac si hostes adessent vallo atque fossa munire, vigiliis crebras ponere et eas ipse cum legatis circumire, item in agmine in primis modo modo in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quispiam ordine egrederetur, ut cum signis frequentes

## THE CAMPAIGNS OF METELLUS

3 incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. ita prohibendo a delictis magis quam vindicando exercitum brevi confirmavit.

46 *Jugurtha, alarmed by reports of Metellus' incorruptibility, made overtures for a surrender. Metellus interviewed his envoys separately, persuading them to betray Jugurtha, while publicly he accepted the king's surrender. When Metellus marched into Numidia there was a semblance of submission everywhere, but he did not relax his vigilance. He himself led the light-armed troops of the van, and Marius was with the cavalry in the rear: auxiliary cavalry were posted on the flanks.*

1 Interea Jugurtha ubi quae Metellus agebat ex nuntiis accepit, simul de innocentia eius certior Roma factus, diffidere suis rebus ac tum denum veram deditionem 2 facere conatus est. igitur legatos ad consullem cum supplicis mitit, qui tantum modo ipsi liberisque vitam 3 peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. sed Merello iam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum 4 avidum esse. itaque legatos alium ab alio divorsos aggre- ditur ac paulatim temptando, postquam opportunos sibi cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet uti Jugurtham maxime vivom, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent. ceterum palam quae ex voluntate forent regi nuntiari iubet.

5 Deinde ipse paucis diebus intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit, ubi contra belli faciem tugurtha plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant. ex oppidis et mapalibus praefecti regis obvii procedebant parati frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremo 6 omnia quae imperarentur facere. neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine

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incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditonis signa ostentui credere et insidiis locum temptari. itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat, in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat, in utrumque latus auxilios equites tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium disperterat, ut cum eis permixti velites, quocumque adcederent, equitatus hostium propulsarent. nam in Iugurtha tantus dolus tantaque perita locorum et militiae erat, ut absens an praesens, pacem an bellum gerens perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

47 *Metellus established a garrison at the town of Vaga, ordering all supplies to be collected there where the Italians would be likely to look after them. Jugurtha again offered to surrender if he and his children were spared, but Metellus dealt with his envoys as before.*

1 Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum, ubi et incolere et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. huc consul simul temptandi gratia si paterentur et ob opportunitates loci praesidium imposuit. praeterea imperavit frumentum et alia quae bello usui forent comportare, ratus, id quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et connatum iuvarum exercitum et iam paratis rebus munimento fore.

3 Inter haec negotia Iugurtha impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, praeter suam liberorumque vitam omnia Metello dedere. quos item uti priores consul inlectos ad prodicionem donum dimittebat, regi pacem quam postulabat neque abnuere neque polliceri et inter eas moras promissa legatorum expectare.

48 *When Jugurtha saw that his own tactics were being used against him and that he was losing both territory and the*

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*support of his subjects, he decided to attempt battle. Observing that the terrain was in his favour, he overtook Metellus' army. Parallel to the River Muthul was a range of hills, and the plain in between was uninhabited.*

1 Iugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit ac sensus artibus temptari animadvortit, quippe cui verbis pax nuntiabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrimum erat, urbs maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium temptari, coactus rerum necessitudine statuit armis certare. 2 igitur explorato hostium itinere in spem victoriae adductus ex opportunitate loci, quem maxumas potest copias omnium generum parat ac per tramites oculos exercitum Metelli antevenit.

3 Erat in ea parte Numidiae, quam Atherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie nomine Muthul, a quo aberat mons ferne milia passuum viginti tractu pari, vastus ab natura et humano cultu. sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac murteis aliisque generibus arborum, quae humi arido atque harenoso gignuntur. media autem planities deserta penuria aquae praeter flumini propinqua loca: ea consita arbutis pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

49 *On the ridge Jugurtha took up position. Bomilcar commanded the elephants and some infantry. He then addressed his troops with words of encouragement. He reminded them that they had already defeated the Romans and had the advantage of position; they must conquer them or suffer misery thereafter. He spoke to some individually according to their dispositions. When Metellus arrived he suddenly caught sight of Jugurtha's army, and, ordering a halt, he re-arranged his column.*

1 Igitur in eo colle, quem transverso itinere portectum docuimus, Iugurtha extenuata suorum acie consedit,

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elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilicarem praefecit eumque edocet quae ageret. ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu et pedibus delectis suos 2 collocat. dein singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur uti memores pristinae virtutis et victoriae sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant: cum eis certamen fore, quos antea victos sub iugum miserint; ducem illis, non animum mutatum; quae ab imperatore decuerint omnia suis provisâ, locum superiorem, ut prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus aut rudes cum bellis melioribus manum conserent: proinde parati intentique essent signo dato Romanos 3 invadere; illum diem aut omnes labores et victorias confirmaturum aut maxumarum aerumnarum initium fore. ad hoc vitium, uti quemque ob militare factus pecunia aut honore extrulerat, commonefacere benefici sui et eum ipsum aliis ostentare, postremo pro cuiusque ingenio pollicendo munitando obtestando alium alio modo excitare: cum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens 4 facies ostenderet—nam inter virgulta equi Numidaequae consederant neque plane occultati humilitate arborum et tamen incerti quidnam esset, cum natura loci tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurant—dein brevi cognitis 5 insidiis paulisper agmen constituit. ibi commutatis ordinibus in dextero latere, quod proximum hostes erat, triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit: inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios disperit, equitatum omnem in cornibus locat ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transversis principis in planum deducti.

50 *Metellus sent Rutilius ahead to set up camp near the river. He himself advanced gradually, leading the vanguard with Marius commanding the rear. Jugurtha occupied the hills behind them to prevent them from being able to fall back,*

*then charged their column. The Roman troops were thrown into disorder: Jugurtha's tactics of attacking and then dispersing prevented them from retaliation. The Numidian cavalry could negotiate the high ground better than the Roman cavalry.*

1 Sed ubi Numidas quietos neque colle degressi animadvertit, veritus ex anni tempore et inopia aquae ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum praemisit ad flumen, uti locum castris anteciperet, existimans hostes crebro impetu et transversis proclis iter suum remoraturus et, quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum temptaturos. deinde ipse pro re atque loco sicuti monte 2 descenderat, paulatim procedere, Marium post principia habere, ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant.

3 At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos praeteregressus videt, praesidio quasi dum milium pedum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat, ne forte cedentibus adversariis receptui ac post munimento 4 foret. dein repente signo dato hostes invadit. Numidae alii postremos caedere, pars a sinistra ac dextra temptare, infensi adesse atque instrare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare, quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificari incerto proelio ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur neque contra ferundi aut conserundi 5 manum copia erat: ante iam docti ab Iugurtha equites, ubi Romanorum turma insequi coeperat, non confertim neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam 6 maxime divorsi. ita numero priores, si ab persequendo hostes detertere nequiverant, disiectos ab tergo aut lateribus circumveniebant; sin opportunior fugae collis quam campi fuerat, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi

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## THE CAMPAIGNS OF METELLUS

facile inter virgula evadere, nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

51 *The battle was one of confusion, our men fighting where they stood and not under their proper standards. However, as the Numidian attacks slackened Metellus reformed the ranks for a counter-attack on the enemy's infantry. He urged the soldiers not to allow the victory to fall to the enemy for they had no camp to which to retreat. Jugurtha on his side was rallying his men.*

1 Ceterum facies totius negoti varia incerta foeda atque miserabilis. dispersi a suis pars cedere alii insequi, neque signa neque ordines observare, ubi quemque periculum ceperat ibi resistere ac propulsare, arma tela equi viri hostes atque cives permixti, nihil consilio neque imperio agi, fors omnia regere.

2 Itaque multum diei processerat, cum etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. denique omnibus labore et aestu languidis Metellus, ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paulatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit et cohortes legionarias quattuor adversum pedes hostium collocat. eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa condebat. simul orare et hortari milites ne deficerent neu paterentur hostes fugientes vincere; neque illis castra esse neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes tenderent; in armis omnia sita. sed ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus erat: circumire hortari, renovare proelium et ipse cum delectis temptare omnia, subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat eminus pugnando retinere.

52 *Metellus could at least rely on his men's courage, but as no opportunity for fighting a pitched battle was being given him, he charged uphill and dislodged the enemy army which fled in disorder. Bomilcar, learning that Rutilius had reached the*

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*river and encamped, now extended his battle-line to cut off the Romans' march.*

1 Eo modo inter se duo imperatores summi viri certabant, 2 ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus adversus, Jugurthae alia omnia praeter milites opportuna. denique Romani, ubi intellegunt neque sibi perfugium esse neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri— et iam die vesper erat—adverso colle, sicuti praeeptum fuerat, evadunt. amisso loco Numidae fusi fugatique. pauci intertere, plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt.

5 Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et pari copiarum pedestrium praefectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius praetergressus est, paulatim suos in aequum locum deducit ac dum legatus ad flumen, quo praemisus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat, neque remittit quid ubique hostis ageret explorare. 6 postquam Rutilium consedissem iam et animo vacuam accepit simulque ex Jugurthae proelio clamorem augeri, veritus ne legatus cognita re laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem quam diffidens virtuti militum arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri officeret, latus porrigit eoque modo ad Rutili castra procedit.

53 *When Rutilius' army became aware of Bomilcar's approach because of the clouds of dust rising in front of them, they took up position in front of their camp. Then both sides charged, but when their elephants became entangled in the bushes, the enemy fled. Rutilius then marched to meet Metellus, but almost mistook his approach for that of the enemy. When the armies identified each other, joy took the place of fear.*

1 Romani ex improviso pulveris vim magnam animadvortunt: nam prospectum ager arbusus consitus prohibebat. et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari, post

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ubi acquabilem manere et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque adpropinquare vident, cognita re properantes arma capiunt ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. 2 deinde, ubi propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore 3 concurrunt. Numidae tantum modo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant, postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum atque ita disiectos circumventi vident, fugam faciunt ac plerique abiectis armis collis aut nocidis quae iam 4 aderat auxilio integri abeunt. elephantum quattuor capi, 5 reliqui omnes numero quadraginta interfecti. at Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et proelio fessi erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, 6 instructi intentique obviam procedunt. nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. ac primo 7 obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu velut hostes adventare, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere et paene imprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi 8 equites rem exploravissent. igitur pro metu repente gaudium mutatur, milites alius alium laeti appellant, acta edocent atque audiunt, sua quisque fortia facta ad caelum fert. quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet, adversae res etiam bonos detrectant.

54 *After attending to his wounded, decorating the brave, and encouraging his troops for the tasks ahead, Metellus sent out spies to discover the whereabouts of Jugurtha and the state of his army. The king was collecting an even larger army, but this was made up of less experienced natives. Deciding that the war could not be won by pitched battles, Metellus began a campaign of devastation against Numidian strongholds. Thus Jugurtha was forced to become the pursuer, and he had some success in a night attack upon some Roman stragglers.*

1 Metellus in eisdem castris quatruiduo moratus saucios

cum cura reficit, meritos in proeliis more militiae donat, univorsos in contione laudat atque agit gratias, hortatur ad cetera, quae levia sunt, parum animum gerant: pro victoria satis iam pugnatum reliquos labores pro praeda 2 fore. et tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Iugurtha ubi gentium aut quid ageretur, cum paucisne esset an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret exploratum misit. at ille sese in loca saluosa et natura munita 3 receperat ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliore sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis 4 quam belli cultorem. id ea gratia eveniebat, quod praeter regios equites nemo omnium Numida ex fuga regem sequitur: quo cuiusque animus fert, eo discedunt neque id flagitium militiae ducitur. ita se mores habent.

5 Igitur Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum ferocem esse, bellum renovari, quod nisi ex illius lubricidie geri non posset, praeterea inicum certamen sibi cum hostibus minore detrimento illos vinci quam suos vincere, statuit non proeliis neque in acie sed alio more bellum 6 gerendum. itaque in loca Numidiae opulentissima pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida temere munita aut sine praesidio capit incenditque, puberes interfici iubet, alia omnia militum praedam esse. ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides, frumentum et alia quae 7 usui forent affatim praebita, ubicumque res postulabat praesidium inpositum. quae negotia multo magis quam 8 proelium male pugnatum ab suis regem terrebant, quippe cuius spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogebatur, et qui 9 tamen ex copia quod optimum videbatur consilium capit, exercitum plerumque in eisdem locis opperiri iubet, ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et 10 aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantes aggreditur. eorum plerique inertes cadunt, multi capiuntur, nemo omnium intactus profugit, et Numidae priusquam ex