

ubi aequabilem 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, utrinque magno clamore 3 concurrunt. Numidae tantum modo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant, postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum atque ita disiectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt ac plerique abiectis armis collis aut noctis quae iam 4 aderat auxilio integri abeunt. elephantum quattuor capti, 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 altum lacri 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 detraçant.

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 quatrinduo moratus saucios

cum cura reficit, meritos in proeliis more militiae donat, univorsos in contione laudat atque agit gratias, hortatur ad cetera, quae levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoria satis iam pugnatum reliquos labores pro praeda 2 fore. et tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Iugurtha ubi gentium haberet, ut sese victus gereret exploratum misit. at ille sese in loca saliosa et natura munia 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 5 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 lubidine geri non posset, praeterea incum certamen sibi cum 6 hostibus minore detrimento illos vinci quam suos vincere, statuit non proeliis neque in acie sed alio more bellum gerendum. itaque in loca Numidiae opulentissima pergit, 7 agros vastat, multa castella et oppida temere munia aut sine praesidio capit incenditque, puberes interfici iubet, 8 alia omnia militum praedam esse. ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides, frumentum et alia quae 9 usui forent affatim praebita, ubicumque res postulabat praesidium inpositum. quae negotia multo magis quam 10 proelium male pugnatum ab suis regem terrebant, quippe cuius spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogebatur, et qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. 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 avis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantes aggreditur. omnium intactus profugit, et Numidae priusquam ex

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castris subveniretur, sicuti iussi erant, in proximos colles discedunt.

55 Rome received the news of Metellus' successes with jubilation, and the Senate voted a festival of thanksgiving. Their appreciation inspired Metellus to redouble his efforts for victory; yet he did so with caution. No longer sending out scattered groups to ravage the countryside, he led part of the army himself using fire to devastate the land. Marius led the rest of the army, but the two commanders worked closely together. Meanwhile Jugurtha dogged their line of march, destroying fodder and fouling springs, and harassed them during their operations.

1 Interim Romae gaudium ingens ortum cognitis Metelli rebus, ut seque et exercitum more maiorum gereret, in adorso loco victor tamen virture fuisset, hostium agro potiretur, Jugurtham magnificum ex Albini socordia spem salutis in solitudine aut fuga coegisset habere. itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta dis immortalibus supplicia decernere, civitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu laeta agere, de Metello fama praeclara esse. igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare, cavere tamen necubi hosti opportunus fieret, meminisse 4 post gloriam invidiam sequi. ita quo clarior erat, eo magis anxius erat, neque post insidias Jugurthae effuso exercitu praedari; ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu praesidium agitabant; exercitus 5 partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. sed igni magis quam praeda ager vastabatur. duobus locis haud longe 6 inter se castra faciebant. ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant. 7 ceterum quo fuga atque formido latus cresceret, divorsi agebant.

8 Eo tempore Jugurtha per colles sequi, tempus aut locum pugnae quaerere, qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum

et aquarum fontes, quorum penuria erat, conrumpere, modo se Metello interdum Mario ostendere, postremos in agrum temptare ac statim in colles regredi, rursus aliis post aliis militari, neque proelium facere neque otium pati, tantum modo hostem ab incepto retinere.

56 Metellus now decided to besiege the large town of Zama, hoping to draw Jugurtha into battle. The king learned of Metellus' plan and, getting to the city before him, urged the townsfolk to hold out and he would come to their aid at the right moment. Learning that Marius had gone to forage at Sicca, the first town to desert him after his defeat, Jugurtha rode there at night and urged them to seize this opportunity to gain their freedom. Had not Marius acted swiftly he would have been the victim of treachery. Instead, he soon routed Jugurtha's troops.

1 Romanus imperator ubi se dolis fatigari videt neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam et in ea parte qua sita erat arcem regni nomine Zamam statuit obpugnare ratus, id quod negotium posebat, Jugurtham laborantibus 2 suis auxilio venturum ibique proelium fore. at ille quae parabantur a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit. oppidanos hortatur moenia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmissimum erat. praeterea pollicetur in 3 tempore semet cum exercitu adfore. ita compositis rebus in loca quam maxime occulta discedit ac post paulo cognoscit Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum, quod oppidum primum 4 omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defeceat. eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit et iam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit, simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur uti cohortes ab tergo circumventiant: fortunam illis praecleari facinoris casum dare. si id fecerint, postea sese

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in regno, illos in libertate sine metu aetatem acturos. 5 ac ni Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium fidem 6 mutavissent: tanta mobilitate sese Numidae gerunt. sed milites Iugurthini paulisper ab rege sustentati, postquam maiore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis profugii discedunt.

57 Marius then marched to the strongly fortified city of Zama. Metellus surrounded the walls. At a given signal the soldiers raised a shout, but the Numidians were unmoved. The Romans used artillery, and undermined, or scaled, the walls. The townsfolk hurled stones or missiles at them, or pained burning pitch upon them and even wounded others who were at a distance with javelins or darts shot from catapults.

1 Marius ad Zamam pervenit. id oppidum in campo situm magis opere quam natura munitum erat, nullius 2 idoneae rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. igitur Metellus pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus cuncta moenia exercitu circumvenit, legatis imperat ubi quisque 3 curaret. deinde signo dato undique simul clamor ingens oritur neque ea res Numidas terret: infensi intentisque 4 sine tumultu manent, proelium incipitur. Romani pro ingenio quisque pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare, alii succedere ac murum modo subfodere modo scalis 5 aggredi, cupere proelium in manibus facere. contra ea oppidani in proximos saxa volvere, sudes pila, praeterea 6 picem sulphure et taede mixtam ardentia mittere. sed ne illos quidem, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat. nam plerosque iacula tormentis aut manu emissa volnerabant parique periculo sed fama impari boni atque ignavi erant.

58 During the battle for Zama Jugurtha made a surprise attack upon the Roman camp, throwing the soldiers into confusion.

Only forty soldiers retained their courage and counter-attacked from higher ground: as a result they scattered the Numidians. Metellus now heard the noise at the Roman camp and sent Marius back to aid the men there. Jugurtha found his retreat hampered by the camp fortifications and in the confusion lost many of his men.

1 Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Iugurtha ex improvise castra hostium cum magna manu invadit, remissis qui in praesidio erant et omnia magis quam proelium expectantibus portam intrumpit. at nostri repentino metu percussisibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere alii arma 3 capere, magna pars volnerati aut occisi. ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta memores nominis Romani grege facto locum cepere paulo quam alii editorem neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt, sed tela eminus 4 missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrari; sin Numidae propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere et eos maxuma vi caedere fludere atque fugare. 4 Interim Metellus cum acerrime rem gereret, clamorem hostilem a tergo accepit, dein convorso equo animadvortit fugam ad se vorsum fieri: quae res indicabat populares 5 esse. igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere misit ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum, eumque lacrumans per amicitiam perque rem publicam obsecrat, nequam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore neve 6 hostes inultos abire sinat. ille brevi mandata efficit. at Iugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, cum alii super vallum praecipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent, multis amissis in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revertitur.

59 The next day Metellus placed the cavalry on the side of the camp that Jugurtha had attacked and gave military tribunes

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the duty of defending the camp fortifications. He then attacked the city again. Jugurtha launched another surprise attack, and by tactical use of his Numidian cavalry inflicted heavy losses upon the Romans, almost routing them.

- 1 Igitur postero die, prius quam ad oppugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare iubet, portas et proxuma loca tribunis disperit, deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum
- 2 atque uti superiore die murum aggreditur. interim Iugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit, qui in proximo locati fuerant, paulisper territi perturbantur, reliqui cito subveniunt. neque diutius Numidae resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent. quibus illi freti non, uti equestri proelio solet, sequi, den cedere, sed adversis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem: ita expeditis pedibus suis hostes paene victos dare.

60 *The battle at Zama was fierce, the townsfolk showing as much courage as their attackers. Whenever the assault slackened the defenders of the town gazed at the distant cavalry battle, reacting emotionally to its changes of fortune. Noticing this Marius slackened his attack, and when the defenders were off their guard, he made a sudden assault upon the walls. However, this was attempted at heavy loss of lives and was unsuccessful. Night ended the fighting.*

- 1 Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat, eo accerrime niti, neque alius in alio magis quam in sese spem habere pariterque oppidani agere: obpugnare aut parare omnibus locis, avidius alteri alteros sauciare quam semet tegere,
- 2 clamor permixtus hortatione laetitia gemitu, item strepitus
- 3 armorum ad caelum ferri, tela utrinque volare. sed illi qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paulum modo pugnam

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4 remiserant, intenti proelium equestre prospectabant. eos, uti quaeque Iugurthae res erant, laetos modo modo pavidos animadvorteres ac, sicuti audiri a suis aut cerni possent, monere alii alii hortari aut manu significare aut niti corporibus et ea huc et illuc quasi vitabundi aut iacentes tela agitare.

- 5 Quod ubi Mario cognitum est—nam is in ea parte curabat—consulto lenius agere ac diffidentiam rei simulare,
- 6 pati Numidas sine tumultu regis proelium visere. ita illis studio suorum adstrictis repente magna vi murum aggreditur. et iam scallis egressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides ignem alia praeterea tela ingerunt. nostri primo resistere, deinde, ubi unae atque alterae scalae comminutae, qui supererant afflicti sunt, ceteri quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri
- 8 magna pars vulneribus confecti abeunt. denique utrinque proelium nox diremit.

61 *Realising that his attempt on the city had failed, he withdrew from Zama, strengthened loyal towns with garrisons, and arranged to spend the winter in the province of Africa close to the borders of Numidia. He planned to entrap Jugurtha with the help of Bomilcar, Jugurtha's closest friend. At a meeting with Bomilcar, Metellus promised him restoration of property and pardon for his part in the murder of Massiva at Rome if he would help deliver up Jugurtha. Bomilcar agreed to these terms.*

- 1 Metellus postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppidum capi neque Iugurtham nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco pugnam facere et iam aetatem exactam esse, ab Zama discedit et in eis urbibus, quae ad se defecerant satisque munitae loco aut moenibus erant, praesidia inponit.
- 2 ceterum exercitum in provinciam, quae proxuma est
- 3 Numidiae, hiernandi gratia conlocat. neque id tempus ex

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aliorum more quieti aut luxuriae concedit, sed quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat.

4 Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romae cum Iugurtha fuerat et inde vadibus datus de Massivae necne iudicium fugerat, quod ei maximum amicitiam maxima copia fallendi erat, 5 multis sollicitationibus aggreditur. ac primo efficit uti ad se conloquendi gratia occultus veniat, deinde fide data, si Iugurtham vivom aut necatum sibi tradidisset, fore ut illi senatus impunitatem et sua omnia concederet, facile Numidae persuadet cum ingenio infido tum mententi ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per condiciones ad supplicium traderetur.

62 *Bomilcar met Jugurtha and urged him to surrender. When he pointed out that his lack of success might cause the people to turn against him, Jugurtha agreed, and sent envoys to Metellus to arrange the surrender. Metellus summoned men of Senatorial rank to a council meeting at which Jugurtha was ordered to pay large reparations: when he had done this he was summoned to Tisidium. He then began to waver, and finally decided to resume the war. The province of Numidia was again allotted to Metellus.*

1 Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Iugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas adcecit. monet atque lacrumans obtestatur uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum optume merita provideat, omnibus proclis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortales captos occisos, regni opes comminutas esse; satis saepe iam et virtutem militum et fortunam temptatam: caveat ne illo 2 cunctante Numidae sibi consulant. his atque talibus aliis 3 ad deditionem regis animum impellit. mittuntur ad imperatorem legati, qui Iugurtham imperata facturum dicerent ac sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in

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4 illius fidem tradere. Metellus proptere cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis accersi iubet, eorum et aliorum, quos 5 idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. ita more maiorum ex consili decreto per legatos Iugurthae imperat argenti pondo ducenta milia, elephantos omnes, equorum et armorum 6 aliquantum. quae postquam sine mora facta sunt, iubet 7 omnes perfugas victos adduci. eorum magna pars, uti iussum erat, adducti, pauci, cum primum deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretaniam abierant.

8 Igitur Iugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus est, cum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus coepit flectere animum suum et ex mala conscientia 9 digna timere. denique multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis, cum modo taedio rerum advorsarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret quam 10 et Romae senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiam Metello decreverat.

63 *At this time Marius was assured by a soothsayer of a glorious career, and was urged to pursue it. He was well equipped for high office in all respects but family background. Early in life he had trained for a military career: though he was unknown by sight when he stood for the tribunate, yet his deeds were familiar and he was elected by all the tribes. He then rose from office to office, but though he merited a still higher position he did not dare to aspire to the consulship, for this had become an honour enjoyed only by the nobility.*

1 Per idem tempus Utricæ forte C. Mario per hostias dis supplicanti magna atque mirabilia portendi haruspex dixerat: proinde, quae animo agitabat, fretus dis ageret, fortunam quam saepissime experiretur, cuncta prospere 2 eventura. at illum iam antea consulatus ingens cupido

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exagitabat, ad quem capiundum praeter vetustatem familiae alia omnia abunde erant, industria probitas, militiae magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, libidinis et divitiarum victor, tantum modo gloriae avidus. sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum actas militiae patiens fuit, stipendis faciundis, non Graeca facundia neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artes bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem a populo petis, plerisque faciem eius ignorantibus, factis notus per omnes tribus declaratur. deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore quam gerebat dignus haberetur. tamen is ad id locorum talis vir—nam postea ambitione praecipuus est—consulatum adpetere non audebat. etiam tum alios magistratus plebs, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. novos nemo tam clarus neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur.

64 *When Marius, now eager for the consulship, asked Metellus for leave, the commander, disdainful of his high aims, advised him to be content with his present station in life. His later taint that Marius should wait until Metellus' son, then only twenty years old, was a candidate, implanted a deep hatred of Metellus in Marius: his ambition and resentment now led him to relax discipline amongst the troops in order to gain popularity, and at the same time to spread scandal about the commander amongst the traders of Utica.*

1 Igitur ubi Marius haruspis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratia missionem rogat. cui quamquam virtus gloria atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptior animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. itaque

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primum commotus insolita re mirari eius consilium et quasi per amicitiam monere ne tam prava inciperet neu super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse, debere illi res suas satis placere; postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi iure negaretur.

3 Postquam haec atque alia talia dixit neque animus Mari fecit, respondit, ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese quae peteret. ac postea saepius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse ne festinaret abire, satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum. is eo tempore contribernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter viginti. quae res Marium cum pro honore quem adfectabat tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. ita cupidine atque ira pessumis consultoribus grassari, neque facto ullo neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum foret, milites quibus in hibernis praerat laxiore imperio quam antea habere, apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, criminose simul et magnifice de bello loqui: dimidia pars exercitus si sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Iugurtham in carenis habiturum; ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis et regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet. quae omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quia diturnitate belli res familiares corrumpant et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

65 *A certain Numidian prince named Gauda, who was disappointed in a request he had made to Metellus for royal privilege, was urged by Marius to take his revenge upon Metellus. Marius assured him of his support if he were elected consul. He also persuaded a number of Roman knights to write to their friends at Rome criticising Metellus' conduct of the war. As a result, many campaigned for Marius' election with a genuine enthusiasm.*

1 Erat praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam

nomine Gauda Masranabalis filius Masinissae nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus et ob eam causam mente paulum imminuta. cui Metellus petenti more regum ut sellam iuxta poneret, item postea custodiae causa turram equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat: honorem, quod eorum more foret, quos populus Romanus reges appellavisset, praesidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidae traderentur. hunc Marius anxium aggreditur atque horratur ut contumeliarum in imperatorem cum suo auxilio poenas petat; hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissae nepotem esse; si Iugurtha captus aut occisus foret, imperium Numidae sine mora habiturum; id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret.

4 Itaque et illum et equites Romanos milites et negotiatores, alios ipse plerosque pacis spes impellit, uti Roman ad suos necessarios asperere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. sic illi a multis mortalibus honestissima suffragatione consulatus petebatur. simul ea tempestate plebs, nobilitate fusa per legem Manilianam, novos extollebat. ita Mario cuncta procedere.

66 *Meanwhile Jugurtha was making speedy preparations to renew the war. He raised a new army, won over the support of previously disloyal cities, and obtained fresh arms: he even tried to undermine the loyalty of Roman soldiers. Vaga supported him by forming a conspiracy against the Roman garrison there. At an appointed time they invited centurions and tribunes, and the governor Turpilius, to a banquet and then murdered them all except the governor. Even the people joined in massacring soldiers in the streets.*

1 Interim Iugurtha postquam omnia deditione bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere

exercitum, civitatis quae ab se defecerant formidine aut ostentando praemia affectare, communitate suos locos, arma tela atque, quae spe pacis amiserat, reficere aut commercari, servitia Romanorum adlicere et eos ipsos, qui in praesidiis erant, pecunia temptare: prorsus nihil intactum neque quietum pari, cuncta agitare. igitur Vageses, quo Metellus initio Iugurtha pacificante praesidium imposuerat, fatigati regis supplicis neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se coniurant, nam vulgus, uti plerumque solet et maxime Numidarum, ingenio mobili seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio adversum. dein compositis inter se rebus in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebratusque per omnem Africanam ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem ostentabat. sed ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militares et ipsum praefectum oppidi T. Turpilium Silanum alius alium domos suas invitant. eos omnes praeter Turpilium inter epulas obruncant. postea milites palantes inermes, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, aggrediuntur. idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis acta consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse et res novae satis placebant.

67 *The soldiers were hemmed in on all sides: they could get neither to the citadel nor through the city gates; women and children pelted them from the roof tops. Good soldiers and bad fell side by side. Only Turpilius escaped the slaughter, but it is not known why. The fact that he preferred to live rather than to sacrifice his life suggests that he was a dishonourable wretch.*

1 Romani milites, improviso metu incerti ignarique quid potissimum facerent, trepidare. arce oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant praesidium hostium, portae ante clausae fuga

prohibebant. ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis aedificiorum saxa et alia quae locus praebebat certatim mittere. ita neque caveri anceps malum neque a fortissimis infirmissimo generi resisti posse: iuxta boni malique strenui et inbelles inulti obruncari. in ea tanta asperitate saevissimis Numidis et oppido undique clauso Turpilius praefectus unus ex omnibus Italicis intactus profugit. id misericordiane hospitis an pactione aut casu ita evenerit, parum conperimus: nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita integra fama potior fuit, improbus inestabilisque videtur.

68 *Metellus, deeply distressed by the massacre at Vaga, planned a swift retribution. He set out for the city with his legion and as many Numidian cavalry as he could muster. After a day's march he reached a plain enclosed on all sides by mountains. The soldiers were exhausted, but on being told that Vaga was only a mile away they regained their spirits and advanced on the city.*

1 Metellus, postquam de rebus Vagae actis conperit, paulisper maestus ex conspectu abit. deinde ubi ira et aegritudo permixta sunt, cum maxima cura ultum ire iniurias festinat. legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et quam plurimos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit et postero die circiter hora tertia pervenit in quandam planitiem locis paulo superioribus circumventam. ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine et iam abnuentes omnia docet oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse: decere illos relicum laborem aequo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis atque miserum, poenas caperent. praeterea praedam benigne ostentat. sic animis eorum adrectis, equites in primo late, pedites quam artissime ire et signa occultare iubet.

69 *The people of Vaga saw the army coming, but noticing that their fields were not being ravaged and that the cavalry advance guard consisted of Numidians they thought it was Jugurtha and ran out to meet him. The signal was then given and the army advanced against the people, cutting them down and riding through the city gates. The whole city was given over to vengeance and pillage. Turpilius was tried, scourged, and beheaded.*

1 Vagenses ubi animum advortere ad se vorsum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum esse rati, portas clausere, deinde ubi neque agros vastari et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Iugurtham arbitrati cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. equites peditesque repente signo dato alii volgum effusum oppido caedere, alii ad portas festinare, pars turres capere: ira atque praedae spes amplius quam lassitudo posse.

3 Ita Vagenses biduum modo ex perfidia laetati. civitas magna et opulens cuncta poenae aut praedae fuit. Turpilius, quem praefectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, iussus a Metello causam dicere postquam sese parum expugnat, condemnatus verberatusque capite poenas solvit: nam is civis ex Latino erat.

70 *Bomilcar now turned against Jugurtha, plotting against him with the aid of Nabdals, one of Jugurtha's officers. A day was appointed for the execution of the plot, but at the last minute Nabdals, appalled by the enormity of the conspiracy, lost his nerve. Bomilcar sent him a letter reproaching him for his cowardice and warning him that instead of receiving rewards from Metellus he would bring ruin on himself: Jugurtha was a doomed man and Nabdals must choose rewards or torture now.*

1 Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cuius impulsu Iugurtha deditione, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi et ipse eum suspiciens novas res cupere, ad perniciem eius dolium quaerere, die nocturne fatigare animum; 2 denique omnia temptando socium sibi adiungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, carum acceptumque popularibus suis, qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare et omnes res exequi solitus erat, quae Iugurthae fesso aut maioribus adstricto superaverant: ex quo illi 3 gloria opesque inventae. igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur. cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore 4 parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum iussus habebat, ne ager finibus 5 hostibus vastaretur. is postquam magnitudine facinoris perclusus ad tempus non venit metusque rem impediēbat, Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi et timore socii anxius, ne omissis veteris consilio novom quaereret, litteras ad eum per homines fideles mittit, in quis mollitiam seorsumque viri accusare, testari deos, per quos inaviset, monere ne praemia Metelli in pestem converteret. Iugurthae exitium adesse, ceterum suane an Metelli virtute periret, id modo agitari; proinde reputaret cum animo suo, praemia an cruciatum mallet.

71 *After reading the letter Nabdalsa fell asleep leaving it on his pillow. His secretary found it, and, having read its contents, informed the king. Nabdalsa in alarm went straight to Jugurtha insisting that his treacherous servant had anticipated him in informing the king of the plot. He implored Jugurtha not to suspect him of such an outrage.*

1 Sed cum eae litterae adlatrae, forte Nabdalsa exercito 2 corpore fessus in lecto quiescebat, ubi cognitis Bomilcaris verbis primo cura, deinde, uti aegrum animum soles, 3 somnus cepit. erat ei Numida quidam negotiorum curator,

fidus acceptusque et omnium consiliorum nisi novissimum 4 particeps, qui postquam adlatras litteras audivit et ex consuetudine rarus opera aut ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introiit, dormiente illo epistulam super caput in pulvino temere positam sumit ac perlegit, dein prope cognitis insidiis ad regem pergit. 5 Nabdalsa paulo post experrectus ubi neque epistulam reperit et rem omnem uti acta erat cognovit, primo indicem persequi conatus, postquam id frustra fuit, Iugurtham placandi gratia adcedit: dicit quae ipse paravisset facere perfidia clientis sui praeventa; lacrumans obtestatur per amicitiam perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet.

72 *Jugurtha spared Nabdalsa but had Bomilcar executed along with others who were implicated in the plot: from now on he was never free from anxiety, and in his suspicion of everybody he moved from place to place, but was ever haunted by a fear that bordered on madness.*

1 Ad ea rex aliter atque animo gerebat placide respondit. Bomilcare alisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfecit iram obpresserat, nequa ex eo negotio 2 seditio oreretur. neque post id locorum Iugurthae dies aut nox ulla quiescit fuit; neque loco neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori satis credere, cives hostesque iuxta metuere, circumspectare omnia et omni strepitu pavescere, alio atque alio loco saepe contra decus regnum noctu requiescere, interdum somno excitus arreptus armis tumultum facere, ita formidine vecordia exagitari.

73 *Metellus learned of Bomilcar's fate and began preparations for a new campaign. Meanwhile he gave way to Marius' persistent requests for leave and sent him home. At Rome the people had heard about the letters sent by Marius so that*

Metellus' reputation suffered, while Marius became popular. Rabble-rousing speeches increased this feeling and the people left their work to accompany Marius in his campaign. Hence, Marius was elected consul, the first "new man" for many years, and Numidia was allotted to him as his province.

- 1 Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Boni-caris et iudicio pat-facto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus tanquam ad inter-grum bellum cuncta parat festinatque. Marium fatigan-tem de profectio-ne, simul et invitum et offensum sibi parum idoneum ratus, donnum dimittit. et Romae plebes literatis, quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitis volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. imperatori nobilitas, quae antea decori fuit, invidiae esse, at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat. ceterum in utroque magis studia partium quam bona aut mala sua moderata. praeter ea seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus contionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in maus celebrare. demique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestes-que omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant, relictis operibus frequentarent Marium et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. ita perculsa nobilitate post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur. et postea populus a tribuno plebis T. Manlio Mancino rogatus quem vellet cum Iugurtha bellum gerere, frequens Marium iussit. sed paulo ante senatus Metello Numidiam decreverat; ea res frustra fuit.

74 *By now Jugurtha had lost all his friends, for he had either put them to death or they had fled to the Romans or Bocchus. He was in a constant state of anxiety, and was for ever changing his plans, his line of march, and his officers. One moment he marched out to battle, the next took refuge in the desert: he had no trust in his countrymen. Suddenly, Metellus appeared and though there was some resistance where Jugurtha led his troops, elsewhere the Numidians fled.*

- 1 Eodem tempore Iugurtha amissis amicis, quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine pars ad Romanos alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant, cum neque bellum geri sine administris posset et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabat. neque illi res neque consilium aut quisquam hominum satis placebat. itinera praefectosque in dies mutare, modo advorsum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere, saepe in fuga ac post paulo in armis spem habere, dubitare virtuti an fidei popularium minus crederet: ita quocumque intenderat res advorsae erant.

- 2 Sed inter eas moras repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidae ab Iugurtha pro tempore parati instructique, dein proelium incipiunt. qua in parte rex pugnae adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum, ceteri eius omnes milites primo congressu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme Numidis in omnibus proeliis magis pedes quam arma tuta sunt.

75 *Jugurtha, in deeper despair, withdrew into the desert, then went on to Thala. Despite the long and difficult journey Metellus determined to march to Thala and capture it in the hope of finishing the war at a single blow. He arranged for pack-animals to carry rations and water, and domestic animals to carry utensils. Local inhabitants were ordered to bring water to an arranged place, but when they arrived, there was a rain-storm so that the Romans had more water than they needed. The arrival of the Romans at Thala took Jugurtha by surprise.*

- 1 Ea fuga Iugurtha impensius modo rebus suis diffidens cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum atque opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri filiorumque eius multus pueritiae cultus

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2 erat. quae postquam Metello conperta sunt, quamquam
inter Thalam flumenque proximum in spatio milium
quinguenta loca arida. atque vasta esse cognoverat,
tamen spe patrandi belli, si eius oppidi potius foret, omnes
asperitates supervadere ac naturam etiam vincere aggre-
3 ditur. igitur omnia iumenta sarcinis levari iubet nisi
frumento dierum decem, ceterum utres modo et alia
4 aquae idonea portari. praeterea conquiri ex agris quam
plurimum potest domiti pecoris. eo inponit vasa
cuiusque modi, sed pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis
5 Numidarum. ad hoc finitumis imperat, qui se post regis
fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquae
6 portaret. diem locumque, ubi praesto fuerint, praedicit,
ipse ex flumine, quam proximum oppido aquam esse supra
diximus, iumenta onerat; eo modo instructus ad Thalam
proficiscitur.

7 Deinde ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat,
et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente caelo missa
vis aquae dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque
8 foret. praeterea commecat spe amplior, quia Numidae,
9 sicuti plerique in nova deditione, officia intenderant.
ceterum milites religione pluvia magis usi, eaque res
multum animis eorum addidit. nam rati sese dis in-
mortalibus curae esse.

Deinde postero die contra opinionem Jugurthae ad
10 Thalam perveniunt. oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate
munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re percussis,
nihilò segnius bellum parare, idem nostri facere.

76 Jugurtha, now believing that there was nothing Metellus
could not accomplish, fled from the town during the night,
taking his children with him and most of his treasure. He
never stayed anywhere for more than a day, fearing treachery.
Metellus besieged Thala and, after forty days hard fighting,
captured it. Roman deserters who had been left in the city

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by Jugurtha took all the gold and silver to the palace, gutted
themselves with feasting, and finally set fire to the building
and perished in the flames.

1 Sed rex nihil iam infectum Metello credens, quippe qui
omnia, arma tela locos tempora, denique naturam ipsam
ceteris imperitantem industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna
parte pecuniae ex oppido noctu profugit, neque postea in
ullo loco amplius uno die aut una nocte moratus simulabat
sese negoti gratia properare, ceterum prodicionem timebat,
quam vitare posse celeritate putabat; nam talia consilia per-
otium et ex opportunitate capi.

2 At Metellus, ubi oppidanos proelio intentos, simul
oppidum et operibus et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque
3 moenia circumvenit. deinde locis ex copia maxime
idoneis vineas agere, aggerem iacere et super aggerem
4 impositis turribus opus et administratos tutari. contra haec
oppidani festinare parare, prorsus ab utrisque nihil relicum
5 fieri. denique Romani multo ante labore proliisique
fatigati, post dies quadraginta quam eo ventum erat, oppido
6 modo potiti, praeda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. ei
postquam murum arietibus feriri resque suas afflictas
vident, aurum atque argentum et alia quae prima ducuntur
domum regiam comportant. ibi vino et epulis onerati
illaque et donnum et semet igni conrumpunt et quas victi
ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pependere.

77 A deputation from Leptis now visited Metellus asking for
protection against Hamlicar, a noble who was plotting to
seize power: otherwise Rome would lose a loyal ally, for at
the beginning of the war Leptis had formed an alliance with
Rome and had remained faithful ever since. Metellus
immediately complied with their request and sent four cohorts
to their aid under Annus.

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1 Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepiti ad Metellum venerant orantes uti praesidium praefectumque eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quendam hominem nobilem factosum novis rebus studere, adversum quem neque imperia magistratum neque leges valerent. ni id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore. nam Lepitani iam inde a principio belli Iugurthini ad Bestiam consulem et postea Romanam miserant amicitiam societatem rogatum. deinde ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere et cuncta a Bestia Albino Metelloque imperata nave fecerant. itaque ab imperatore facile quae petebant adepti. emissae eo cohortes Legurum quattuor et C. Annius praefectus.

78 *Lepitis had been founded by fugitives from Sidon. It lies between the two Syrtes in the Roman province of Africa which get their name from the sweeping action of the sea. Inter-marriage has not changed the laws and customs of the people of Lepitis, mainly because they are cut off from the populous parts of Numidia by desert.*

- 1 Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est, quos accepimus profugos ob discordias civiles navibus in eos locos venisse, ceterum situm inter duas Syrtes, quibus nomen ex re inditum. nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa praefata sunt, cetera, uti fors tulit, alia alia in tempore estate vadosa. nam ubi mare magnum esse et saevire ventis coepit, limum harenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur, Syrtes ab tractu nominatae.
- 2 Eius civitatis lingua modo convorsa conubio Numidarum, legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica, quae eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant.
- 3 inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

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79 *Digestion: Once the Carthaginians ruled most of North Africa at a time when Cyrene was also strong. The two races were separated by a desert that provided no natural boundary to their states. After a long war they decided that a delegation from each state should set out and that where they met should be the frontier. The Carthaginian brothers, Philaeni, far outdistanced the Cyrenens who refused to abide by the terms; they suggested that the Philaeni should agree to be buried alive at the point they had reached or permit the Cyrenens to go as far as they could and then suffer that fate. The Philaeni sacrificed their lives and two altars were dedicated to them there.*

- 1 Sed quoniam in eas regiones per Lepitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem nos locus admonuit. qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraque Africa imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. ager in medio harenosus, una specie: neque flumen neque mons erat, qui fines eorum discerneret. quae res eos in magno diturnoque bello inter se habuit.
- 2 Postquam utrimque legiones item classes saepe fusae fugataeque et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant, veritine mox victos victoresque defessos alius aggredieretur, per industriam sponsonem faciunt, uti certo die legati domo profiscerentur: quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur. igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philaenis erat, manuravere iter pergere. Cyrenenses tardius iere. id socordiane an casu acciderit parum cognovi. ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus atque in mari retinere. nam ubi per loca aequalia et nuda gignentium ventus coortus harenam humo excitavit, ea magna vi agitata ora oculosque implere solet, ita prospectu impedito morari iter.
- 3 postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se esse vident et

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ob rem corruptam domi poenas metunt, criminari Carthaginienses ante tempus domo digressos conturbare rem, denique omnia male quam victi abire. sed cum Poeni aliam condicionem, tantum modo aequam, peterent, Graeci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, vel illi, quos fines populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur vel eadem condicione sese quem in locum vellet processuros.

9 Philaeni condicione probata seque vitamque suam rei publicae condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus aras consecravere alique illis domi honores instituti. nunc ad rem redeo.

80 *Jugurtha now made his way across the desert to the nomadic Gaetulians. He gathered men from among their scattered tribes and trained them for military service. He also won over friends of King Bocchus who prevailed upon that king to aid Jugurtha. Bocchus had already been disappointed in an approach he had made to Rome; furthermore, he was Jugurtha's father-in-law, though marriage ties are treated rather lightly by Numidians and Moors.*

- 1 Iugurtham postquam amissa Thala nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani.
- 2 eorum multitudinem in unum cogi ac paulatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. praeterea regis Bocchi proximos magnis numeribus et maioribus promissis ad studium sui perducit, quis adiutoribus regem aggressus impellit uti adversus Romanos bellum incipiat. id ea gratia facilius pronusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio huiusce belli legatos Romanos miserat foedus et amicitiam petitum, quam rem opportunissimam incepto bello pauci impediverant caeci avaritia, quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos

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6 erat. etiam antea Iugurthae filia Bocchi nupserat. verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur, quia singuli pro opibus quisque quam plurimas uxores, 7 denas alii alii plures habent, sed reges eo amplius. ita animus multitudine distrahitur: nulla pro socia optinet pariter omnes viles sunt.

81 *The two kings met and exchanged pledges: Jugurtha tried to arouse Bocchus against Rome by recounting Rome's injustices to other nations and her greed and tyranny. He reminded him of Rome's selfish wars against Carthage and Persus of Macedonia: Rome, he said, would always fight where there were rich spoils. The two kings then decided to march on Cirta, Jugurtha's immediate purpose being to hurry Bocchus into a clash with Rome.*

- 1 Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt. ibi fide data et accepta Iugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: Romanos iniustos, profunda avaritia, communes omnium hostes esse; eandem illos causam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubricinam impertandi, quis omnia regna adversa sint. tum sese, paulo ante Carthaginienses, item regem Persen, post uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis 2 hostem fore. eis atque aliis talibus dicitis ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt, quod ibi Metellus praedam 3 captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. ita Iugurtha ratus aut capta urbe operae pretium fore aut, si dux Romanus 4 auxilio suis venisset, proelio sese certaturos. nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere, ne moras agitando aliud quam bellum mallet.

82 *While Metellus was making preparations to face the new situation, he received letters from Rome telling him that Marius, of whose election to the consulship he had already*

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heard, had been allotted Numidia as his province. He was so incensed by the news that he could not control his temper. Had the honour been conferred upon any other person than Marius, Metellus would undoubtedly have borne the blow better.

- 1 Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere neque, uti saepe iam victo Iugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit. ceterum haud procul ab Cirta castris munitis reges opperitur, melius esset ratus cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novos hostis adaccesserat, 2 ex commodo pugnam facere. interim Roma per litteras certior fit provinciam Numidiam Mario datam, nam consulens factum ante acceperat. quibus rebus supra bonum aut honestum perculsus, neque lacrimas tenere neque moderari linguam, vim egregius in aliis artibus nimis molliiter aegritudinem pati. quam rem alii in superbiam vorrebant, alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse, multi, quod iam parva victoria ex manibus eriperetur. nobis satis cognitum est illum magis honore Mari quam iniuria sua excruciatum neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si adempta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur.

83 *Metellus was no longer willing to run risks to advance another's interests. Instead, he tried diplomacy upon Bocchus, demanding that he should not become an enemy of Rome unprovoked: he would be wise to consider what effect such a war would have upon his own prosperity. Bocchus replied by asking for the same terms to be offered to Jugurtha as Metellus was offering him. So, the war remained at a standstill.*

- 1 Igitur eo dolore impeditus et quia stultitiae videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mitti postulatum, ne sine causa hostis populo Romano fieret: habere tum magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque

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coniungendae, quae potior bello esset, et quamquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare: omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum aegerrime desinere; non in eiusdem potestate initium eius et finem esse; incipere cuius, etiam ignavo licere, deponi, cum victores velint; proinde sibi regnoque suo consuleret, neu florentes res suas cum Iugurthae perditis misceret.

- 2 Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit: sese pacem cupere, sed Iugurthae fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi copia feret, omnia conventura. rursus imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuntios mittit; ille probare parum, alia abnere. eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nuntio tempus procedere et ex Metelli voluntate bellum intactum trahi.

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cementing a friendly alliance (with Rome)"; lit. "of an alliance and friendship"; a hendiadys, a figure in which two nouns are represented as separate ideas, but clearly relate to one idea which would normally be expressed by an adjective and a noun ("friendly alliance"). Bocchus' opportunity was to surrender Jugurtha to the Romans. *potior bello*: "preferable to war"; *bello* is ablative of comparison, lit. "better than war"; *sumi facile*: lit. "was easily taken up"; i.e. "begun"; *desinere*: used absolutely here, "was brought to an end"; *incipere curis, etiam ignavo licere*: lit. "it was allowed to anyone, even a coward, to begin a war"; "anyone, even a coward could begin a war"; *deponi, cum victores velint*: supply *bellum* as accusative subject of *deponi*; lit. "but it is brought to an end when the victors wish it"; however, the *cum*-clause contains the main idea "but only the victor can decide when it will end". The lack of a connecting word before *deponi* emphasises the contrasting ideas in the two clauses. Though most of the subordinate clauses in this passage of *oratio obliqua* are in historic tenses, *velint* is primary (present subjunctive) for no apparent reason other than for the sake of variety. *neu florentes res suas . . . misceret*: supply *res* with *perditis*, "and not endanger his prosperity by involving it in Jugurtha's ruined fortunes"; although the notion of endangering his prosperity is not expressed in the Latin it is implied in the context of the sentence.

2. *si eadem illi copia fieret*: "if the same offer were made to Jugurtha (ill)"; *copia* means "opportunity"; presumably of making peace with the Romans, hence "offer"; *omnia conventura*: "everything would be settled amicably"; *conventura* means here, "to be in harmony".

3. *contra postulata Bocchi*: "to object to Bocchus' demands"; *bellum intactum trahi*: "the war remained at a standstill"; lit. "the war dragged on without combat"; the juxtaposition of *intactum* (lit. "unattempted") and *trahi* is a figure known as *oxymoron*, i.e. words of contradictory meaning are placed next to each other to give emphasis to an extraordinary circumstance; *trahi* is the passive infinitive used in an intransitive sense "to drag on".

PART IV

THE CAMPAIGNS OF MARIUS (107-105 B.C.)

(84-114)

Marius entered his consulship in January 107, and the final phase of the war in Africa began. Now that he had been voted the province of Numidia as his consular sphere of activity high hopes of an early victory pervaded in Rome. Quick to take advantage of his prevailing popularity, Marius stirred up active support from the people for the campaign they desired him to conduct. The Senate, believing that the sure way to lose popularity was to urge military service upon the people, supported his request for an increased force, but they were frustrated in their artful purposes, for such was the people's confidence in their new leader that they could see nothing but profit and plunder resulting from such service.

Marius' recruiting speech (85) was designed principally to denigrate the "nobility" of aristocratic leadership, and to extol the "humbleness" of his own family origin. His appeal, and his opening of the legionary ranks to the lowest class of citizen, brought great support, and he soon sailed for Africa. Shortly after landing at Utica and receiving the provincial army from Rutilius—Metellus could not bring himself to face this upstart—he was marching into Numidia, gaining some easy successes, and greatly encouraging his new recruits with the hoped-for plunder. Jugurtha's ally Bocchus, king of the Moors, not liking the look of things, began the first in a series of overtures to the Romans for peace, but in these early days Marius was more intent upon defeating the Numidian in battle than in securing his defeat by treachery.

After the capture of many strongholds Marius decided upon a harder task, the capture of the strongly defended town of Capsa (modern Gafsa). There seem two reasons for this decision: first, to rival Metellus' capture of the remote and seemingly impregnable city of Thala; and secondly, to draw Jugurtha out into the open. Capsa was about ten days' march from his present position—Sallust does not tell us where that was—and like Metellus' march to Thala, it was mainly through desert, so that water and rations were his main concern. But in this he succeeded, and his dawn arrival took the citizens completely by surprise. Their immediate surrender did nothing to mitigate the punishment that Marius considered their due, and while the men were put to the sword, all others were led off to a life of slavery. Even Sallust feels it necessary to attempt a justification of Marius' action.

Perhaps a winter passed, that of 107-106, after the fall of Capsa, but we can only surmise this. Many places were captured, we are told (94), before the enterprise which found Marius over seven hundred miles from Capsa at a fortress near the River Muluccha, the modern Moulouya, if we have identified this river aright. The capture of this rock fortress is the story of the initiative and valour of a Ligurian private whose curiosity led him to discover a way up behind the city. By this successful operation Marius gained not only Jugurtha's treasure, but also great glory for himself.

It was at this point that Sulla arrived upon the scene. As Marius' second-in-command he had arrived from Rome with cavalry contingents. Possessing all the elegance and education that Marius lacked, he must have presented a figure of some distaste to Marius, but his early signs of ability as a soldier most likely won him Marius' esteem. We know that his careful

treatment of the men under his command soon won him popularity amongst the legionaries.

Jugurtha again enlisted Bocchus' aid, perhaps early in the campaigning season of 106 (97). In a battle fought late in the evening the two kings came the nearest ever to thrashing the Roman army which was forced to take refuge for the night in two hills close to the battle ground. The unwisdom of "counting their chickens" cost the enemy victory, for a night spent exulting in the success they were sure was theirs left them weak, sleepy, and vulnerable to the Roman counter-offensive that struck them before dawn. It was Jugurtha's heaviest defeat of the war so far, though his subsequent attack upon Marius' army, marching in square formation to winter quarters, met with an equally terrible slaughter of his forces (101).

Bocchus, now desirous of seeking a serious alliance with Marius, sent ambassadors who after a hazardous journey were received courteously by Sulla. Impressed by Sulla's attitude, the Moor at once requested that he be sent to him with full powers to complete negotiations (105).

The last ten chapters of the work have Sulla as the focus of attention, and Marius is hardly mentioned at all. He copes ably with two alarms during the long march to Bocchus' palace, and the Moor's flattery of Sulla and his bland assurances of neutrality cut no ice with the astute Roman who replied firmly and eloquently that he must do something positive if he wanted friendship, namely, deliver up Jugurtha who was in his power. This he finally did. The news reached Rome at a time when the attacks of Germanic tribes in the north were causing great alarm, and the effect of the victory was to secure Marius a second consulship in his absence. Sallust tells us nothing of Marius' triumph, apparently unwilling to dwell upon the sensational end to so grim a war. The struggle was over, but a new one faced the victor, and the importance of

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his new rôle is emphasised in the last words of the book: "at that time the hopes and welfare of the State rested in that man".

84 107 B.C. *After his election Marius continued his outspoken attacks upon the nobility, while the first act of his consulship was to make preparations for the war. He increased the strength of the legions and summoned additional auxiliary troops. The Senate supported him, thinking that the people's dislike of military service would bring him unpopularity, but in fact many, hopeful of plunder, desired to accompany him. Marius kindled their enthusiasm in the following speech.*

1 At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissima plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus iussit, antea iam infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus atque ferox instare, singulos modo modo univorsos laedere, dicitare sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse, alia praetera magna pro se et illis dolenta. interim quae bello opus erant prima habere, postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque accessere, praetera ex Latino fortissimum quemque, plerosque militiae paucos fama cognitos accire et ambundo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis secum proficisci. neque illi senatus, quamquam advorsus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat. ceterum supplementum etiam laetus decreverat, quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur et Marius aut belli usum aut studia volgi amissurus. sed ea res frustra sperata: tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. sese quisque praeda locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum alia huiuscemodi animis trahabant, et eos non paulum oratione sua Marius adrexit. nam postquam omnibus quae postulaverat decretis milites scribere volt, hortandi causa, simul et nobilitatem

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uti conserverat exaglandi, contionein populi advocavit. deinde hoc modo disseruit.

85 "I know that most men change once they gain office, exchanging their former energy and humility for idleness and arrogance. In my view the government of the State requires greater care than the canvassing for high office, and I do not underrate the task, for when other men make mistakes they have their ancient lineage as their protection; I have only my own merit and integrity.

1 "Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non eisdem artibus imperium a vobis petere et postquam adepti sunt gerere; primo industrios supplices modicos esse, dein per ignaviam et superbiam aetatem agere. sed mihi contra ea videtur. nam quo pluris est univorsa res publica quam consularis aut praetura, eo maiore cura illam administrari quam haec peti debere. neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo beneficio vostro negoti sustineam. bellum parare simul et aerario parcere, cogere ad militiam eos quos nolis offendere, domi fortisque omnia curare et ea agere inter invidos 4 occursantes factuosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius est. ad hoc alii si deliquere, verus nobilitas, maiorum fortia facta, cognatorum et adfinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia haec praesidio adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est virtute et innocentia tutari. nam alia infirma sunt.

"Though honest men support me, the nobility are hostile, but I shall not let you down. From my childhood I have trained for this office and I shall not relax the principles which have become my second nature. You have given me the command against Jugurtha. Would you not rather one of this aristocratic clique replace me? He could always find one of the common folk to be his adviser, as usually happens with

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such men: indeed, I have known consuls who have read military history for the first time on taking up office.

5 "Et illud intellego, Quirites, omnium ora in me convorsa
esse, aequos bonosque favere, quippe mea bene facta rei
publicae procedunt, nobilitatem locum invadendi quaerere.
6 quo mihi acrius admittendum est uti neque vos captivum et
7 illi frustra sint. ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui, uti omnes
8 labores et pericula consueta habeam. quae ante vestra
9 non est consilium, Quirites. illis difficile est in potestati-
bus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simula-
vere; mihi qui omnem aetatem in optimis artibus egi,
10 bene facere iam ex consuetudine in naturam vortit. bellum
me gerere cum Iugurtha iussistis, quam rem nobilitas
aegerume tulit. quaeso, reputeate cum animis vostri-
num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis
ad hoc aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris
prosapiae ac multarum imaginum et nullius stipendi:
11 scilicet ut in tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet festinet
sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii sui. ita
plerumque evenit ut quem vos imperare iussistis, is
12 imperatorem alium quaerat. atque ego scio, Quirites, qui
postquam consules facti sunt et acta maiorum et Graecorum
militaria praecepta legere coeperint, praepositi homines:
nam gerere quam fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu
prius est.

"Compare me, a 'new man' with them: what they have merely heard or read about I have actually carried out: they scorn my humble birth, I despise their idleness, for I consider the bravest to be the noblest. Nobility has its origins in great actions, and I should not be envied for my rank, but for my energy and courage. The pride that these men have in their

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ancestors' achievements should really be shame at their own idleness: what they demand for themselves because of others' merits, they refuse me because I lack ancestry.

13 "Comparete nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me
hominem novom. quae illi audire aut legere solent, eorum
partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quae illi litteris ea ego
14 militando didici. nunc vos existimate facta an dicta pluris
sint. contemnunt novitatem meam, ego illorum ignaviam:
15 mihi fortuna, illis probra obiectantur. quamquam ego
naturam unam et communem omnium existumo, sed
16 fortissimum quemque generosissimum. ac si iam ex
patribus Albini aut Bestiae quaeri posset, mene an illos ex
se gigni mauerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi sese
liberos quam optimos voluisse?
17 'Quod si iure me despiciunt, faciant idem maioribus suis,
18 quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas coepit. invident
honori meo: ergo invident labori innocentiae periculis
19 etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. verum homines
conrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi vestros honores
20 contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. ne illi
21 voluptatem et praemia virtutis. atque etiam, cum apud vos
aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione maiores suos
exollunt, eorum fortia facta memorando clariore sese
22 putant. quod contra est. nam quanto vita illorum
23 praeclearior, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior. et profecto
24 ita se habet: maiorum gloria posteris quasi lumen est,
neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur. huiusce
rei ego inopiam fateor, Quirites, verum, id quod multo
25 praeclearius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. nunc
videte quam iniqui sint. quod ex aliena virtute sibi
adrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt, scilicet quia
imagines non habeo et quia mihi nova nobilitas est, quam
certe peperisse melius est quam acceptam contrupisse.

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"I know that any reply of theirs would be eloquent: I only speak because I must. Their words cannot prevail against the evidence of my life; and consider whether a soldier's decorations are not better than family portraits. I have no skill as a speaker and have never thought it worth learning Greek, but I have learnt the hardships of military service, and these will be the lessons I shall teach my soldiers, though I shall be fair and just. It was by their deeds that your forefathers won glory: it is from their achievements that to-day's nobles expect to benefit.

26 "Equidem ego non ignoro, si iam mihi respondere velint, abunde illis faciendam et compositam orationem fore. sed in vostro maximo beneficio cum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. nam me quidem ex animi mei sententia nulla oratio laedere potest. quippe vera necesse est bene praedicent, falsa vita moresque mei superant. 28 sed quoniam vostra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem et maximum negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum paenitendum sit. non possum fidei causa imagines neque triumphos aut consularis maiorum meorum ostentare, at, si res postulet, hastas vexillum phaleras alia militaria dona, praeterea cicatrices adorso corpore. haec sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quae ego meis plurimum laboribus et periculis quaesivi.

31 "Non sunt composita verba mea: parvi id facio. ipsa se virtus satis ostendit, illis artificio opus est, ut turpia facta oratione tegant, neque litteras Graecas didici: parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerant. at illa multo optima rei publicae doctus sum hostem ferire, praesidium agitare, nihil metuere nisi turpem famam, huiusmodi et aestatem iuxta pati, humi requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam et

34 laborem tolerare. his ego praeceptis milites horrabor neque illos arte colam, me opulenter, neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. namque cum tute per militiam agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est dominum non imperatorem esse. 36 haec atque talia maiores vestri facundo seque renque publicam celebraverunt. quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum aenulos contemnit, et omnes honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit.

"Though their ancestors have left them wealth, they could not leave them valour. I am called boorish because I cannot devise an elegant dinner, but I learnt that elegance was a woman's attribute, toil a man's. Let these men go on indulging themselves and leave the labour to real men; yet they will still seek to rob the upright of their rewards, while the only sufferer will be our country. But take heart over Numidia: you have rid yourselves of greedy leaders, and though the army has been weakened, if you rally behind me I shall look after you. Every brave man should now serve his country."

38 "Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. maiores eorum omnia quae licebat illis relinquere, divitias imagines memoriam sui praeclaram, virtutem non relinquere, neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono neque accipitur. 39 sordidum me et incultis moribus aunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno neque histionem ullum neque pluris preti cocum quam vilicum habeo. quae mihi libet confiteri, Quirites. nam ex parente meo et aliis sanctis viris ita accipi: munditias mulieribus, laborem viris convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae quam divitiarum esse; arma, non suppellectilem decori esse. 41 "Quin ergo quod iuvat, quod carum aestimant, id

semper faciant, ament poteri: ubi adolescentiam habere ibi senectutem agant, in conviviiis, dediti ventri et turpissimae parti corporis. sudorem pulverem et alia talia relinquunt nobis, quibus illa epulis iucundiora sunt. 42 verum non ita est. nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, honorum praemia eruptum eunt. ita iniustissime luxuria et ignavia pessumae artes, illis qui coluere eas nihili efficiunt, rei publicae innoxiae cladi sunt. 44 "Nunc quoniam illis, quantum mei mores, non illorum flagitia posebant, respondi, pauca de republica loquar. 45 primum omnium de Numidia bonum habete animum, Quirites. nam quae ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam imperitiam atque superbiam. deinde exercitus ibi est locorum sciens, sed mehercule 46 magis strenuus quam felix. nam magna pars eius avaritia aut temeritate ducum adtrita est. quam ob rem vos, quibus militaris aetas est, adimitimi mecum et capessite rem publicam neque quenuquam ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. egomet in agmine aut in proelio consultor idem et socius periculi vobiscum adero, meque vosque in omnibus rebus iuxta 48 geram. et profecto dis iuvantibus omnia matura sunt, victoria praeda laus. quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnes bonos rei publicae subvenire decebat. 49 etenim nemo ignavia immortalis factus est neque quisquam parens liberis uti aeterni forent optavit, magis uti boni 50 honestique vitam exigerent. plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent. nam strenuis abunde dictum puto."

86 *With the support of the people Marius made preparations to sail: he accepted volunteers from all sections of the people, some said through lack of better material, while others thought it was to gain popularity. Indeed, the poorest are usually the readiest supporters of those who seek power. Landing at*

Utica with a larger force than had been decreed, he received the army from P. Rutilius.

1 Huiuscemodi oratione habita Marius, postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere comneatu stipendio armis aliisque utilibus naves onerat, cum his A. Manlium 2 legatum proficisci iubet. ipse interea milites scribere, non more maiorum neque ex classibus, sed uti cuiusque lubido 3 erat, capite census plerosque. id factum alii inopia honorum alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant, quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat, et homini potentiam quaerenti egenissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua cara, quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia cum 4 pretio honesta videntur. igitur Marius cum aliquanto maiore numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus paucis diebus Uticam advehitur. exercitus ei traditur 5 a P. Rutilio legato. nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat, ne videret ea quae audita animus tolerare nequiv-
erat.

87 *He marched into districts likely to yield booty, and this he gave to the troops. He then attacked vulnerable fortresses, and recruits learnt to enter battle fearlessly so that they soon equalled the veterans in valour. Meanwhile, the two kings separated and withdrew into remote places, Jugurtha hoping to catch the Romans off their guard.*

1 Sed consul expleis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur, omnia ibi capta militibus donat, dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita aggreditur, proelia multa, ceterum 2 levia, alia aliis locis facere. interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse, videre fugientes capi aut occidi, fortissimum quemque tutissimum, armis libertatem patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi, gloriam atque divitias quaeri. sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere et

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3 virtus omnium aequalis facta. at reges ubi de adventu
4 Mari cognoverunt, divorsi in locos difficiles abeunt. ita
Iugurthae placuerat speranti mox effusus hostes invadi
posse, Romanos sicuti plerosque remoto metu laxius
licentiusque futuros.

88 *Metellus, to his surprise, was greeted with enthusiasm on his return to Rome. In Africa Marius watched the situation carefully, observing the movements of the kings and allowing his own troops no relaxation. He harassed Jugurtha and the Gaetulians, but then decided to invest strategically important cities. Meanwhile, Bocchus sent messages to Marius with offers of friendship.*

1 Metellus interea Roman profectus contra spem suam
laetissumis animis excipitur, plebi patribusque, postquam
2 invidia decesserat, iuxta carus. sed Marius impigre
prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter adtendere,
cognoscere quid boni utrisque aut contra esset, explorare
itinera regum, consilia et insidias eorum anteverire, nihil
3 apud se remissum neque apud illos tutum pati. itaque et
Gaetulos et Iugurtham ex sociis nostris praedas agentes
saepe aggressus in itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud
4 procul ab oppido Cirta armis exnerat. quae postquam
gloriosa modo neque belli patrandi cognovit, statuit urbes,
quae viris aut loco pro hostibus et adversum se opportun-
issimae erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Iugurtham
aut praesidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut proelio
5 certaturum. nam Bocchus nuntios ad eum saepe miserat,
velle populi Romani amicitiam, ne quid ab se hostile
6 timeret. id simulaveritne, quo improvisus gravior accid-
eret, an mobilitate ingeni pacem atque bellum mutare
solutus, parum exploratum est.

89 *Marius took several strongholds without drawing Jugurtha into a battle, so he decided to undertake a greater enterprise:*

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this was to take Capsa, a city which was very loyal to Jugurtha and particularly inaccessible; he wished to rival Metellus' capture of Thala. Capsa had but one spring which was within the walls; the people, living mostly on milk and game, were abstemious in their eating habits.

1 Sed consul, uti sternerat, oppida castellaque munia
adire, partim vi alia metu aut praemia ostentando avortere
2 ab hostibus. ac primo mediocria gerebat existimans
3 Iugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. sed ubi
illum procul abesse et aliis negotiis intentum accepit,
maiora et magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est.

4 Erat inter ingentes solitudines oppidum magnam atque
valens nomine Capsa, cuius conditor Hercules Libys
memorabatur. eius cives apud Iugurtham immunes, levi
imperio et ob ea fidelissimum habebantur, muniti adversum
hostes non moenibus modo et armis atque viris, verum
5 etiam multo magis locorum asperitate. nam praeter
oppido propinqua alia omnia vasta inclita, egentia aquae,
infesta serpentibus, quarum vis sicuti omnium ferarum
inopia cibi acrior. ad hoc natura serpentium ipsa peri-
6 ciosa siti magis quam alia re accenditur. eius potundi
Marium maxima cupido invasserat, cum propter usum
belli tum quia res aspera videbatur et Metellus oppidum
Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm
munitionumque, nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a moenibus
aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo atque ea intra
7 oppidum iugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur; idque ibi ut in
omni Africa, qua procul a mari incultius agebant, eo
facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidae plerumque lacte et
ferina carne vescabantur et neque salern neque alia
inframenta gulae quaerebant: cibus illis adversus famem
atque sitim, non lubrici neque luxuriae erat.

90 *Despite scarcity of grain—for the Numidians were pastoralists and what grain they had had been transported elsewhere—*

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Marius made do. He gave the cattle he had previously captured to the auxiliary troops to drive, and sent A. Manlius to Lares, his supply depot, promising to follow on shortly. Then he marched towards the River Tanais.

- 1 Igitur consul omnibus exploratis, credo dis fretus—nam contra tantas difficiliter consilio satis providere non poterat, quippe etiam frumenti inopia temptabatur, quia Numidae pabulo pecoris magis quam arvo student et quodcumque natum fuerat iussu regis in loca munia contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum vacuos ea tempestate, nam aestatis extremum erat—tamen pro rei copia satis providenter exornat: pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus praedae fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum adtribuit, A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Lares, ubi stipendium et comnearum locaverat, ire iubet dicitque se praedabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. sic incepto suo occultato pergit ad flumen Tanain.

91 *During the march Marius rationed out the cattle, and had water-bags made out of their hides, many of which were ready for use by the sixth day when he pitched camp. Giving orders that the soldiers were to load up with nothing but water, he set out at sunset, marching through the night. At daybreak on the third day he took the inhabitants of Capsa completely by surprise. He seized the gates, trapping some citizens outside the city. Despite the immediate submission of the city, it was burned and the inhabitants slain or sold into slavery, a cruel but necessary act.*

- 1 Ceterum in itinere cotidie pecus exercitui per centurias item turmas aequaliter distribuerat et ex coriis utres uti fierent curabat, simul inopiam frumenti lenire et ignaris omnibus parare, quae mox usui forent. denique sexto die, cum ad flumen ventum est, maxima vis utrium effecta.

- 2 ibi castris levi munimento positus milites cibum capere atque uti simul cum occasu solis egredierentur paratos esse iubet: omnibus sarcinis abiectis aqua modo seque et iumenta onerare. dein postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur noctemque totam itinere facto consedit. idem proxima facti, dein tertia multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumultuosum ab Capsa non amplius dum milium intervallo, ibique quam occultissime 4 potest cum omnibus copiis oppertur. sed ubi dies coepit et Numidae nihil hostile metuentes multi oppido egressi, repente omnem equitatum et cum eis velocissimos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam et portas obsidere iubet. deinde ipse intentus prope sequi neque milites praedari 5 sinere. quae postquam oppidani cogrovere, res trepidae metus ingens malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potestate coegere qui dedicationem facer- 6 ent. ceterum oppidum incensum, Numidae puberes interfecti, alii omnes venundati, praeda militibus divisa. 7 id facinus contra ius belli non avaritia neque scelere consulis admissum, sed quia locus Iugurthae opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile infidum, ante neque beneficio neque metu coercitum.

92 *Marius' prestige was greatly increased. His soldiers extolled him and the Numidians feared him, both believing that he was divinely aided. He went on to capture and burn many other towns, and then embarked upon the siege of a fortress not far from the River Muluchcha where the king's treasure was stored: this stronghold was high on a precipitous rock and was strongly garrisoned. The usual siege operations proved fruitless and the soldiers suffered heavily from the attacks of the defenders.*

- 1 Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incommodo peregit magnus et clarus antea maior atque clarior

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testing his story Marius ordered him to guide chosen trumpeters and centurions in the ascent on the following day.

- 2 haberi coepit. omnia non bene consulta in virtutem traherantur, milites modesto imperio habitus simul et locupletes ad caelum ferre, Numidae magis quam mortalem timere; postremo omnes, socii atque hostes, credere illi aut mentem divinam esse aut deorum nutu cuncta 3 portendi. sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergat, pauca repugnantis Numidis capit, plura deserta propter Capsensium miserias igni consumpserunt: 4 luctu atque caede omnia complentur. denique multis locis potitus ac plerisque exercitu incremento, aliam rem aggreditur non eadem asperitate qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem.
- 5 Namque haud longe a flumine Muluccha, quod Iugurthae Bocchique regnum diiungebat, erat inter ceteram plantitem mons saxeus mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis natura 6 velut opere atque consulto praeceps. quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. 7 sed ea res forte quam consilio melius gesta. nam castello virorum atque armorum satis et magna vis frumenti et fons aquae: aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus inportunus, iter castellorum angustum admodum, 8 utrinque praecisum. vineae cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur. nam cum eae paulo processerant, igni 9 aut lapidibus conrumpebantur, milites neque pro opere consistere propter iniquitatem loci neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare: optunus quisque cadere aut sauciari, ceteris metus auferri.

93 *Marius was considering abandoning the operation. Then a Ligurian soldier while seeking water discovered a way up the rock. He eventually reached the summit by means of an oak tree which was projecting not far from the top. There he studied the position, returned by the same route and reported his findings to Marius, urging him to try the ascent. After*

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- 1 At Marius multis diebus et laboribus consumptis anxius trahere cum animo suo omitteret inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua saepe prospere 2 usus fuerat. quae cum multos dies noctesque aestuans agnaret, forte quidam Ligus ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius castris aquatum egressus haud procul ab latere castelli, quod avorsum proeliantibus erat, animum advortit inter saxa repentis coeleas, quarum cum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paulatim 3 prope ad summum montis egressus est. ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more ingeni humani cupido 4 difficilia faciundi animum vorrit. et forte in eo loco grandis illex coaluerat inter saxa, paulum modo prona, deinde inflexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert. cuius ramis modo modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus in castelli plantem pervenit, quod cuncti Numidae intenti proeliantibus aderant. 5 exploratis omnibus quae mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur non temere, uti adscenderat, sed temptans 6 omnia et circumspiciens. itaque Marium prope aditu, acta edocet, hortatur ab ea parte, qua ipse adscenderat, castellum temptet, pollicetur sese inneris periculi que ducem.
- 7 Marius cum Ligure promissa eius cognitum ex praesentibus misit, quorum uti cuiusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nuntiavere. consultis animus tamen 8 paulum adrectus. itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero quinque quam velocissimos delegit et cum eis praesidio qui forent quattuor centuriones, omnesque Liguri parere iubet et ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

94 *Those who were to accompany the Ligurian changed their arms*

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and wore no helmets or shoes, carrying their swords and shields on their backs. The Ligurian assisted the men or went ahead to test the path. Arriving at the top they found the fortress undefended on that side. On learning of their success Marius made a strong assault on the fortress, while the defenders outside the walls hurled insults at the Romans. But suddenly the Roman trumpets sounded in the enemy's rear: this led to their complete rout, and Marius' dangerous gamble thus ended in success and glory for him.

1 Sed ubi ex praecepto tempus visum, paratis compositisque omnibus ad locum pergit. ceterum illi, qui escensuri erant, praedocci ab duce arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus misusque per saxa facilis foret: super terga gladii et scuta, verum, ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul et offensa quo levius streperent. igitur praegrediens Ligus saxa et si quae vetustae radices eminebant laqueis vincebat, quibus adlevati milites facilis escenderent, interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu, ubi paulo asperior ascensus erat, singulos prae se inermes mittere, deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi, quae dubia nisi videbantur potissimum temptare ac saepius eadem ascendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere. 3 igitur diu multumque fatigati tandem in castellum, desertum ab ea parte, quod omnes sicut aliis diebus adversum hostes aderant.

Marius ubi ex nuntiis quae Ligus egerat cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos proelio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus, testrudine acta succedere et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. at Numidae saepe antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies

noctesque agitare, male dicere Romanis ac Mario recordiam obiectare, militibus nostris Iugurthae servitium minari, secundis rebus feroces esse.

5 Interim omnibus Romanis hostibusque proelio intentis, magna utrimque vi pro gloria atque imperio his illis pro salute certantibus repente a tergo signa canere: ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere, deinde uti quisque muro proximus erat, postremo cuncti armati inermesque. quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere ac plerosque tantum modo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriae certantes murum petere neque quemquam omnium praeda morari. sic forte correcta Mari temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit.

95 *Meanwhile, the quaestor Sulla had arrived from Rome with cavalry. Of obscure patrician stock, Sulla was well-educated, pleasure-seeking, ambitious, and highly talented. Before the civil war he had enjoyed good fortune, though his courage was every bit as great as his luck, but his later conduct was shameful.*

1 Ceterum dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum magno equitatu in castra venit, quos uti ex Latino et a sociis 2 cogeret Romae relictus erat. sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est de natura cultuque eius paucis dicere. neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus et L. Sisenna optime et diligentissime omnium qui eas res dixere persecutus parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur.

3 Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit familia iam prope extincta maiorum ignavia, litteris Graecis et Latinis iuxta atque doctissimi eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum sed gloriae cupidior, otio luxurioso esse: tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli; facundus callidus et

amicitia facilis, ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingeni incredibilis, multarum rerum ac maxime pecuniae largitor. atque illi, felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam, nunquam super industriam fortuna fuit, multique dubitavere fortior an felicior esset. nam postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo pudeat an pigear magis disserere.

96 *Though initially inexperienced in warfare Sulla soon became the best of Marius' soldiers. He became popular with the men by treating them kindly and granting favours. He conversed both lightheartedly and seriously with the humblest of men but avoided damaging his own reputation or that of his commander: he saw to it that he excelled all in both confidence and action.*

1 Igitur Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Mari cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, solertissimus omnium in paucis temporibus factus est. ad hoc milites benigne appellare, multis roganibus aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere, sed ea properantius quam aces mutuum reddere, ipse ab nullo reperere, magis id laborare ut illi quam plurimi deberent, ioca atque seria cum humillimis agere, in operibus in agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consultis aut cuiusquam boni famam laedere, tantum modo neque consilio neque manu priorem alium pati, plerosque anteverire. quibus rebus et artibus brevi Mario militibusque carissimus factus.

97 *Jugurtha now sent to King Bocchus asking him to lead an army into Numidia and promising him a third of Numidia when the Romans had been expelled. Bocchus responded to this offer, and their united forces attacked Marius as he was leaving*

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for his winter quarters. It was late in the evening, the kings calculating that they could flee under cover of darkness if unsuccessful, while darkness would be inconvenient for the Romans whatever happened. The attack gave the Romans no time to collect themselves but gradually out of the confusion of cavalry and infantry the Romans succeeded in forming a circle, thus protecting their flanks and presenting a solid front to the enemy.

1 At Iugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utiles, simul et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuntios misit, quam primum in Numidiam 2 copias adduceret, proeli faciendi tempus adesse. quem ubi cunctari accepit et dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere, rursus uti antea proximos eius donis corrupti, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi aut integris suis finibus bellum 3 compositum foret. eo praemio inlectus Bocchus cum magna multitudine Iugurtham adcedit. ita amborum exercitu coniuncto Marium iam in hiberna proficiscentem vix decuma parte die reliqua invadunt, rati noctem, quae iam aderat, et victis sibi munimento fore et, si vicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant, contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorum fore. 4 igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit et ipsi hostes aderam et priusquam exercitus aut instrui aut sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie neque ullo more proeli sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros incurruunt.

5 Qui omnes trepidi improviso metu ac tamen virtutis memores aut arma capiebant aut capientes alios ab hostibus defensabant; pars equos ascendere, obviam ire hostibus, pugna latrocinio magis quam proelio similis fieri, sine signis sine ordinibus equites pedesque permixti cedere

alius alius obruncari, multi contra advorsos acerrume pugnantes ab tergo circumventi; neque virtus neque armatis tegere, quia hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi erant. denique Romani novi veteresque et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus aut casus coniunxerat, orbes fecere atque ira ab omnibus partibus simul recti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

98 *Marius, with his bodyguard, ranged over the whole battlefield helping his men or charging the enemy. As the daylight declined and the enemy pressed home their attack Marius occupied two hills as a base for his army. One of these had a spring and he ordered Sulla to lead his cavalry here, while he himself gathered his scattered forces and made for the other hill. The enemy forces encamped around these hills in loose order and spent the night exulting in the victory that they believed was all but theirs.*

1 Neque in eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus aut magis quam antea demisso animo fuit, sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis quam familiarissimis paraverat, vagari passim ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostes, ubi confertissimi obsiderant, invadere; manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat. iamque dies consumptus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere atque, uti reges praeceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque uti suis receptui locus esset, colles duos propinquos inter se occupat, quorum in uno castris parum amplo fons aquae magnus erat, alter usui opportunus, quia magna parte editus et praeceps pauca munimenta quaerebat. ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare iubet, ipse paulatim dispersos milites neque minus hostibus conturbatis in unum contrahit, dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit.

ita reges loci difficultate coacti proelio deterrentur, neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed utroque colle multitudine circumdato effusi consedere. dein crebris ignibus facis plerumque noctis barbari more suo laetari exultare, strepere vocibus et ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugerant, pro victoribus agere. sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editoribus locis facilia visu magnoque horramento erant.

99 *Marius kept the Roman camp silent, but when it was nearly dawn and the enemy were weary he ordered the signal for attack. The enemy, being roused and terrified by the noise, were thrown into confusion, and fled in utter rout. They lost more men in this defeat than in all the battles before.*

1 Plurimum vero Marius imperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maximum silentium haberi iubet, ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere. deinde ubi lux adventabat, defessis iam hostibus ac paulo ante somno captis, de improviso vigiles, item cohortum turmarum legionum tubicines simul omnes signa canere, milites clamorem tollere atque portis erumpere iubet. Mauri atque Gaetuli, ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere neque arma capere neque omnino facere aut 3 providere quicquam poterant: ita cunctos strepitu clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus tumultu formidine terror quasi recordia ceperat. demique omnes fusi fugatique, arma et signa militaria pleraque capta, pluresque eo proelio quam omnibus superioribus intercepti. nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

100 *Marius now set out for his winter quarters, marching in square formation, with Sulla on the right, Marius on the left, and tribunes leading the front and rear. The consul visited every part of the army, being always on the alert and just as cautious when he halted and made camp; he personally*

inspected the guards, thus displaying his willingness to do his share: he preferred to shame his men into action than to punish them. Whether he was courting popularity, as some say, or not, no severity could have yielded better results.

- 1 Dein Marius, uti coeperat, in hiberna proficiscitur, nam propter comitatum in oppidis maritumis agere decreverat. neque tamen victoria socors aut insolens factus, sed pariter atque in conspectu hostium quadrato agmine incidere.
- 2 Sulla cum equitatu apud dextrimos, in sinistra parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortes Ligurum curabat. primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. perfigae, minime cari et regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant. simul consul quasi nullo inposito omnia providere, apud omnes adesse, laudare et increpare merentes. ipse armatus
- 4 intentusque item milites cogebat. neque secus atque iter facere, castra munire, excubium in portas cohortes ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere, praeterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigiliis ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futurum quae imperavisset, quam uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labor
- 5 volentibus esset. et sane Marius illoque aliisque temporibus Iugurthini belli pudore magis quam malo exercitum coercebat. quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant, pars a pueritia consuetam duritiam et alia, quae ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati habuisse: nisi tamen res publica pariter ac saevissimo imperio bene atque decore gesta.

101 *Marius' scouts returned from every direction reporting the closeness of the enemy, and he decided not to alter the disposition of his army. Sulla, being attacked first, charged the Moors with part of his force, the other part holding its ground. Bocchus attacked from the rear with infantry: Jugurtha learning this, slipped off to join him, and on arriving shouted*

in Latin to our men that he had just killed Marius, thus alarming our men. Sulla, now victorious, returned and attacked the Moors from the side: Bocchus gave way and Jugurtha narrowly escaped being cut off by cavalry. Marius came to assist and a terrible slaughter of the enemy ensued.

- 1 Igitur quarto demique die haud longe ab oppido Cirra undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt, qua re 2 hostes adesse intellegitur. sed quia divorsi redeuntes alius ab alia parte atque omnes idem significabant, consul incertus quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato advorsum omnia paratus ibidem opperitur.
- 3 Iam Iugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quattuor partes distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus aequae aliquos ab tergo 4 hostibus venturos. interim Sulla, quem primum hostes attigerant, cohortatus suos turmatim et quam maxime confertis equis ipse alique Mauros invadunt, ceteri in loco manentes ab iaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere et, 5 si qui in manus venerant, obtundere. dum eo modo equites proeliantur, Bocchus cum pedibus, quos Volux filius eius adduxerat neque in priore pugna in itinere morati 6 adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. tum Marius apud primos agebat, quod ibi Iugurtha cum plurimis erat. dein Numida cognito Bocchi adventu clam cum paucis ad pedes convertit. ibi Latine—nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat—exclamat nostros frustra pugnare, paulo ante Marium sua manu interfectum. simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna 7 satis impigre occiso pedite nostro cruentaverat. quod ubi milites acceperet, magis atrocitate rei quam fide nuntii terrentur, simulque barbari animos tollere et in percussos 8 Romanos acius incidere. iamque paritum a fuga aberant, cum Sulla, profigatis eis, quos advorsum ierat, rediens ab 9 latere Mauris incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. at Iugurtha, dum sustentare suos et prope iam adeptam

victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus dextra sinistra omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus
 10 erumpit. atque interim Marius fugatis equitibus adcurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli iam acceperat. denique hostes
 11 iam undique fusi. tum spectaculum horrible in campis patentibus: sequi fugere occidi capi, equi atque viri afflicti, ac multi volneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati, nisi modo ac statim concidere, postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis armis cadaveribus et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

102 *When Marius reached Ciria an embassy arrived from Bocchus asking for discussions, so Sulla and Manlius were sent to him. Though Sulla was the junior he opened talks because of his eloquence: he said that the Romans were glad that Bocchus had chosen peace, for they preferred to make friends rather than slaves; their alliance would be mutually beneficial and it was a pity it had not been made earlier, but as fortune now smiled, let him experience Rome's kindness as he had felt her military power.*

- 1 Post ea loci consul haud dubie iam victor pervenit in
- 2 oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. eo post diem quintum quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, duos quam fídissimos ad eum mitteret, velle de se et de populi Romani commodo cum eis disserere. ille statim
- 3 L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire iubet. qui quamquam accitabant, tamen placuit verba apud regem facere, uti ingenium aut avorsum flecterent aut cupidum pácis vehementius accenderent. itaque Sulla, cuius facundiae, non aetati a Manlio concessum, pauca verba huiuscemodi locutus.
- 5 "Rex Bocche, magna laetitia nobis est, cum te talem virum di monere, uti aliquando pacem quam bellum malles, neu te optimum cum pessimo omnium Iugurtha

- miscendo commaculares, simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem atque illum sceleratis-
 6 sumum persequi. ad hoc populo Romano iam a principio inopi melius visum amicos quam servos quaerere, tuiusque
 7 rati volentibus quam coactis imperitare. tibi vero nulla opportunitior nostra amicitia, primum quia procul absunus, in quo offensae minimum, gratia par ac si prope adessemus; dein quia parentes abunde habemus, amicorum
 8 neque nobis neque cuiquam omnium satis fuit. atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset: profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala perpessus es. et quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit, cui scilicet placuit et vim et gratiam nostram te experiri, nunc quando per illam licet,
 10 festina atque ut coepisti perge. multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officis superes. postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte, nunquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum esse. nam bello quid valeat tute scis."
- 12 Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne, simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facti: se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum turandum arma cepisse. nam Numidiae partem, unde vi
 - 13 Iugurtham expulerit, iure belli suam factam. eam vastari a Mario pati nequivisse. praeterea missis antea Romanam
 - 14 legatis repulsum ab amicitia. ceterum vetera omittere; aucturum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum
 - 15 missurum. dein copia facta animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Iugurtha, cognita legatione Sullae et Manlii metuens id quod parabatur, donis conruperat. ✓

103 *Marius settled his soldiers in winter quarters and set out with a force into the desert to besiege a stronghold of Jugurtha. At the same time Bocchus sent foe of his relatives to Marius as ambassadors: their task was to negotiate an end to hostilities. On their way they were set upon by brigands and fled to Sulla greatly humiliated. They were treated*

PART IV

generously by him and so gained a favourable impression of Roman hospitality: as a result they confided in Sulla, who advised them how to present their case to Marius and the Senate.

- 1 Marius interea exercitu in hibernaculis composito cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus profiscitur in loca sola obsessum turrim regiam, quo Iugurtha perfugas omnes
- 2 praesidium imposerat. tum rursus Bocchus seu reputando quae sibi duobus proeliis venerant sen admonitus ab aliis amicis, quos incorruptos Iugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cogita et ingenia validissima erant. eos ad Marium ac deinde, si placeat, Roman legatos ire iubet, agundarum rerum et quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam
- 4 ipsis permittit. illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum profiscuntur, deinde in itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi sine decore ad Sullam perfugiant, quem consul in expeditionem profisciscens pro
- 5 praetore reliquerat. eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, uti meriti erant, sed adcurate ac liberaliter habuit. qua re barbari et famam avaritiae Romanorum falsam et Sullam
- 6 ob munificentiam in sese amicum rati. nam etiam tum largitio multis ignota erat, munificus nemo putabatur nisi pariter volens, dona omnia in benignitate habebantur.
- 7 igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt: simul ab eo petunt uti fautor consuloque sibi adstet, copias fidem magnitudinem regis sui et alia, quae aut utilia aut benevolentiae esse credebant, oratione extollunt. dein Sulla omnia pollicito docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies quadraginta ibidem opperuntur.

104 *When Marius returned to Cirra he ordered the ambassadors of Bocchus to return with Sulla from Utica. At the same*

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time he summoned officials from there to discuss Bocchus' proposals: the request that the envoys should be allowed to proceed to Rome was supported by Sulla and most others. Three of the envoys were allowed to leave for Rome while the other two reported back to Bocchus who was relieved by their news. In Rome the Senate promised a treaty of friendship to the Moors when Bocchus had earned it.

- 1 Marius ubi confecto quo intenderat negotio Cirram rediit et de adventu legatorum certior factus est, illosque et Sullam ab Utica venire iubet, item L. Bellienum praetorem, praeterea omnes undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum
- 2 mandata Bocchi cognoscit. legatis potestas Roman eundi fit ab consule, interea indutiae postulabantur. ea Sullae et plerisque placuere, pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari rerum humanarum, quae fluxae et mobiles semper in adversa mutantur.
- 3 Ceterum Mauri impetratis omnibus tres Romanam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rusone, qui quaestor stipendium in Africam portaverat, duo ad regem redeunt. ex eis Bocchus cum cetera tum maxime benignitatem et studium
- 4 Sullae iubens accepit. Romae legatis eius, postquam errasse regem et Iugurthae scelere lapsum deprecari sunt, amicitiam et foedus petentibus hoc modo responderunt: 'senatus et populus Romanus benefici et iniuriarum memor esse solet. ceterum Boccho, quoniam paenitet, delicti gratiam facit: foedus et amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit.'

105 *Bocchus now asked for Sulla to be sent to him to conclude a settlement. Accordingly, Marius sent Sulla with an escort of cavalry, slingers, and archers. When on the fifth day of the march they were met by Volux, Bocchus' son, who was leading his cavalry in loose order, the Romans prepared for an attack, but they soon learned that the force was friendly.*

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- 1 Quis rebus cognitis Bocchus per litteras a Mario petiverat uti Sullam ad se miseret, cuius arbitrato deo communiibus negotiis consuleretur. is missus cum praesidio equitum atque peditum, item funditorum Balearium. praeterea iere sagittarii et cohors Paaligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa, neque his secus atque aliis armis adversum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti.
- 2 sed in itinere quinto denique die Volux filius Bocchi repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit, qui temere et effuse euntes Sullae alisque omnibus et numerum amplioreni vero et hostilem alium efficiebant. igitur se quisque expedire, arma atque tela temptare intendere, timor aliquantus sed spes amplior quippe victoribus et adversum eos, quos saepe vicebant. interim equites exploratum praemissi rem uti erat quietam nuntiant.

106 *Sulla and Volux then rode together that day and the next. When scouts reported that Jugurtha was near, Volux in alarm urged Sulla to escape with him: Sulla refused, and told him sharply that he had no fears of Jugurtha and no intentions of betraying his men. He agreed to lead his army out early that night. At sunrise, after an exhausting march, they discovered that Jugurtha was in position two miles ahead of them, and the Romans thought that Volux had tricked them.*

- 1 Volux adveniens quaestorem appellat dicitque se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul et praesidio missum. deinde eum et proximum diem sine metu continci eunt. post ubi castra locata et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus incerto volu pavens ad Sullam adcurrit dicitque sibi ex spectulato toribus cognitum Jugurtham haud procul abesse; simul uti noctu clam secum profugeret rogat atque hortatur. ille animo feroci negat se totiens fuscum Numidam perimere; virtuti suorum satis credere; etiamsi certa pestis

- adesset, mansurum potius quam proditis, quos ducebatur, turpi fuga incertae forsitan post paulo morbo interiturae vitae parceret. ceterum ab eodem monitus uti noctu profiscerentur, consilium adprobat ac statim milites cenatos esse in castris, ignes quam creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi iubet.
- 5 Iamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, cum equites Mauri nuntiant Jugurtham circiter duum milium intervallo ante eos consedissee. quod postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit: credere se proditos a Voluce et insidiis circumventos. ac fuere qui dicerent manu vindicandum neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

107 *Sulla gave orders that the Moor should not be harmed, and he encouraged his men to face the enemy bravely. When he commanded Volux to leave the camp, the young man pleaded his innocence, urging Sulla to march openly through the camp of Jugurtha who now depended entirely upon Bocchus' support; his advice was accepted, and, taking Jugurtha by surprise, they passed through safely, reaching their destination a few days later.*

- 1 At Sulla, quamquam eadem existimabat, tamen ab iniuria Maurum prohibet. suos hortatur uti fortem animum gererent: saepe antea paucis strenuis adversum multitudinem bene pugnatum; quanto sibi in proelio minus peperissent, tanto ruitores fore, nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maximo metu nudum et caecum corpus ad hostes vorrere. dein Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Lovem maximum obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi testis adesset, ex castris abire iubet. ille lacrumans orare ne ea crederet; nihil dolo factum ac magis calliditate

Iugurthae, cui videlicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. ceterum quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet et spes opesque eius ex patre suo penderent, credere illum nihil palam ausurum, cum ipse filius testis addesset. qua re optimum factu videri per media eius castra palam transire. sese vel praemisissis vel ibidem relictis Mauris solum cum Sulla iurum.

6 Ea res uti in tali negotio probata. ac statim profecti, quia de improviso acciderant, dubio atque haesitante Iugurtha incolumes transeunt, deinde paucis diebus quo ire intenderant perventum est.

108 *With Bocchus was a Numidian named Aspar whom Jugurtha had sent to mediate for him, and to spy. There was also a descendant of Masinissa there named Dabar who was a favourite of Bocchus and of known loyalty to the Romans: he was sent to Sulla to assure the Romans of Bocchus' goodwill and to arrange a day suitable to Sulla for a conference; Aspar's presence should not alarm Sulla, it was said, as Bocchus was merely keeping up a show of friendship with Jugurtha. However, Bocchus was most likely playing safe and still making up his mind which side to betray.*

1 Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam Aspar nomine multum et familiariter agebat, praemisissus ab Iugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia; praeterea Dabar Massugrae filius ex gente Masinissae, ceterum materno genere impar—nam pater eius ex concubina ortus erat—Mauro ob ingeni multa bona carnis acceptusque. quem Bocchus fidum esse Romanis multis ante tempestatibus expertus illico ad Sullam nuntiatum mitti paratum sese facere quae populus Romanus vellet, colloquio diem locum tempus ipse delegeret neu Iugurthae legatum pertimesceret: consulto

sese omnia cum illo integra habere, quo res communis licentius gereretur: nam ab insidiis eius aliter caveri 3 nequissime. sed ego conperior Bocchum magis Punica fide quam ob ea, quae praedicabat, simul Romanum et Numidam spe pacis attrinxisse multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Iugurtham Romanis an illi Sullam traderet, lubricum advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

109 *Sulla agreed to a short interview with Aspar present, but intended private discussions as well. At the meeting, when Sulla announced that Marius had sent him to discover whether Bocchus desired peace or war, the king invited him to return in ten days; but late that night they met with nobody else present but interpreters and Dabar. The king then spoke.*

1 Igitur Sulla respondit pauca coram Aspare locuturum, cetera occulte aut nullo aut quam paucissimis presentibus. 2 simul edocet quae sibi responderentur. postquam sicuti voluerat congressi, dicit se missum a consule venisse 3 quaesitum ab eo pacem an bellum agiturus foret. tum rex, uti praeceptum fuerat, post diem decimum redire iubet ac nihil etiam tum decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum. deinde ambo in sua castra digressi sunt. sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte accersitur. ab utroque tantum modo fidi interpretes adhibentur, praeterea Dabar intermunitus, sanctus vir et ex sententia ambo, ac statim sic rex incipit.

110 *Never before have I been indebted to a commoner or had to turn to such for help, but now I am glad to give up my independence for such friendship as yours: take arms, money, and whatever you need. You should know, however,*

that I did not make war upon Rome but merely defended my kingdom, and I shall henceforth remain in my own territory. If you desire anything else, ask for it."

1 "Numquam ego ratus sum fore uti rex maximus in hac
 2 terra et omnium, quos novi, privato homini gratiam debe-
 3 rem. et melercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum multis
 4 orantibus, aliis ultro egomet open tuli, nullius indigui.
 5 id immittunt, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor.
 6 fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando pretium tuae amicitiae, qua
 7 apud animum meum mihi carius habeo. id adeo experiri
 8 licet. arma viros pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo
 9 lubet, sume utere et, quoad vives, numquam tibi reddiam
 10 gratiam putaveris, semper apud me integra erit; denique
 11 nihil me sciente frustra vobis. nam, ut ego aestimo,
 12 regem armis quam munificentia vinci minus flagitiosum
 13 est. ceterum de re publica vostra, cuius curator huc
 14 missus es, paucis accipe. bellum ego populo Romano neque
 15 feci neque factum unquam volui: at fines meos adversum
 16 armatos armis tutatus sum. id omitto, quando vobis ita
 17 placet. gerite quod vultis cum Iugurtha bellum. ego
 18 flumen Muluccham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non
 19 egrediar neque id intrare Iugurtham sinam. praeterea si
 20 quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus
 21 abibis."

III Sulla replied at some length saying that Rome had proved its superiority in war, and now demanded that Bocchus should act positively in their interest, namely, to deliver up Jugurtha whom he held in his power: for this Rome would reward him. At first Bocchus refused, arguing his relationship with Jugurtha and his fear of alienating his subjects, but at last he agreed, and the two leaders now made it appear that a peace settlement had been concluded.

1 Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice, de pace et de communibus rebus multis disseruit. denique regi patefecit, quod polliceretur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam armis amplius valuissent, non in gratiam habituros. faciendum aliquid, quod illorum magis quam sua retulisse videretur: id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam copiam Iugurthae haberet. quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore ut illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam foedus Numidiae partem, quam nunc peteret, tunc ultro advenuram.

2 Rex primo negitare, cognationem affinitatem, praeterea foedus intervenisse. ad hoc metuere ne fluxa fide usus popularium animos avorteret, quis et Iugurtha carus et

3 Romani invisus erant. denique saepius fatigatus lenitur et ex voluntate Sullae omnia se facturum promittit. ceterum ad simulandam pacem, cuius Numida defessus bello avidissimus erat, quae utilia visa constitunt. ita composito dolo digrediantur.

III Bocchus informed Aspar that the war could now be terminated and that he should inform Jugurtha of this. Aspar did so gladly, and returned with a request from Jugurtha that an arranged meeting Bocchus should hand over Sulla to him so that he could bargain with the Senate for a proper treaty of peace.

1 At rex postero die Asparem Iugurthae legatum appellat dicitque sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse conditionibus bellum poni; quam ob rem regis sui sententiam exquireret. ille laetus in castra Iugurthae proficiscitur. deinde ab illo cuncta edocuit properato itinere post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum et ei nuntiat Iugurtham cupere omnia quae imperarentur facere, sed Mario parum confidere: saepe antea cum imperatoribus

3 Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse. ceterum

PART IV

Bocchus si ambobus consultum et ratam pacem veller, daret operam ut una ab omnibus quasi de pace in colloquium veniretur ibique sibi Sullam traderet. cum talem virum in potestatem habuisset, tum fore uti iussu senatus aut populi foedus fieret, neque hominem nobilem non sua ignavia sed ob rem publicam in hostium potestate relictum iri.

113 Bocchus agreed to Jugurtha's request and later made identical promises to Sulla and to Jugurtha's ambassador. The evening before the day of the conference Bocchus is said to have struggled with his conscience, but at last to have decided to lay a trap for Jugurtha. The next morning, as Sulla and Bocchus came forward, Jugurtha was suddenly arrested and his companions killed. He was then bound and delivered to Marius.

1 Haec Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit, ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus parum comperimus. sed plerumque regiae voluntates ut vehementes sic mobiles, saepe ipsae sibi adversae. postea tempore et loco constituto in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo modo Jugurthae legatum appellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. illi pariter laeti ac spei bonae pleni esse.

3 Sed nocte ea, quae proxima fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus adhibitis amicis ac statim immutata voluntate remotis dicitur secum ipse multum agitavisse, volu et oculis pariter atque animo varius: quae scilicet tacente ipso occulta pectoris patefecisse. tamen postremo Sullam accersi iubet et ex illius sententia Numidae insidias tendit.

5 Deinde ubi dies advenit et ei nuntiatum est Jugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et quaestore nostro quasi obviis honoris causa procedit in tumultum facillimum

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6 visu insidiaribus. eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat, addedit ac statim signo dato undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. ceteri obruncati, Jugurtha Sullae victus traditur et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

114 105 B.C. At this same period of time Roman generals were being defeated by Gauls to the great alarm of all Italy. When the news of Jugurtha's defeat was announced, Marius was elected consul in his absence, and allotted Gaul as his province. On January 1st he took up office and celebrated his triumph: all hopes were now placed upon him.

1 Per idem tempus adversum Gallos ab ductibus nostris Italia omnis contremuit. illumque usque ad nostram memoriam Romani sic habere, alia omnia virtuti suae prona esse, cum Gallis pro salute non pro gloria certari. 3 sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum et Jugurtham Romanum victum adduci nuntiatum est, Marius consul absens factus est et ei decreta provincia Gallia isque 4 Calendis Ianuariis magna gloria consul triumphavit. et ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae.