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SALLUST

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# SALLUST

THE WAR WITH CATILINE  
THE WAR WITH JUGURTHA

TRANSLATED BY

J. C. ROLFE

REVISED BY

JOHN T. RAMSEY



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uxori carissimae, Sarah



## PREFACE

This new Loeb edition of Sallust differs from its predecessor by J. C. Rolfe (1921, revised reprint 1931) in several important respects. First of all, the Latin text has been extensively revised, departing from Rolfe's in both small ways, involving punctuation, orthography, and paragraph division, and not so small ways, affecting the substance of the text itself. For the convenience of readers, I list here the principal places in the *Catiline* and *Jugurtha* where I have introduced significant changes to Rolfe's Latin text (*Cat.* 3.2, 8.4, 14.2, 20.2, 22.2, 31.3, 35.3, 36.5, 41.5, 49.4, 50.4, 53.5, 55.1, 57.4, 58.12, 59.2, 59.3 [x2], 59.5; *Jug.* 1.3, 1.5, 3.1, 4.4, 4.5, 12.3, 18.11, 19.4, 27.4, 28.5, 31.9, 38.2, 41.1, 44.5, 45.2, 53.7, 53.8, 57.5, 63.7, 74.3, 75.5, 78.2, 80.6, 85.11, 85.13, 85.26, 85.36, 88.4, 89.7, 92.8, 93.3, 93.8, 95.3, 97.5 [x3], 100.1, 100.4 [x2], 100.5 [x2], 102.3, 104.1, 106.4, 109.4, 111.1); and on pp. lxiii–lxv of the General Introduction, I provide a list of divergences from L. D. Reynolds' OCT. In reporting the evidence of the manuscripts, I have adopted the sigla employed by Reynolds in his 1991 OCT, with one modification: I have marked with an asterisk the seven *mutili* that have had their lacuna in the *Jugurtha* (103.2–112.3) filled up, thereby turning them into *suppleti*. I have dropped three

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of the MSS taken into account by Rolfe and by A. Kurfess in his Teubner edition—**M** (cod. Monacensis 4559), **T** (cod. Turicensis bibl. reip. C 143a) and **m** (cod. Monacensis, 14477)—since those witnesses have nothing of importance to contribute to this edition.

Next, in revising Rolfe's translation, I have been much more aggressive in making changes than I was in revising D. R. Shackleton Bailey's translation of Cicero's *Philippics* for the Loeb in collaboration with Gesine Manuwald. As Rolfe frankly admitted in his Preface to the first impression, his translation does not consistently capture the flavor of Sallust's style, which is noted for its sententious brevity, rapidity, and conscious avoidance of the rounded periodic style of Cicero. Also, it seems to me that a reader of the Loeb is likely to have at least one eye on the left-hand page. For that reason, the requirements of a reader of a Loeb tend to be distinct from those of persons who consult a Penguin translation or a translation in a comparable series, such as the Oxford World's Classics. Both series have recently issued splendid new versions of Sallust, Penguin by A. J. Woodman (2007) and Oxford by William Batstone (2010). I have profited from consulting both from time to time. Woodman's translation comes the closest to the goal I have set for myself, namely, to capture, if I can, the essence of Sallust's Latin by remaining reasonably faithful to the original. Batstone, on the other hand, has provided a very literate and polished version of Sallust, nicely suited to students in literature and history courses whose only contact with Sallust will be through the medium of a translation. By contrast, a Loeb edition should anticipate being consulted by a reader who may possess some knowledge of Latin, ranging from a fairly rudimen-

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tary grasp of the basics to that of an advanced, senior scholar, who occasionally turns to a Loeb to see how it renders some particular passage. The requirements of readers at these two extremes, and of all those in between, must be kept in view, and I hope that this new translation strikes the right balance between being overly literal on the one hand and overly loose and padded on the other, to the point of failing to convey the unique character of Sallust's quirky, telegraphic style. I have refrained from a slavish imitation of Sallust's fondness for archaic and poetic vocabulary, apart from such easy to translate poetisms as "steel" (*ferrum*) for "sword" (*gladius*), since to aim for a one-to-one equivalence in all instances would tend to obscure the translation.

A third major difference between this new Loeb and its predecessor is its scope. Whereas, the decision has been made not to include, as Rolfe did, the two invectives that are handed down under the names of Sallust and Cicero, since those two spurious works are presented in D. R. Shackleton Bailey's Loeb edition of Cicero's *Letters to Quintus and Brutus* (2002), the new Sallust Loeb will now offer a complete edition and translation of the 550+ fragments of Sallust's *Historiae*. In Rolfe's Preface to the first impression, he reveals that he had prepared and submitted a translation of all of the fragments in Maurenbrecher's edition, but for want of space, his text and translation of the *Historiae* were curtailed to include just the letters and speeches contained in **V**, the ninth-century Vatican manuscript (Vat. lat. 3864).

By splitting Sallust into two volumes, it is now possible to augment the footnotes accompanying the *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*, which are presented here in volume 1. I have

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also used the additional space to add a separate introduction to each of the two monographs in which I first discuss the probable sources, next provide a detailed chronological table covering the relevant period, and lastly give an outline of each work. The chronological table and outline for the *Catiline* are extensively revised and expanded versions of those that are to be found in my APA edition and commentary on Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* (2nd ed. 2007; corr. reprint 2010). I thank the APA for graciously allowing me to draw upon this material and for permitting me to base the much expanded General Introduction in this Loeb on the introductory material in my APA edition. As for the *Jugurtha*, in contrast with similar chronological tables presented in previous works (Watkiss 1971, Paul 1984, and Comber-Balmaceda 2009), the one offered here aims to be more comprehensive, identifying the chronological markers, which Sallust notoriously fails to include in his account of the Jugurthine war, and indicating the non-Sallustian sources on which those chronological signposts are based.<sup>1</sup> The general introduction to the present volume covers the full range of Sallust's writings, including the spurious works and not just the two monographs contained in volume 1. Volume 2, in addition to offering a complete collection of the fragments of the *Historiae*, will

<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, the overall excellence of the school edition of the *Jugurtha* by Watkiss appears to be a very well-kept secret, since it never received a single review or even a notice in *L'Année philologique*. The 1984 reprint by Bristol Classical Press is long out of print, which is a shame since Watkiss is far superior to the school editions of Merivale (1881), Capes (1897), and Summers (1902).

present a new text and revised translation of the two pseudo-Sallustian *Epistles to Caesar*.

It remains only to thank a whole host of friends and scholars who have made this work possible, starting with Richard Thomas and Jeffrey Henderson, who kindly invited me to undertake this edition and have offered help and encouragement at every stage. Jeff deserves my sincere thanks for a superb job of copyediting my typescript. Next, I owe an immense debt of gratitude to John Yardley, who read and sent me detailed comments on the first eighty-five chapters of my translation of *Jugurtha*. I have adopted nearly every one of his splendid suggestions, which were always spot on. For any imperfections that still lurk in those chapters, I, of course, assume the sole responsibility. And the same goes for the generous help Bob Kaster lavished on my text and translation of the pseudo-Sallustian *Epistles to Caesar*. I have incorporated into my edition several of his brilliant textual suggestions, and I have made numerous adjustments to the translation in response to his comments. On the *Catiline*, I have derived much help on sundry points from Dominic Berry. Other friends and colleagues, Michael Alexander, John Briscoe, Andy Dyck, Jerzy Linderski, Gesine Manuwald, Chris Pelling, Michael Winterbottom, and Tony Woodman have generously assisted me with their counsel and advice on a variety of problems and issues. And, as on the previous occasion, it has been a pleasure to work with the editorial staff at Harvard University Press. Ian Stevenson has been my chief contact, and he has always responded promptly to my e-mails. I particularly commend Ian and the Press for having executed, in conformity with my specifications, the

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design for the maps and plans that are included in this volume. In the final stages of production, it has also been a pleasure to work with Cheryl Lincoln, managing editor at Technologies 'N Typography. And last, but by no means least, I thank my wife, Sarah, who has patiently and constructively supported my work on, and interest in, Sallust over the course of our thirty-six years of marriage.

J. T. Ramsey  
University of Illinois at Chicago  
December 2012

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### 1. LIFE OF SALLUST

#### *Date of Birth*<sup>2</sup>

As in the case of many Latin authors (e.g., the poets Catullus and Lucretius and the historian Livy), our knowledge of the years in which a writer was born and died is chiefly dependent on very brief (not always reliable) notices in St. Jerome's *Chronicle*, composed in the late fourth century AD. For Gaius Sallustius Crispus<sup>3</sup> (henceforth S.), Jerome's information doubtless goes back, either directly or indirectly, to the no longer extant portion of Suetonius' *De viris illustribus* that covered the lives of the Roman historians (*De historicis*),<sup>4</sup> while Suetonius, in turn, is likely to have drawn on the lost biography of S. by the first-century-AD scholar Asconius Pedianus.<sup>5</sup> The follow-

<sup>2</sup> All dates are BC, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>3</sup> His full name is found in the *tituli* of several of the chief MSS (e.g., P and B) and in the *Bellum Africanum* (8.3).

<sup>4</sup> Reifferscheid, Suetonius, *Reliquae praeter Caesarum libros*, 91.

<sup>5</sup> A work attested by ps-Acron. on Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.41.

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ing are the notices in Jerome for the birth of S., recorded under the year corresponding to 86 BC<sup>6</sup>

*Sallustius Crispus scriptor historicus in Sabinis Amiterni nascitur* (The historian Sallustius Crispus is born in the Sabine district, at Amiternum)

and for his death, placed under the year corresponding to 36 BC<sup>7</sup>

*Sallustius diem obiit quadriennio ante Actiacum bellum* (Sallust died four years before the war at Actium).

The same year for his birth, 86 BC, is transmitted by two other chronicles, the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*, composed in the late fifth century AD,<sup>8</sup> and the *Chronicon Paschale*, composed in the early seventh century AD,<sup>9</sup> both of which supply the further detail that S. was born on October 1. Clearly Jerome's notice of S.'s death is internally inconsistent, since 36 BC must be adjusted by one year (or two, if the reckoning is inclusive) in order to fit the description "four years before the war at Actium (September 2, 31 BC)." Regrettably, the *Consul. Constant.* and the *Chron. Pasch.* provide no assistance in helping us decide which correction to adopt, 35 or 34 BC,

<sup>6</sup> Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, 151: Year of Abraham 1931 = 86 BC [Year of Abraham 1930 = 87 BC, *cod. B*].

<sup>7</sup> Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, 159: Year of Abraham 1981 = 36 BC.

<sup>8</sup> Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* 1.214; Burgess, *Chronicle of Hydatius*, 224.

<sup>9</sup> Dindorf, *Chronicon Paschale* 347.11.

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since the chronicles, while agreeing that S. died on May 13, place his death in the years 38<sup>10</sup> and 39 BC,<sup>11</sup> respectively. Certainty is impossible, but the simplest solution is to accept 86 as the year of S.'s birth, since all sources agree on that detail, and place his death in 35. Hence, he will have been fifty or fifty-one years old at the time of his death, depending on whether he died before or after his birthday on October 1. S.'s age, or approximate age, at death may well have been the sort of detail that was handed down to later generations and helped biographers work out the years of his birth and death relative to the date of the "war at Actium." A birth date in 86, the year in which Gaius Marius (a chief figure in S.'s *Jugurtha*) died while holding his seventh consulship, makes S. a member of the generation to which belonged, among others, the poet Catullus (b. ca. 84 BC), the tyrannicide Marcus Brutus (b. ca. 85 or 83 BC), and the triumvir Mark Antony (b. 83 BC).

### *Family and Boyhood*

Nothing is known about the boyhood or family of S. apart from the notice in Jerome that he was born at Amiternum and the one further fact that he was one of at least two children, since in later life he adopted a grandnephew, the grandson of his sister (see below, p. xxvii). The Sabine town of Amiternum was situated roughly fifty miles north-

<sup>10</sup> Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* 1.217; Burgess, *Chronicle of Hydatius*, 225.

<sup>11</sup> Dindorf, *Chronicon Paschale* 359.10.

east of Rome, in a remote upland valley of the river Ater-nus, from which Varro derived the town's name.<sup>12</sup> In the same district was situated Reate, the hometown of the scholar Marcus Varro, an older contemporary of S., and of the future emperor Vespasian. The Sabines had enjoyed full Roman citizenship since 268 (Vell. 1.14.7),<sup>13</sup> but according to Strabo (5.3.1 p. 228), continual wars had taken a heavy toll on the region. Presumably those wars included the bitter fighting in the rebellion of Rome's allies in the Social War (91–87 BC), and so Amiternum may have been in decline at the time of S.'s youth. Since, however, the people had possessed the rights of Roman citizenship for nearly two centuries, by the date of S.'s birth, in 86, many local families of substance must have been thoroughly Romanized. S.'s own family was doubtless among them, but no inscriptional evidence has survived connecting Sallustii with Amiternum.

Be that as it may, the social prestige and influence of municipal aristocrats (*domi nobiles*, as they are referred to at *Cat.* 17.4) carried little weight in the capital. In Rome, honors and political office were commonly the prerogatives of a select circle of well-established families, the *nobiles*. Young men such as S. and Cicero who were the first in their family to enter Roman politics were, by contrast, known as "new men" (*Cat.* 23.6). They had to over-

<sup>12</sup> "Those who dwell around (*am[bi]*)-) the Aternus," *Ling.* 5.28.

<sup>13</sup> Livy 28.45.19 may indicate, however, that the Amiternini were still allies (*socii*) or persons enjoying only partial citizenship (*cives sine suffragio*) as late as 203 (see Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship*, 206–7).

come the barriers that their municipal origin placed in the way of easy access to political office and rapid advancement. Local ties were seldom forgotten. Pride in personal achievement based on merit rather than birth was the norm. Such self-reliance colors much of the speech that S. attributes to the consul-elect Gaius Marius, a "new man" who was a native of Cicero's hometown, Arpinum (*Jug.* 85). The outlook of the select few who ennobled their families by holding the consulship could never be quite the same as the outlook of the hereditary aristocracy, to whom power and prestige belonged as a birthright. The bitterness and scorn leveled by S. against corrupt and decadent *nobiles* is quite understandable, given S.'s municipal origin and his status as a "new man."

#### *Political Career*

S. tells us (*Cat.* 3.3) that he was attracted to a career in politics at a very early age (*adulescentulus*). His first attested office is his tribunate in 52 BC (*Ascon.* p. 37C.18–19). Prior to that, it is reasonable to assume that he held the quaestorship, since that office was the first in the *cur-sus honorum* and entitled the holder to automatic admission to the senate under the reforms enacted by the dictator Sulla in 81. The only source, however, to attest S.'s quaestorship is the invective *In Sallustium* (§15), which is ascribed to Cicero but is plainly a late forgery emanating from the rhetorical schools under the empire. Although one cannot exclude the possibility that S. gained his seat in the senate by holding merely the tribunate,<sup>14</sup> in the

<sup>14</sup> Syme, *Sallust*, 28.

absence of explicit evidence to the contrary, it is probably best to assume a normal pattern for his career. If S. was born in 86, he would have been eligible to be quaestor in 55, the year of the second consulship of Pompey and Crassus, and this date suits the chronology of his tribunate three years later (*MRR* 2.217).

During his tribunate in 52, S. played a prominent role in the political crisis that was precipitated by the murder of the demagogue P. Clodius Pulcher (tr. pl. 58). The year 52 opened without any consuls, since violence and obstruction had prevented the elections from being held in the previous year. Three candidates were seeking the consulship for 52 by distributing lavish bribes and surrounding themselves with armed supporters: T. Annius Milo, who had the backing of the conservative Optimates faction, and Q. Metellus Scipio and P. Plautius Hypsaenus, who had the backing of Pompey and Clodius (Ascon. p. 30C). Clodius was himself a candidate for the praetorship and a bitter enemy of Milo, the two being leaders of rival gangs of thugs who had been recruited earlier in the decade to intimidate political opponents. On January 18, 52, an end was at long last put to the longstanding rivalry between Clodius and Milo, when Milo's gang wounded Clodius on the *via Appia* and later killed him outside a tavern at Bovillae, where Clodius had sought refuge. Riots broke out when Clodius' body was brought to Rome, and the senate house was burned down when his corpse was cremated on a makeshift funeral pyre heaped up by the frenzied mob inside the Curia Hostilia. A state of emergency was declared, and Pompey was eventually made sole consul for the first part of the year. Steps were taken to bring Milo

to trial for the murder, and despite Cicero's efforts to defend him in court, Milo was condemned and went into exile.

During this turbulent period, S. cooperated with two of his colleagues in the tribunate, T. Munatius Plancus Bursa and Q. Pompeius Rufus, who stoked the rage and grief ignited by Clodius' murder. All three tribunes incited the people to hostility against Milo, and against Cicero, because he was defending him (Ascon. p. 37C:18–21). S.'s motives for taking an active part in this affair are difficult to ascertain. The tradition that he and Milo were on bad terms because of an adulterous affair between S. and Milo's wife, Fausta, rests on very shaky evidence.<sup>15</sup> There is, however, no evidence for close ties between S. and Clodius as there is for ties between Clodius and the other two tribunes. Possibly S. acted as he did because he was a supporter of Pompey's candidates, who were running against Milo.<sup>16</sup> Whatever S.'s motives were for stirring up the mob, there was a rumor that he later patched up his quarrel with Milo and Cicero (Ascon. p. 37C. 23–24). Plancus and Pompeius Rufus both succumbed to prosecutions in 51 for their role in fomenting violence in the previous year, while S., so far as is known, escaped criminal prosecution for his activities during his tribunate.

The reprieve was only temporary, however, since in 50 BC, less than two years after his tribunate ended, S. was expelled from the senate by the censor Appius Claudius

<sup>15</sup> See discussion below, under S.'s expulsion from the senate in 50.

<sup>16</sup> Syme, *Sallust*, 31–33.

(Dio 40.63.4). A reference to this major blow to his career is clearly to be detected in the words “there [in politics] I encountered many setbacks” (*mihī multa advorsa fuere*, *Cat.* 3.3). Typically senators were stripped of their rank on the grounds of moral or political misconduct, and two sources specifically attribute S.’s punishment to charges of adultery.<sup>17</sup> Neither of these sources, however, is terribly trustworthy, and they disagree with Dio in crediting *both* censors, Appius and his colleague Calpurnius Piso (cos. 58), with punishing S. There is, to be sure, a tradition that S. was apprehended by Milo while committing adultery with Milo’s wife, the notorious Fausta, daughter of Sulla. The date must be either 54 or 53, a good three to four years before S. lost his seat in the senate, since Milo married Fausta on November 18, 55 (*Cic. Att.* 4.13[87].1) and was exiled in early 52. S. was reportedly flogged and released after the payment of money to the outraged husband. The earliest mention of the story can be traced back to a work titled *Pius aut De Pace*<sup>18</sup> written by the scholar and politician Marcus Varro, a partisan of Pompey in the Civil War and so an opponent of S., a Caesarean.<sup>19</sup> Caution

<sup>17</sup> [Cic.], *In Sall.* 16 and ps-Acron. on *Hor. Sat.* 1.2.49.

<sup>18</sup> *Cell.* 17.18. *Pius* in the title may refer to Metellus Pius, the consul of 80, who fought Sertorius, or to his adoptive son, Metellus Scipio (cos. 52), who was Pompey’s father-in-law and commander in chief of the Republican forces defeated by Caesar in Africa in 46. *De pace* (concerning peace) possibly alludes to the role Caesar asked Metellus Scipio to play in relaying peace proposals to Pompey in 48 (*Caes. B Civ.* 3.57).

<sup>19</sup> The story found its way into the biography of S. by Asconius writing under Nero (ps-Acron. on *Hor. Sat.* 1.2.41); Servius (ad

in accepting the tale at face value is advisable. Two other lovers of Fausta are said to have been thrashed by Fausta’s husband when he caught them in adultery with her: one Villius<sup>20</sup> (*Hor. Sat.* 1.2.64–67) and an otherwise unknown L. Octavius (*Val. Max.* 6.1.13). The allegation involving S., therefore, may rest more on Fausta’s reputation as a promiscuous wife than on S.’s as a philanderer.<sup>21</sup> It is just the sort of charge an enemy of S. (Varro<sup>p</sup>) might invent without any regard for the truth, one that sounds plausible because Fausta had too many lovers to keep count.<sup>22</sup> Significantly Dio gives no indication that moral turpitude was alleged as the ground for S.’s expulsion from the senate. On the contrary, he implies that S. was the victim of a political purge carried out by Claudius, against the wishes of his colleague Piso. Caesar’s agent Scribonius Curio (tr. pl. 50) nearly succumbed to Claudius’ political vendetta as well, but he was rescued through the intervention of Piso, who was Caesar’s father-in-law (Dio 40.63.4–5).

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*Aen.* 6.612) adds the detail that S. was disguised as a slave when he was apprehended by Milo.

<sup>20</sup> Presumably Milo’s friend Sex. Villius Annalis (*Cic. Fam.* 2.6[50].1).

<sup>21</sup> The Sallustius whom Horace (*Sat.* 1.2.47–49) mentions as carrying on love affairs with freedwomen, as opposed to Roman *matronae*, must be the historian’s grandnephew (see below, p. xxvii), not the writer, and so has no bearing on the question of S.’s conduct.

<sup>22</sup> *Macrob. Sat.* 2.2.9 names two more lovers of Fausta who competed with each other for her affection, and according to Horace (*Sat.* 1.2.67), even Fausta’s paramour Villius (see above) had a rival, one Longarenus.



*Service under Caesar in the Civil War*

After the loss of his seat in the senate in 50, S. apparently sought refuge in Caesar's camp (so [Cic.], *In Sall.* 16) since he is next found as a legate in command of one of Caesar's legions in Illyricum late in 49. He was outmaneuvered, however, by Pompey's generals and failed to relieve Caesar's legate C. Antonius (Mark Antony's brother), who had been trapped on the island of Curicta (Orosius 6.15.8). After this setback, S. does not surface again until ca. October 47, when Caesar sent him, as praetor-elect, to convey terms for a settlement to mutinous legions stationed in Campania. S. barely escaped from the riotous soldiers with his life (App. *B Civ.* 2.92; Dio 42.52.1–2), and Caesar was forced to intervene personally. By extraordinary measures Caesar cajoled the troops into forgoing their long-overdue discharge and cash bounties until after they had served one more campaign, in 46 against the Republican forces that had rallied in Africa.

In 46, S. regained his seat in the senate by holding the praetorship,<sup>23</sup> and his fortunes took a decided turn for the better during and immediately after Caesar's African campaign of that year. First, S. rendered valuable service by conducting a successful raid on the island Cercina, where the enemy had a large store of gain that was needed to provision Caesar's troops recently landed on the African

<sup>23</sup> So Dio 42.52.2. Readmission via holding a second quaestorship (in 48?) is claimed solely by [Cic.] *In Sall.* 17 (cf. 21), a source of dubious authority (*MRR* 3.184).

coast.<sup>24</sup> Then, after Caesar's victory at the Battle of Thapsus (April 6/February 7 Jul.), S. was handsomely rewarded by being made governor of Africa Nova, a new province formed by Caesar out of part of the former Numidian kingdom of Juba, to the west of Rome's original province of Africa ([Caes.] *B Afr.* 97.1; App. *B Civ.* 2.100). Caesar must have entertained a favorable opinion of S.'s administrative ability to entrust him with this important assignment, which included the command of three legions. Whatever Caesar's expectations were, there is a tradition that S. enriched himself by shamelessly plundering the province, and he appears to have been charged with extortion upon his return to Rome in 45(?).<sup>25</sup> Later sources call attention to the fact that S. did not adhere to the high moral and ethical standards that he preached in his writings (e.g., Gell. 17.18.1; Dio loc. cit.; Lactant. *Inst. Div.* 2.12.12; Symmach., *ep.* 5.68[66].2; Macrob. *Sat.* 3.13.9). Possibly he escaped the disgrace of losing his rank as senator a second time by sharing some of his ill-gotten gains with Caesar, who is said to have been willing to shield malefactors in exchange for a share of the spoils.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> [Caes.] *B Afr.* 8.3, 34.1–3. Cercina lies ca. twenty miles off the coast of Africa, at the north end of the gulf Syrtis Minor.

<sup>25</sup> Dio 43.9.2; [Cic.] *In Sall.* 19 both attesting a prosecution (*TLRR* no. 383). S. returned at the latest sometime before Caesar's murder on the Ides (15th) of March 44 (see next note). In view of Caesar's law limiting praetorian governors to only one year, S. is likely to have received a successor in 45 (*MRR* 2.309).

<sup>26</sup> Dio 43.47.4. [Cic.] *In Sall.* 19 alleges that S. paid Caesar 1.2 million sesterces to escape prosecution.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### *Retirement from Public Life*

Whether S. made up his mind at this point to renounce further political aspirations or was driven into retirement by the assassination of his benefactor Caesar on the Ides (15) of March of 44, his private resources appear to have been more than adequate to support a life of leisure. We have evidence of considerable wealth, if the historian, and not his adoptive heir of the same name, was the possessor of the famous and elegant *horti Sallustiani*, a large suburban estate situated on the outskirts of Rome between the Pincian and Quirinal (see map of Rome).<sup>27</sup> The outspokenness of S. in his writings, combined with the fact that he survived the bloody proscriptions of the Triumvirs unscathed, despite his great wealth, implies that he enjoyed favor with Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus.<sup>28</sup> When the Triumvirs seized absolute power in November 43 and carried out a ruthless purge of their enemies, confiscating vast sums of money from their victims to finance their war against Brutus and Cassius in 42, S. somehow weathered the storm. He may have been shielded by his reputation for past loyal service to Caesar, whose murder the Trium-

<sup>27</sup> The only source to connect this property explicitly with the historian is the untrustworthy [Cic.], *In Sall.* 19. Syme, *Sallust*, 283, leaves open the distinct possibility that the property was laid out not by the historian but by his homonymous heir of imperial fame (on whom see n. 30 below). Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, 202; *LTUR* 3.79; and Hartswick, *Gardens of Sallust*, 8, take it for granted that the historian was the original owner.

<sup>28</sup> See below, under "Genuine Works," for evidence connecting S. with a speech delivered by one of Mark Antony's chief generals, P. Ventidius, at Ventidius' Parthian triumph in 38.

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virs claimed to be avenging. A late source preserves the story, clearly apocryphal, that S. married Cicero's divorced wife, Terentia, a lady old enough to be his mother.<sup>29</sup> S. apparently had no surviving children of his own to make his heirs since he adopted his grandnephew, a grandson of his sister, the C. Sallustius Crispus to whom Horace addressed *Odes* 2.2.<sup>30</sup>

## 2. THE WRITINGS OF SALLUST

### *Genuine Works*

S. is the earliest Roman historian to have a portion of his writings survive intact, and he was greatly respected in antiquity. Quintilian (*Inst. or.* 2.5.19) ranks S. ahead of Livy, and Martial (14.191) describes him as "first" (*primus*) among Roman historians. In the second century AD, the Greek sophist Zenobius translated S.'s writings into Greek and presented them as a birthday present to the emperor Hadrian (*Suda* s.v. "Zenobios"), while a little later in the same era Aemilius Asper wrote a no-longer

<sup>29</sup> Jer. *contra Iovianum* 1.48 (*PL* 23.291). The fanciful fiction is that Terentia was married in turn to three rival stylists: Cicero, Sallust, and the orator, general M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (cos. suff. 31), each belonging to successive generations, being born in 106, 86, and 64 BC, respectively. Terentia's age may be gauged from the fact that her eldest child, Cicero's daughter Tullia, was born ca. 79.

<sup>30</sup> Adoption and genealogy, Tac. *Ann.* 3.30.2. Sallust the adopted son, who died in AD 20, was a close friend and advisor to the emperor Augustus (Sen. *Clem.* 1.10.1) and later to the emperor Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 1.6.5-6, 2.40.2).

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extant commentary on S. (Lyd. *Mag.* 3.8; Charis. *GL* 1.216.28).

The works that have been wholly preserved comprise two monographs: the *Bellum Catilinae*,<sup>31</sup> which is relatively modest in size (48+ OCT pages) and describes an attempted coup d'état during the consulship of Cicero (63 BC), and the nearly twice-as-long *Bellum Jugurthinum* (95+ OCT pages) chronicling Rome's war in north Africa against the Numidian prince Jugurtha (111–105 BC). Of S.'s magnum opus, the *Historiae* in five books, covering Roman history for the years 78–67 BC, only a small portion is extant. We possess four speeches and two letters, which were excerpted and are preserved by a single MS (V = Vaticanus 3864); citations in ancient authors account for another approximately 550+ fragments ranging in size from a single word to upward of a paragraph or two.

In addition to S.'s historical works, there once existed in antiquity some published speeches (Sen. *Contr.* 3 pr. 8). These must have been distinct from the speeches found

<sup>31</sup> Recent printed editions have adopted the title *De Coniuratione Catilinae* (e.g., Jordan 1887, Ernout 1958, Reynolds 1991) or simply *Catilinae Coniuratio* (Kurfess 1957), which rests solely on *Cat.* 4.3 (*de Catilinae coniuratione*). No manuscript of S. and no citation in antiquity supports the view that *coniuratio* formed part of the title. The manuscripts preserve the work under a variety of headings and subscriptions, most containing the word "bellum": *Bellum Catilinarium* (B: Catulinarium P), *Liber Catilinaris* (D), *Bellum Catilinae* (subscr. PAK). *Bellum Catilinae* appears to be the title known to Quintilian in the first century AD (*Inst. or.* 3.8.9 *in bello Jugurthino et Catilinae*), and it is well attested as a title by writers citing S. in the fourth century (Nonius 24x, Arusian 11x, Servius 2x, Augustine 1x).

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in S.'s historical writings since they seem not to have been highly regarded but were read mainly out of respect for the reputation of S. as an historian (*in honorem historiarum*).<sup>32</sup> Lastly, it has generally been supposed that S. composed a speech for Mark Antony's legate P. Ventidius (cos. suff. 43), for delivery at Ventidius' triumph over the Parthians, which was celebrated in November 38.<sup>33</sup>

### *Spurious Works*

Two works, generally referred to as *Epistulae ad Caesarem senem* (*Letters to Caesar in his Later Years*)<sup>34</sup> are pre-

<sup>32</sup> Sen. loc. cit. Possibly among those speeches were several delivered by S. during his tribunate in 52 (*ORF* no. 152).

<sup>33</sup> Fro. 122.19–21 (= 2.136 Haines): Ventidius is said to have "borrowed a speech from Sallust" (*orationem a C. Sallustio mutuatus est*). Syme, *Sallust* . . . , 223, 297 n. 118, takes it for granted that S. wrote the speech; however, Leisner-Jensen, "Ventidius and Sallust," 344, has argued persuasively that what Fronto means by "borrowed" is that Ventidius adopted language and topics from S. to craft a speech of his own. If that is the correct explanation, then Ventidius perhaps took his inspiration from such passages as *Jug.* 85, the speech S. put into the mouth of the general C. Marius, a "new man" like Ventidius.

<sup>34</sup> The heading in our sole MS is simply *Ad Caesarem senem de re publica* (To the elder Caesar concerning the affairs of state), to which most modern editors add "*Epistulae*," since both works appear to take the form of an "open" letter of advice to Caesar. Jordan 1878, however, (followed by Rolfe in the previous Loeb edition, 1931) arbitrarily styled the first essay an "*oratio*," relying upon the heading in V for the immediately preceding division (C. CRISPI SALLUSTI ORATIONES EXCERPTAE DE HISTORIIS INCIPIT), while the second has to be an "*epistula*," since it is explic-

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served, without any explicit attribution to S., in a single manuscript (fol. 127r–133v of V = *Vaticanus* 3864). This is the MS mentioned above that also contains the speeches and letters excerpted from the *Historiae* as well as from the *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*. Until late in the twentieth century, a host of very distinguished scholars numbered the *Epistulae* among S.'s genuine works, *Ep.* 1 in particular having its staunch defenders.<sup>35</sup> Both essays are now generally regarded as products of the imperial schools of rhetoric, the greatest obstacle to their acceptance as genuine compositions by S. being the fact that they are written in a style characteristic of S.'s mature writings, a style that developed gradually over the course of nearly a decade (from ca. 42–35 BC), and yet the two *Epistulae* purport to have been written a good six to eight years before S. abandoned politics to cultivate this new and distinctive style of writing.<sup>36</sup> They take the form of *suasoriae* (essays of advice) addressed to Julius Caesar at the time of the civil war and recommend the best course for restoring peace and prosperity to the nation. The first of these two open letters adopts a historical setting later than the second, *Ad Caes. sen.* 1 addressing the problems that faced Caesar after his victory over Pompey and the Republican forces at the

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itly described as a “letter” at 2.12.1 (*perlectis litteris*). The standard editions of the Latin text are by Reynolds 1991, Kurfess 1970, Ernout 1962. For Latin text with commentary, see Paladini 1952, Vretska 1961, and Cugusi 1968.

<sup>35</sup> For an impressive list of luminaries who credited the *Epistulae* to S., see Syme, “Pseudo-Sallust,” 46.

<sup>36</sup> See Syme, *Sallust*, 313–51, for a complete summary of the evidence, pro and con.

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Battle of Pharsalus (August 9/June 7 Jul. 48 BC).<sup>37</sup> *Ad Caes. sen.* 2, by contrast, pictures conditions as they existed in late 50, or in the opening months of 49 BC, when the Civil War was about to commence.

Lastly, some two hundred manuscripts, most containing also genuine works of S. and Cicero, preserve a pair of invectives, *In Ciceronem*, which is written as if it were delivered in the senate by S. ca. 54, and a reply supposedly by Cicero, *In Sallustium*.<sup>38</sup> The latter has been referred to on several occasions earlier in this introduction as a source for various pieces of information of dubious value concerning S.'s life and career. Quintilian (*Inst. or.* 4.1.68, 9.3.89) treats the *In Ciceronem* as a genuine work by S. (as does Servius on *Aen.* 6.623), while the fourth/fifth-century grammarian Diomedes (*GL* 1.387.6), who quotes from *In Sallustium* 7.20, credits the work not to Cicero but to an otherwise unknown Didius. Both invectives, like the *Epistulae ad Caesarem*, are today rightly regarded by scholars as rhetorical exercises produced in the imperial schools of oratory.

### *Dates of Composition*

Very little evidence is available for determining the precise date of composition for each of the three genuine

<sup>37</sup> The absence of any mention of fighting after the victory over Pompey (referred to at *Ad Caes. sen.* 1.2.1, cf. 2.7, 4.1) or of Cato's suicide in 46 points to the autumn of 48 as the historical setting adopted in the work. So Syme, *Sallust*, 318–19.

<sup>38</sup> See the Loeb edition by Shackleton Bailey, Cicero, *Letters to Quintus and Brutus*, 359–91, for text and translation.

works. The *Catiline* must be the earliest, because the two monographs were clearly written before the more ambitious *Historiae* was undertaken, and the preface to the *Catiline*, in contrast with the preface to the *Jugurtha*, takes a more hesitant and apologetic stance regarding S.'s new career as a writer. Furthermore, the *Catiline* makes more explicit reference to S.'s decision to give up a career in politics in favor of becoming a writer of Roman history (3.3–4.2).<sup>39</sup> Apparently S.'s confidence in the value of his new occupation as a historian grew as time went by. One may also detect in the preface to the *Jugurtha* signs that S. was repelled further from politics by the events that transpired after the formation of the Triumvirate by Mark Antony, Marcus Lepidus, and Octavian Caesar (the future emperor Augustus) in November of 43 BC. For instance, S. speaks of politicians whose personal safety was no longer assured by the prestige of political office (*Jug.* 3.1). Later in the same chapter, he appears to allude to the proscriptions and bloodletting of the Triumvirs, who revived a reign of terror on the Sullan model to crush their political enemies and raise cash for the war with Brutus and Cassius in 42.

Within the *Catiline* itself, a *terminus post quem* is furnished by the reference to Cato and Julius Caesar in the

<sup>39</sup> In part, S.'s description of his career path and change of course is consciously modeled on language in the so-called *Seventh Epistle*, which purports to be an autobiographical essay by the fourth-century BC Athenian philosopher Plato (e.g., *Cat.* 3.3, echoing *Ep.* 7.324b–c, and 4.1, drawing on 325a). By inviting comparison between himself and Plato early in his first historical essay, S. lays claim to the moral high ground.

past tense (“there were two men”: 53.6 *fuere viri duo*). Clearly S. was writing after the Ides of March of 44, but how long afterward cannot be determined. It is impossible to say whether the work was published before or after the death of Cicero in December of 43, but it is tempting to assume that S. brought out his monograph on the Catilinarian conspiracy after the death of all the leading personalities, including Cicero.<sup>40</sup> If so, then the *Bellum Catilinae* may have been published toward the end of 42 or the first half of 41. If we allow another year or two for the composition of the *Bellum Jugurthinum*,<sup>41</sup> S. may have begun work on his last and most ambitious undertaking, the *Historiae*, late in 39. The surviving fragments and *testimonia* reveal that the *Historiae* covered a dozen years of history (cf. Auson. *Ep.* 22.2.63 *bis senos . . . per annos*), from 78 (the consulship and revolt of M. Lepidus) to 67 (the latest datable event apparently being the debate over passage of the *lex Gabinia* in that year, fr. 24M of Book 5). Possibly, however, S.'s intention was to bring his account of the post-Sullan period down to the point at which the *Bellum Catilinae* takes up the narrative in 65/64. If so, it may be that S. was still working on this final project when death overtook him at the age of 50 or 51, in 35. This will explain

<sup>40</sup> So Syme, *Sallust*, 59

<sup>41</sup> If the spectacular fall from grace and suicide of Octavian's lieutenant Q. Salvidienus (cos. desig. 39), a “new man,” in 40 (*MRR* 2.383) lies behind S.'s comment on the degenerate breed of “new men” who achieved power by dishonest means (*Jug.* 4.7) and the failure of high political office to afford safety (*Jug.* 3.1), then 40 BC will be the *terminus ante quem non* for the publication of the *Jugurtha* (Syme, *Sallust*, 218).

why so little remains of Book five of the *Historiae* in comparison with the other four books. Fewer than thirty fragments are preserved from Book five, whereas the number of fragments that can be assigned to each of the other four books falls below one hundred only in the case of Book 4 (80+), and some 550+ fragments of the work as a whole have survived.

### 3. SALLUST'S CONTRIBUTION TO ROMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

#### *State of Roman Historiography before Sallust*

In his preface to the *Catiline* (3.1), S. argues that the writing of history is no less valuable to the nation than the services performed by those who take part in political affairs. Both occupations, he asserts, are praiseworthy, and the writer's task is especially difficult because he must do justice to the deeds that he records, while running the risk of being criticized by his readers. Some will accuse the historian of leveling criticism out of malice, while others will suspect him of exaggeration if they read about deeds beyond their own capability (*Cat.* 3.1–2). Nevertheless, S. asserts that he is convinced that a memorial of past achievements is valuable as a model for future generations (*Jug.* 4.5–6), and he laments the fact that his nation has lacked writers of genius, such as Athens had produced in the field of history, to lend glory to the noteworthy deeds of the Roman people (*Cat.* 8).

This last judgment agrees with Cicero's opinion of the poor state of Roman history as a genre. According to Cicero, S.'s Roman predecessors in the field of history were

an inferior lot (*De Or.* 2.51ff.; *Leg.* 1.5ff.; *Brut.* 228). They were merely "relaters of deeds" (*narratores rerum*, *De Or.* 2.54), who were woefully lacking in prose style. Brevity and truthfulness were their only virtues. Eloquence at Rome had been directed to public speaking rather than to the composition of history. Those who wrote history were content to record events year after year, without making any serious attempt at analysis. A few recent historians had tried to infuse their works with interest, and although both S. (*Jug.* 95.2) and Cicero (*Leg.* 1.7; *Brut.* 228) pay L. Cornelius Sisenna (d. 67 BC) the compliment of being somewhat better than his predecessors, S. and Cicero share the view that no Roman writer of history approached the stature of the Greek historians of the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

#### *Choice of Subjects*

##### *Bellum Catilinae*

S.'s first historical composition was a monograph covering chiefly the events of 63 BC,<sup>42</sup> a highly focused treatment of a narrow slice of history that marks a significant departure from the approach adopted by the bulk of S.'s Roman predecessors, who had composed annals, personal

<sup>42</sup> L. Coelius Antipater, who wrote a history of the Second Punic War in seven books (*post* 121 BC), appears to be the first Roman historian to break away from the annalistic treatment of history in favor of the historical monograph which deals with a single topic. Cicero credits Coelius with surpassing his predecessors by writing in a more flowing style but faults him for lacking polish and variety (*Cic. De Or.* 2.54; *Leg.* 1.6).

memoirs, or outline histories. Interestingly, there is preserved a letter written by Cicero in 55 to the Roman historian L. Lucceius, asking him to interrupt work on his history of the Social War and Sullan civil war and compose right away a monograph celebrating Cicero's achievement in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy and the vicissitudes in Cicero's political fortunes down to 57 (*Fam.* 5.12[22]). Cicero explains that he was eager to have his achievements celebrated within his own lifetime and cites the works of several Greek historians as precedents for preferring the format of a monograph to a continuous history for recording a period charged with dramatic possibilities and unified by a single protagonist. Given the fact that Cicero's letter recommends both the form and to a certain extent the subject matter that S. ultimately chose for his first historical work, it deserves mention, although it should not be viewed as having had any direct influence on S. since it was a piece of private correspondence and hence not circulated to persons outside Cicero's immediate circle of friends.<sup>43</sup> Lucceius apparently agreed to comply with Cicero's wishes (*Att.* 4.6[83].4) and received from Cicero a collection of raw material (*Att.* 4.11[86].2). Possibly he completed the task, although it has left no trace. Since Cicero does not mention Lucceius among historians who wrote in Latin (*Leg.* 1.6–7), it is conceivable that Lucceius published in Greek. Certainly Lucceius was a figure with whom S. must have been acquainted since he and S. were both senators. Doubtless, S. was also aware of

<sup>43</sup> Cicero mentions the letter to his friend Atticus and urges him to request a copy from Lucceius, their mutual friend (*Att.* 4.6[83].4).

Cicero's prose and verse accounts of his consulship (see Introduction to *Catiline*: "Sources"). Finally, it must have been common knowledge that Cicero had been dunning various historians besides Lucceius, including the Greek Posidonius, to write up the momentous events of 63 BC (*Att.* 2.1[21].2).

Ultimately S. decided that the affair of Catiline was ideally suited to his purposes. It presented an opportunity to examine the moral degeneracy of the late Republic, it involved most of the leading personalities of S.'s own lifetime, and the sources were abundant. As S. himself remarks, this affair was "especially worthy of notice because of the novelty of the crime and danger arising from it" (*Cat.* 4.4). Catiline could be held up as a prime specimen of a decadent nobleman who sought political advancement by espousing the cause of the downtrodden simply to maintain and further selfishly his own *dignitas* (*Cat.* 35.3, 4). Of noble birth himself (5.1), Catiline gathered into his following many of the same class (17.5) who fondly recalled the revolutionary days of Sulla (5.6, 37.6) and were willing to set fire to the city of Rome and incite the Gauls to make war on the Roman people so that they could seize power for themselves in the confusion. Ironically the savior in this crisis was an outsider, the "new man" from Arpinum, Cicero, who brought the conspiracy to light and frustrated the aims of the revolutionaries.

#### *Bellum Iugurthinum*

S. next chose to write an account of a foreign war, one that ended in 105, almost twenty years before his birth in 86, and was fought in Numidia, a kingdom on the north coast of Africa, allied to Rome. As in the *Catiline*, S. pro-

grammatically states early in the monograph his reason for singling out that chapter in Roman history (*Jug.* 5.1–2): “First of all, because it was a great and terrible conflict of varying fortune; secondly, because then for the first time opposition was offered to the insolence of the nobles. That struggle threw everything, human and divine, into confusion, and progressed to such a pitch of frenzy that finally war and the desolation of Italy put an end to civil contentions.” Africa was a region of the Roman world that was both exotic—hence appealing as a setting for a historical narrative—and at the same time closely linked to Rome through its long-standing and deadly rivalry with the city of Carthage, which stretched from 264 to 146 BC and resulted in the three Punic wars. (In S.’s view, the destruction of Carthage at the conclusion of the Third Punic [149–146] was a watershed in Roman history, because the removal of Carthage as an external threat to Rome’s safety and power sent the nation on a downward spiral of corruption and decadence bred of complacency [*Cat.* 10.1; *Jug.* 41.2; *Hist.* 1.12M].) Given the lasting memory of the enormous havoc wreaked upon Italy by the Carthaginian general Hannibal in the Second Punic War (218–201), it is easy to see how another charismatic military commander, Jugurtha, whose kingdom was next door to the former Carthaginian territory, could be regarded as posing a genuine threat to the safety and stability of Rome (*Jug.* 39.1). Horace (*Epod.* 9.23–26), in fact, mentions in the same breath Rome’s conquest of Carthage and the much later victory over Jugurtha to illustrate triumphs produced on the continent of Africa.

Still another factor that may have influenced S.’s choice is that he and his generation will have vividly recalled the

key role that King Juba of Numidia had played in supporting the Pompeian faction against Caesar in the recent civil war. This Juba was the grandson of Jugurtha’s half brother Gauda (see Genealogical Table, p. 165) and had annihilated the army Caesar had sent under C. Curio to seize control of Africa in 49 (*Caes. B Civ.* 2.24–42). That defeat was arguably one of the greatest setbacks in Caesar’s otherwise virtually seamless progress toward victory over all of this foes in the civil war. Later, in the African campaign in 46, in which S. himself took part as an officer in Caesar’s army, Juba provided vast resources and support for Caesar’s enemies.

Given S.’s personal background and the recent role played by a Numidian monarch in a struggle that decided the fate of the Roman world, it makes sense for S. to have taken up the story of Rome’s struggle with an earlier Numidian prince, Jugurtha. It also helps to explain why S. chose to present the struggle in 111–105 as the seedbed from which the civil war of his day was to germinate (*Jug.* 5.2, quoted above). In S.’s account, Jugurtha is ultimately made to play a role similar to Catiline’s in the first monograph. He is portrayed as a gifted but fatally flawed anti-hero who, despite having great mental and physical powers that call for admiration, chooses to pursue his own selfish interests by exploiting the corruption and weaknesses of Rome’s governing class, the nobles. The topics of both monographs permitted S. to explore what he viewed as the chief cause of Rome’s problems, namely moral decline and the domination of the masses by a powerful clique of politicians. S. was also doubtless attracted to the subject of the war in Numidia because after fighting in Caesar’s African campaign in 46, S. had stayed on for



up to a year as governor of Africa Nova, a province formed from part of the Numidian kingdom. Despite, however, his personal connection with and residence in the region, S.'s account of the places where the war was waged shows little or no attempt to make use of information that he might have gleaned by autopsy.

*Historiae*

Toward the end of the *Jugurtha* (95.2), S. states that he was "not going to speak elsewhere of Sulla's deeds" (*Jug.* 95.2). This statement seems to indicate that S. had not yet, at that time, made plans to write his *Historiae*, since Book 1 of that work clearly had a great deal to say about Sulla's conduct in the civil war and during the proscriptions, and about his dictatorship. Conceivably there was a lapse of some months, or even a year or two, after the publication of the *Jugurtha* (ca. 40?)<sup>44</sup> before a favorable reception of the second monograph inspired S. to take up his pen once more. His praise of Sisenna as having "done the best and most competent job of all writers who have treated those deeds [Sulla's in the social and civil wars]" (*Jug.* loc. cit.) may explain why S. ultimately chose not to relate in detail events in the 80s.<sup>45</sup> Instead, he merely summarizes the highpoints of the social and civil wars (*Hist.* 1.19–53M) as background material to set the scene for the revolt of Lepidus in 78, which was taken by S. as the starting point

<sup>44</sup> See above, n. 41.

<sup>45</sup> It is worth noting that the Social War and the Sullan Civil War, in addition to having been recounted by Sisenna, also formed the subject of the history composed by Cicero's friend L. Lucecius (Cic. *Fam.* 5.12[22].2), although there is no evidence that Lucecius' history was ever completed or known to S.

for his account of the post-Sullan period. However, the link S. came to see between the struggles set in motion at the time of the Jugurthine war and the wars treated by Sisenna (*Jug.* 5.2, quoted above) helps explain how the second monograph served to prepare the way for S. to explore further the problems and themes raised in his first two works.

The post-Sullan period was rich in topics designed to appeal to a writer of S.'s outlook. In his two earlier monographs he had relentlessly cast a spotlight on the greed, incompetence, and corruption of the governing class, precisely the group that was given a new lease on power by Sulla's extensive legislative reforms in 81. Finally, the year 78 made a logical point of departure for S.'s narrative; it is the year in which Sulla died, and it is also possibly the year that marked the conclusion of Sisenna's history.<sup>46</sup>

When S. turned to writing history, supposedly the famous grammarian Ateius Philologus assisted him in two ways. First, Ateius is credited with preparing an outline (*brevarium*) of the whole of Roman history, and second, with culling for S.'s use old and unusual words and expressions. This latter detail is likely to be apocryphal, however, since it rests on the testimony of a hostile critic. C. Asinius Pollio (cos. 40), a fellow historian.<sup>47</sup> Ateius is said to have lent his assistance later to Pollio, after S.'s death, and to have staunchly recommended to Pollio that he adhere to standard usage and avoid at all costs the obscurity pro-

<sup>46</sup> Among the preserved fragments, the last datable event referred to is the appointment of Sulla as dictator in November 82 (fr. 132P).

<sup>47</sup> Reported by Suet. *Gram.* 10.

duced by S.'s brevity and bold figures of speech.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, it seems implausible that Ateius took a radically different tact with S. Similarly, given the relatively narrow historical focus of S.'s writings, which seldom touch upon events in Roman affairs before the year 146, it seems implausible that he would have had any need for a *brevarium* of all of Roman history of the sort that Ateius is credited with preparing for his use.

#### 4. SALLUST'S STYLE

When S. embarked upon a new career as historian and chose to write the *Bellum Catilinae* as his first work, he fulfilled in part the request that Cicero had addressed to the historian Lucceius in 55. S. composed a separate historical monograph covering the events of Cicero's consulship in 63 but chose to make the villain Catiline, not Cicero, the central figure in his essay. Hence S. did not extend his account much beyond Cicero's consulship, whereas Cicero envisaged a work that would cover the vicissitudes in his political fortunes down to his triumphant return from exile in 57. Instead, S. ended his narrative with a chilling description of the carnage on the battlefield in northern Etruria, after the defeat of Catiline's ragtag army in January 62 (*Cat.* 61). That scene furnishes a fitting coda to S.'s account of Catiline's manly death while fighting in the front ranks and leading his troops in battle (*Cat.* 60.7). On top of this departure from the program Cicero outlined for Lucceius, S. went out of his way to disregard the precepts on style that Cicero hoped would elevate Roman

<sup>48</sup> Suet. loc. cit.

historiography and make it a respectable branch of literature. S. struck out on his own to forge a new style that was consciously un-Ciceronian and reminiscent of the antique prose characteristic of the writings of the early Roman annalists.

#### *Influence of Thucydides*

In seeking a model for how best to write history, S.'s verdict on the inadequacy of his Roman predecessors in the field of history caused him to look elsewhere. His choice, perhaps not surprisingly, settled on the fifth-century Athenian historian Thucydides (ca. 460–ca. 395 BC). As we happen to know from Cicero, Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* enjoyed a revival in popularity at Rome in the mid-first century BC, a mere six or seven years before S. began writing, shortly after the death of Caesar in March of 44. Doubtless the renewed interest in Thucydides was stimulated by the crisis precipitated when Caesar crossed the Rubicon in January 49 and launched the civil war with Pompey and the senate. No doubt Roman readers turned to the historian of the decline and fall of the Athenian empire for grim consolation or enlightenment under the pressure of similar circumstances, which Thucydides (1.22.4) argues are controlled by human nature and are therefore likely to recur so long as human nature remains unchanged.

The renewed attention paid to Thucydides soon became part of a literary debate that picked up momentum in the later years of Cicero's life. Some younger Roman orators, in reaction to the ornate and flowing style of Cicero, began to affect a plain, unadorned style of speaking

by taking the Attic orators as their models. These Atticists, as they are called, challenged the supremacy of Cicero as Rome's foremost orator, and in several treatises on oratory written in 46 BC, Cicero responded to the criticism of the Atticists by defending the merits of his flowing, periodic style. In both the *Brutus* (287ff.) and the *Orator* (30ff.), Cicero explores the desirability of employing Thucydides as a model for oratory, as some of Cicero's Atticist rivals were apparently inclined to do. Cicero's resounding verdict is that his contemporaries who were attracted to Thucydides as a stylist failed to appreciate that the Greek historian's abrupt and obscure manner of writing was inappropriate as a model for forensic oratory, although it might be effective for presenting an account of historical events (*res gestae*).

S. appears to have concurred with this latter judgment, and writers in antiquity were well aware of S.'s debt and resemblance to Thucydides (e.g., Sen. *Contr.* 9.1.13–14; Vell. 2.36.2; Quint. *Inst. or.* 10.1.101, 10.2.17). Direct and indirect borrowings from Thucydides in S. are numerous,<sup>49</sup> and the two writers had much in common. Both had served as generals during internecine wars, and both had been forced by setbacks to retire from public service; which caused them to turn to writing history.<sup>50</sup> Both took as their theme contemporary events: Thucydides, the col-

<sup>49</sup> See Scanlon, *Influence of Thucydides on Sallust*.

<sup>50</sup> Thucydides was exiled for twenty years for his failure to prevent the town of Amphipolis, an Athenian colony on the Thracian coast, from capitulating to the Spartan general Brasidas in the winter of 424/23, when Thucydides was serving as a general on the nearby island of Thasos (5.26.5).

lapse of the Athenian empire as a consequence of the Peloponnesian War; S., the moral and political decay of the Roman Republic chiefly in the post-Sullan era but also exposing in the *Jugurtha* the seeds for the troubles he chronicled in the *Catiline* and later in the *Historiae*. S.'s treatment is selective and realistic. Above all, both Thucydides and S. sought to highlight the character of the main participants in their narratives. The personality and morals of the leading political figures, rather than social or economic factors, tend to be emphasized by both historians in explaining the chain of events.

One of the chief ways in which both writers sought to convey the personalities of the principles and capture the mood of the times was by incorporating into their histories speeches composed in their own distinctive style, rather than offering transcripts of speeches actually delivered as a modern historian might do. To paraphrase Thucydides (1.22.1), who explicitly comments on his method of composing speeches—a practice followed by S. and nearly all Greek and Roman historians<sup>51</sup>—speeches in direct address comprise words that the historian regarded as suitable to the circumstances of a given occasion and reflect what the speaker would (in the historian's view) appropriately say under those circumstances. Little, if any, effort is made by the historian to capture the flavor of each speaker's unique style of expressing himself. In the case of Catiline's two speeches (*Cat.* 20.2–16 and 58), for instance, it is obvious that S. can only be *imagining* what Catiline is likely to have uttered on those two occasions. In the first

<sup>51</sup> A practice criticized in S. and Livy by the historian Pompeius Trogus, writing in the Augustan age (ap. Justin. 38.3.11).

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instance, the words were addressed to a closed, secret meeting of the conspirators (*Cat.* 20.1) at which S. was not present, nor did any of the attendees circulate a transcription afterward. The second speech (*Cat.* 58) takes the form of a stock, pre-battle address to Catiline's troops. Few if any present on that occasion survived the final conflict to report what Catiline actually said, even supposing that S. or anyone else took the trouble to inquire.

### *Debt to Cato*

Once S. decided on Thucydides as a model, it remained for him to fashion a suitable style in Latin to capture the flavor of Thucydides' prose, which was characterized by rapidity, abruptness, a fondness for poetical words, inconcinnity, and grammatical peculiarities. The polished prose that Cicero recommended as the ideal medium for history would hardly satisfy an author who wished to emulate the sometimes obscure, tortuous, and archaic prose of Thucydides. Clearly S. had to turn to a comparable writer in his own language, if one could be found, and Cicero, in fact, points the way. In the same literary polemic that invokes the name of Thucydides, Cicero (*Brut.* 65ff.) suggests that his critics who seek to adopt a plain and simple style would do well to read the orations and the *Origines* of Cato the Censor (cos. 195, cens. 184). Cicero asserts that those writings, which were neglected in his day, display brevity and a vigorous style of presentation. Cato's vocabulary was, of course, Cicero remarks, archaic and antiquated but could easily be updated in the light of contemporary usage. Likewise, in Cicero's opinion, the ar-

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rangement of Cato's words could stand improvement and would need to be recast in the proper rhythms. With these slight modifications, Cicero affirms that Cato can be ranked with the Greek orator Lysias, who was so much admired by the new Attic orators.<sup>52</sup>

In Cato S. discovered an ideal model for capturing the flavor of Thucydidean prose. Not only in language but also in outlook, Cato was a good match for S.'s requirements and temperament. Like S., the Elder Cato was the first in his family to enter Roman politics. His humble origins and conservative temperament caused him to clash frequently with the aristocracy, and he was noted for being a sharp critic of the corruption and decadence of his own age. This anti-aristocratic bias was carried over into his *Origines*, which was the first history of Rome to be composed in Latin. In this work, to avoid appearing to celebrate the deeds of the aristocracy, Cato deliberately suppressed the names of the generals and commanders who had fought in Rome's wars. Instead, he chose to emphasize the accomplishments of the Roman nation as a whole and included a generous treatment of the Italian states other than Rome, which explains the title *Origines* (origins of the various states). These characteristics of the Elder Cato, together with the fame earned by his great-grandson Cato Uticensis in S.'s own lifetime, are doubtless what drew S. to the writings of this early Roman annalist.

<sup>52</sup> This extravagant claim concerning the merits of Cato's style need not be taken at face value. Cicero indulges in special pleading to turn the flank of his critics and later qualifies his praise of Cato (*Brut.* 293ff.).

S.'s indebtedness to Cato is remarked upon by writers in antiquity (e.g., Suet. *Aug.* 86.3; Fronto p. 56.21 v. d. Haut<sup>2</sup>). S.'s hostile critics accused him of plundering the works of the Elder Cato (e.g., Linaeus ap. Suet. *Gramm.* 15.2 and the anonymous epigram quoted by Quint. *Inst. or.* 8.3.29), and not without justice, since, although the remains of Cato's writings are slight, his influence on S. may be detected on almost every page.

### *Sallustian Traits: Brevity*

Out of these ingredients, S. fashioned a style that was characterized by brevity, novelties in vocabulary and syntax, and inconcinnity. Brevity is a quality that S. admired in Cato (*Hist.* 1.4M), one he sought to make his personal signature in his quest to write Latin emulating the abrupt and rapid prose of Thucydides. *Brevitas* (or *velocitas*, e.g., Quint. *Inst. or.* 10.1.102) is a term often used in antiquity to describe S.'s style (e.g., Sen. *contr.* 9.1.13; Sen. *Ep.* 114.17; Quint. *Inst. or.* 4.2.45, 10.1.32; Gell. 3.1.6). To achieve this rapidity and sense of breathlessness, S. employed a number of recurring devices such as (1) ellipsis (often the verb "to be" must be supplied, e.g., *Cat.* 5.3–4; sometimes the sequence of logic calls for a whole clause to be supplied in the reader's imagination), (2) asyndeton, which is especially noticeable in the way sentences are strung together without any particle showing the logical connection (e.g., *Cat.* 5.3–5) and in long lists of words (e.g., *Cat.* 21.2) or clauses (e.g., *Cat.* 31.3), (3) frequent use of the historical infinitive, (4) the use of polar oppo-

sites to suggest the full range of possibilities without tiresome enumeration (e.g., *Cat.* 11.3, 11.6, 15.4, 20.7, 30.4, 52.32), and (5) a decided preference for parataxis in lieu of the more complex and flowing periods of Ciceronian Latin (e.g., *Cat.* 2.1 parenthetical *nam*; the demonstrative adverb and coordinate conjunction in place of a subordinate relative clause, as found at *Cat.* 3.3; and the demonstrative pronoun in the nominative to resume the subject contained in the previous sentence).

### *Vocabulary*

S.'s choice of vocabulary was often censured by the purists, who objected to the rare and archaic, for which they had an abhorrence. S., however, took delight in antique and unusual words. In several instances he appears to have deliberately revived the archaic meaning of words in current usage (e.g., *Cat.* 11.3 *venenum*; 26.2 *dolus*) or rehabilitated the literal meaning of words that had assumed a pejorative connotation (e.g., *Cat.* 11.5 *ductare*; 18.8 *patrare*). He shows a fondness for adverbs in *-tim* (e.g., *Cat.* 4.2 *carptim*), adjectives in *-osus* (e.g., *Cat.* 18.4), and abstract nouns in *-tudo*, while substitutes are found for a number of words common in Cicero (e.g., *cupido* instead of *cupiditas*; *facundia* in place of *eloquentia*). A variety of obsolete or obsolescent forms and spellings are revived (e.g., *labos* for *labor*; *quis* for *quibus*; *senati* in place of the gen. *senatus*; *plebes* for nom. *plebs*). S. was an innovator of new words (e.g., *Cat.* 42.2 *portatio*; 61.7 *incruentus*) and was blamed for his bold figures of speech. The MSS

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preserve traces of an archaic orthography that seems to have been adopted by S. (e.g., *-umus* for *-imus* in superlatives; *-undus* for *-endus* in gerunds and gerundives; *vivos* and *vivom* for *vivus* and *vivum*).

### *Grammar and Syntax*

A similar freedom and boldness characterizes the grammar and syntax of S. One observes, for instance, a much freer use of the infinitive in place of *ut* + the subjunctive with verbs such as *hortor* (e.g., *Cat.* 5.9 *repetere*). Contrary to the standard usage, *quippe qui* is invariably construed with the indicative, and *quo* is used as equivalent to *ut* to introduce purpose clauses having no word in the comparative degree. Adverbs are used in place of predicate adjectives (e.g., *Cat.* 20.2), prepositional phrases are made to modify substantives (e.g., *Cat.* 6.1), and examples of synesis (construction according to sense) are abundant (e.g., *Cat.* 16.1 *ex illis* referring to the collective noun *iuventus*; 23.6 the collective noun *nobilitas* construed with one verb in the sing. and another in the pl.). The historical infinitive is employed extensively and in a variety of novel ways (e.g., twice in the passive voice at *Cat.* 10.6 and 27.2; in combination with a finite verb having the same subject, at *Cat.* 24.2; extended to copulative and modal verbs, 20.7 *esse*, 38.1 *feri*, 25.5 *posse*). Occasionally a perfect passive participle is used by itself to form an ablative absolute (e.g., *Hist.* 5.13M *comperto*; 5.14M *audito*), and the modal ablative of the gerund is sometimes substituted for a present participle (e.g., *Cat.* 61.2 *pugnando*). The genitive of

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the gerundive is used to express tendency or purpose (e.g., *Cat.* 6.7 *conservandae*), and one notices a freer use of the partitive genitive (e.g., *Cat.* 45.3 *ad id loci*).

### *Inconcinuity*

In combining all of these ingredients, S. went out of his way to present the unusual and unexpected. The result was variety and dissymmetry. To achieve this inconcinuity, S. deliberately varied the customary order of words in set expressions (e.g., *Cat.* 14.2 *alienum aes*, 18.2 *designati consules*, 23.6 *homo novos*) and phrases (e.g., 10.1 *maria terraeque*; 53.2 *domi militaeque*; 36.4 *ab occasum ab ortu*). The same verb is sometimes construed with a variety of constructions (e.g., 5.9 *disserere*). Balanced phrases are deliberately avoided by, for instance, pairing a prepositional phrase with an *ubi* clause (9.3), by combining two different prepositional phrases (51.6), or by pairing an adverb with a modal ablative (e.g., 51.4 *recte atque ordine*) or with *per* + the accusative (e.g., 42.2). The striving for inconcinuity may be observed on almost every page, and by means of this device S. sought to enhance the interest of his account and avoid the risk of monotony.

Quintilian's verdict provides a fitting conclusion to this discussion of S.'s style and his achievement in the field of history. In Quintilian's judgment (2.5.19), S. was a greater historian than Livy, whose style Quintilian likened to the flowing and diffuse prose of the Greek historian Herodotus (10.1.101), but at the same time Quintilian cautions his readers to avoid S. as a model for forensic oratory. Brevity

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and abruptness are ideally suited to the narration of historical events (*res gestae*), but the reader must be intelligent and attentive (10.1.32; cf. 4.2.45).

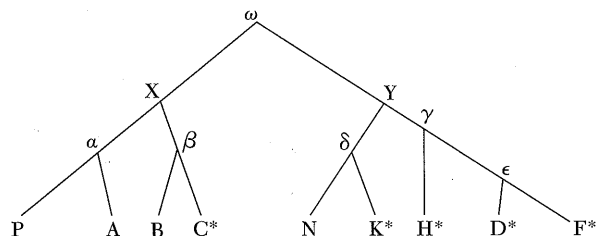
### 5. HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION OF THE TEXT

#### *Bellum Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum*

Two of the more than five hundred manuscripts that preserve the *Bellum Catilinae* and the *Bellum Jugurthinum* were produced in the ninth century (**P** and **A**),<sup>53</sup> the rest belong mainly of the eleventh century. They are commonly divided into two classes, the *mutili* and the *integri*. The *mutili* are so named because they share the common, distinctive feature of a sizable lacuna (103.2 *quinque delegit . . .* 112.3 *et ratam*) in the text of the *Jugurtha*, which in some of these MSS has been added by a later hand from an outside source, turning them into a subclass that may be referred to as *suppleti* (marked with an \* in the descriptions below). Clearly the *mutili* are all ultimately descended from a common, lost archetype ( $\omega$ ), which had suffered the loss of a few leaves containing the text of *Jug.* 103.2–112.3, and although these descendants experienced much cross contamination as a group, lines of descent and affiliation with one another may be discerned. The family falls roughly into two branches, one emanating from monasteries in France (**X**), the other from Germany (**Y**), illustrated by this stemma, which is based on the con-

<sup>53</sup> See below for a description of the principal witnesses to the text and their sigla.

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clusions of Ahlberg,<sup>54</sup> as adapted by Reynolds (OCT 1991), xi.

The MSS in this class are our oldest and most reliable witnesses for the text of S., although they do not always agree among themselves, despite their common ancestry. In addition to individual errors in transcription, there are signs of contamination from a source other than the archetype, numerous corrections are made by later hands, and in quite a few instances, the genuine text appears to have been glossed by the scribe. Sometimes a more familiar word or form is substituted for an archaism, word order is tampered with to produce a more normal sentence pattern, and occasionally words that S. deliberately omitted are supplied.

As for the other main division of the manuscript tradition, none of the MSS belonging to the *integri* class (of which **l**, **s**, **n**, described below, are representatives) is earlier than the tenth century, and it is plausible to conjecture that these MSS are descended from *mutili* supplemented

<sup>54</sup> Ahlberg, *Prolegomena in Sallustium*.

by a more complete text of Sallust that came to light late in the tenth or early eleventh century and then was lost sight of once more.<sup>55</sup> The source for filling up the lacuna ( $\lambda$ ) may possibly have been the discovery of the lost leaves of the archetype of the *mutili* ( $\omega$ ) or a complete MS that was independent of  $\omega$ . Therefore, all of our principal MSS (except **V**, on which see below), are likely to go back to a common archetype, the slightly later *integri* simply having been dressed up along the way when an opportunity presented itself to recover the complete text of the *Jugurtha*.

There are traces in late MSS of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of what may be yet a third strand to the tradition ( $\zeta$ ), distinct from both the lost archetype of the *mutili* ( $\omega$ ) and the lost source ( $\lambda$ ) used for filling up the lacuna (*Jug.* 103.2–112.3) in *mutili* that resulted in *integri*.<sup>56</sup> The contribution of this third strand takes the form of variants and short supplements to the text that are missing in the chief manuscripts, *mutili* as well as *integri*, but receive confirmation, marking them as genuine S., from the indirect tradition of citations in ancient authors.<sup>57</sup> The late MSS that appear to transmit some of the material contained in the lost source **Z** may be referred to as *integri recentiores* ( $\varsigma$ ).

Besides these sources for the complete text of the *Jugurtha* and *Catiline*, a single MS, **V** (Vaticanus 3864), a

<sup>55</sup> Reynolds, "Sallust," 341–42.

<sup>56</sup> Reynolds, "Sallust," 342. See Ahlberb, *Prolegomena in Sallustium*, 87–95, for an evaluation of some of this evidence.

<sup>57</sup> E.g., *Cat.* 5.9 *atque optuma*; 6.2 *ita brevi . . . facta erat*; *Jug.* 1.5 *ac pernicioso*; *Jug.* 21.4 *de controversiis . . . disceptare*; 44.5 *neque muniebantur ea*.

florilegium, contains the text of the letters and speeches excerpted from the two monographs as well as from S.'s *Historiae*. Roughly contemporary with **P**, **V** is descended from an ancestor that belonged to a recension separate from  $\omega$  and shows a tendency to modernize the spelling of words and alter word order.

For the *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*, we possess five short papyrus fragments:

- Oxonienis Bodl. Lat. class. e. 20 (P) = *Pap. Oxyrh.* vol. 6 no. 884 (CLA 2 no. 246) 5th cent.: containing *Cat.* 6.1 *liberum adq.* (sic) *solutum*–6.7 *eo*] *modo min*[ume.
- Florentina Laur. P.S.I. (*Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca d. Papiri gr. e lat. in Egitto*, vol. 1, 1912) no. 110 (CLA 3 no. 288), 5th cent.: containing *Cat.* 10.4–5, 11.6–7 with superscript glosses in Greek.
- Berolinensis lat. 4° 914 (CLA 8 no. 1054) 4th cent.: containing fragments from *Jug.* 43.3, 44.4, 49.5–6, 50.3–4.
- Londiniensis P. Ant. 154 (CLA Suppl. no. 1712) 4th/5th cent.: containing fragments from *Jug.* 93.1–2, 3–4.
- Manchester John Rylands Pap. 1.42 (CLA 2 no. 223) 3rd cent.: containing a very few words from *Jug.* 31.7.

Although these scraps of papyrus antedate our earliest MSS by a considerable interval, they are too short to be of much value and are extremely fragmentary. The text of Oxoniensis Bodl. Lat. class. e. 20 (P) contains a remarkable number of corruptions, giving us some idea of the state of S.'s text under the late empire. It is useful for establishing the probable solution to two textual problems at *Cat.* 6.2 (see textual notes ad loc.).

Finally, we have, in addition to the evidence of our medieval MSS, a large number of citations from the works



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of S. and reminiscences of ancient authors.<sup>58</sup> Measured against the relatively modest size of his corpus, S. is the most quoted Latin prose author, bar none, even more so than Cicero.<sup>59</sup> S.'s writings were culled for the unusual and the apropos by later historians and philosophers, and especially by grammarians and rhetoricians. Those writers had access to texts of S. that predate the recension of the fourth or fifth century, which doubtless produced the parent of all our extant MSS. The quotations, however, typically serve to illustrate a particular form of a word or an usual meaning or locution, and so the immediate context from which the relevant words were excerpted tends to be of little concern. It is not uncommon for the text to be altered or abridged by the quoting author, who may be producing the quotation from memory. This was much easier than taking the trouble to hunt up a particular passage in a written copy of S.'s works, which would have been in the form of a roll (*liber*), and thus cumbersome to search, especially in the writings of a prose author, the lines of whose text could vary greatly in length from one handwritten copy to another (in contrast with poetry, whose form was fixed by its meter). These ancient *testimonia*, however, provide a useful check on the manuscript tradition, and occasionally they permit the editor to recover the genuine text of S. that would otherwise be lost (e.g., at *Cat.* 5.9 and 6.2).

<sup>58</sup> For a study of this indirect textual tradition, see Zimmermann, *Der Sallusttext im Altertum*, and Höhne, *Die Geschichte des Sallusttextes*.

<sup>59</sup> Reynolds' edition, v.

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*codices mutili* (\* indicates *suppleti*)

- P** cod. Parisinus lat. 16024, formerly Sorbonnensis 500 (2nd half of 9th cent.), written in France near Soissons,<sup>60</sup> fol. 1r–46v containing *Cat.* and *Jug.*: the last page containing *Jug.* 113.3 *conloquio decretum* and following illegible; *Jug.* 110 added from **V**.
- A** cod. Parisinus lat. 16025, formerly Sorbonnensis 1576 (mid- to late 9th cent.) written in France, fol. 2r–47r containing *Cat.* and *Jug.*: a later hand has added readings found in the **BC** family.
- B** cod. Basileensis A. N. iv. 11 (11th cent.), written in southern Germany, fol. 1r–71v containing *Cat.* and *Jug.*: speech of Bocchus (*Jug.* 110) added at the end of the *Jug.* in the first hand on fol. 72r.
- C\*** cod. Parisinus lat. 6085 (10th/11th cent.), fol. 1r–88r: speech of Bocchus (*Jug.* 110) added at the end of the *Jug.* in the first hand; a later hand then adds the text of the lacuna *Jug.* 103.2–112.3 (omitting *Jug.* 110), fol. 96v–100r.
- Q\*** cod. Parisinus lat. 5748 (late 10th cent.): a later hand adds the text of the lacuna *Jug.* 103.2–112.3.
- N** cod. Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 889, formerly Nazarianus (11th cent.).
- K\*** cod. Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 887, formerly owned by the humanist Kemnatus (10th/11th cent.): breaks off at *Jug.* 102.11 *beneficiis*, the remaining text being filled in by a later hand.
- H\*** cod. Berolinensis 205, formerly Philipps. 1902 (11th cent.): a later hand adds the text of the lacuna *Jug.* 103.2–112.3.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, viii, citing private communication from B. Bischoff.

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- D\*** cod. Parisinus lat. 10195, formerly Echternacensis (11th cent.): a later hand adds the text of the lacuna *Jug.* 103.2–112.3.
- F\*** cod. Haumiensis 25, formerly Fabricianus (11th cent.): a later hand adds the text of the lacuna *Jug.* 103.2–112.3.
- R\*** cod. Vaticanus lat. 3325 (10th cent.): written in southern France: a later hand (12th cent.) adds the text of the lacuna *Jug.* 103.2–112.3.

*codices integri*

- I** cod. Leidensis Voss. lat. O. 73 (11th cent.): damaged toward end, breaking off with *Jug.* 109.4 *praeterea* . . .
- s** cod. Lipsiensis bibl. sen. rep. I. fol. 4 (11th cent.)
- n** cod. Parisinus lat. 6086 (11th cent.): breaks off at *Jug.* 108.2 *consulto esse* . . .

*Orationes et Epistulae*

**V** = cod. Vaticanus lat. 3864 (late 9th cent.), written at Corbie: fol. 109r–127r contains the speeches and letters excerpted from the *Catilina*, *Jugurtha*, and *Historiae* (see below), followed immediately by the two spurious *Epistulae ad Caesarem* (see below).

This MS is descended from a *florilegium* assembled in antiquity, probably for use in the schools of rhetoric. The collection was perhaps put together in the generation of Aulus Gellius and Fronto, in the mid- to late second century AD when S. was greatly admired and studied by literary scholars. A trace of this remote ancestor of **V**, or one of the descendants of the second-century(?) MS, appears in the catalog of books in the palace library of Char-

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lemagne ca. AD 790.<sup>61</sup> **V** is a copy or a descendant of that codex.

*Historiae*

This work survives only in fragments. In addition to short quotations ranging from a single word to as much as a paragraph or two, preserved chiefly in the grammarians and rhetoricians, we possess the following independent manuscript tradition for portions of the work.

(a) **V** = cod. Vaticanus lat. 3864 (see above) contains four complete speeches: of M. Lepidus (cos. 78), 1.55M; of L. Philippus (cos. 91), 1.77M; of C. Cotta (cos. 75), 2.47M; of C. Macer (tr. pl. 73), 3.48M); and two letters: of Cn. Pompey (cos. 70, 55, 52), 2.98M and of Mithridates (king of Pontus), 4.69M).

(b) cod. Floriacensis (Fluery manuscript), of which eight leaves survive (*CLA* 6 no. 809, cf. 1 p. 34, 8, p. 10):<sup>62</sup> a parchment codex, which was produced in the fifth century and found its way to Fluery. In the seventh century, this MS, which most likely contained the whole of the *Historiae*, was dismantled to be used in part for binding purposes, in part to serve as a palimpsest to receive a copy of Jerome's commentary on Isaiah. The surviving eight leaves preserve fragments from Books 2 and 3 (of the years 75–73 BC), including the opening of Cotta's

<sup>61</sup> Reynolds, "Sallust," 343.

<sup>62</sup> See Bloch, "The Structure of Sallust's *Historiae*," 61–76, for a detailed reconstruction of its contents.

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speech (2.47M) and three quarters of Pompey's letter (2.98M), both of which are preserved in whole in V.

5 leaves at Orleans

A = Aurelianensis 192, fol. 15–18, 20

1 leaf at Berlin

B = Berolinensis lat. Qu. 364

2 leaves at Rome

R = Vaticanus Reginensis lat. 1283B

(c) Fragments of a papyrus roll (*liber*) written in rustic capitals in the second/third century (CLA Suppl. no. 1721)

*John Rylands Pap.* 3 (1938) no. 473

contains a fragment, whose context is difficult to determine (revolt of Lepidus, fighting in Spain, or campaign of M. Antonius against the pirates?): presented as no. 12 under fragments of uncertain reference in McGushin 1994: Latin text, pp. 179–80, ed. Kurfess.

*P. Oxy.* s.n., London, Egyptian Exploration Society

contains a fragment relating a myth concerning the settlement of Sardinia (adding to 2.7M). The likely context is the description of the flight of the remnants of M. Lepidus' army to Spain, via Sardinia, in 77: pp. 180–81, ed. Kurfess.

(d) cod. P. Vindobonae L 117 (CLA 10 no. 1537): part of a bifolium of a parchment codex written in rustic capitals in the fourth century. The preserved portion describes a battle in the Sertorian War in Spain (adding to 1.107, 136M).<sup>63</sup>

<sup>63</sup> See B. Bischoff and H. Bloch, "Das Wiener Fragment der 'Historiae' des Sallust," 116–29.

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*Epistulae ad Caesarem*

V = cod. Vaticanus lat. 3864 (late 9th cent.), written at Corbie and containing the speeches and letters excerpted from the genuine works of S. (see above, p. lviii), is the sole source to which we owe the transmission of these two *suasoriae*. They are preserved on fols. 127r–133v, without explicit ascription to S., but they begin on the same folium where the genuine works leave off (127r). This MS reached the Vatican Library by 1475.<sup>64</sup> The sundry fifteenth-century MSS that also preserve the *Epistulae* have no independent, evidentiary value but were copied from various early printed editions,<sup>65</sup> of which the following merit mention.

*editio princeps* of the *Epistulae*, by Arnold Pannartz (Rome, 1475)

Mantua edition of the *Epistulae*, by Johann Schall (1476–1478)

*opera omnia* edition by Pomponius Laetus (Leto) (Rome, 1490)

*Note on the Text and Orthography of this Edition*

The Latin text printed in this edition is based on that of the previous Loeb edition, revised in the light of my own judgment. I have relied on the OCT for the report of the evidence found in our chief MSS, and for the convenience of readers who wish to consult the fuller apparatus criticus

<sup>64</sup> Reynolds, "Sallust," 349.

<sup>65</sup> Reynolds, "Sallust," 349–50.

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in the OCT, I have adopted the abbreviations employed by Reynolds for the MSS and subfamilies of MSS.

Orthography is the traditional one found in modern, printed texts of S., which adopt, for instance, such older spellings as *quoius* and *quoi* for *cutius* and *cui*, *quom* for the conjunction *cum*, *-umus* for *-imus* in superlatives, *-undus* for *-endus* in gerunds and gerundives, and unasimilated prefixes in compounds such as *inpeditus*, *conmotus*, and *conpleo*. Traces of this older-style orthography is found in our MSS of the genuine works of S. and is especially prevalent in the one ninth-century manuscript MS (V) that preserves the pseudo-Sallustian *Epistulae ad Caesarem*, which were clearly composed in a style and form that the author thought best captured the flavor of S.<sup>66</sup> Given S.'s conscious imitation of the archaic style and vocabulary of Cato the Elder, we can be reasonably confident that he preferred to write these older forms in order to lend solemnity to his prose.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> The use, for instance, of *quom* in place of *cum*, as a preposition with the ablative (*Ad Caes. sen.* 1.6.5) shows the degree of archaism the author of the school exercise felt it appropriate to employ with the aim of capturing what he took to be S.'s style of expression.

<sup>67</sup> Such spellings as *quom*, *quoius*, and *quoi* can furthermore be justified as the spellings most likely employed by S. on the ground that it was not until the Augustan age that *cum* began to replace *quom*, though some still preferred the latter spelling for the conjunction in Quintilian's day (*Quint. Inst.* 1.7.5), and *cui* had only recently displaced *quoi* (*Quint. Inst.* 1.7.27).

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### *List of Divergences from the OCT Edition*

The following list of divergences is appended for the convenience of readers who wish to use this edition in combination with L. D. Reynolds' OCT (1991):

#### *Catiline*

This Edition	Reynolds
6.1 cumque his	cumque iis
9.5 magis quam metu	quam metu
14.2 inpudicus, [adulter,] ganeo	[impudicus adulter ganeo]
aleo, manu, ventre, pene	manu ventre pene
15.5 colos ei exanguis	colos exanguis
20.2 <satis> spectata	spectata
22.2 idque eo [dictitare] fecisse	[atque eo dictitare fecisse]
25.2 Graecis et Latinis	Graecis [et] Latinis
31.1 quibus rebus	quis rebus
39.2 ceterosque	ceteros
41.5 praecipit	praecepit
50.4 dixerat	dixit
52.29 te	tete
52.34 Gabinio, Statilio	Statilio, Gabinio
53.5 magnitudine sua effeta <vi> parentum	magnitudine sui †effeta parentum†
55.6 exitium vitae	exitum [vitae]
56.3 portabant	portare
59.2 rupem asperam	rupe aspera
59.3 centuriones lectos et omnis evocatos	centuriones omnis [lectos] et evocatos

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59.5 inermis	inermos
60.7 relictum	relicuom
	<i>Jugurtha</i>
This Edition	Reynolds
6.1 facere et	facere [et]
9.2 En habes	Habes
10.1 Jugurtha, te	te, Jugurtha
11.2 convenerunt	convenerere
14.6 me nepotem Masinissae	[Masinissae me nepotem]
19.4 Hispaniam	Hispanias
27.4 L. Calpurnius Bestia	L. Bestia Calpurnius
28.5 artes animi	artes <et > animi
38.9 ten<er>et	tenet
43.2 omnia sibi	omnia <communia> sibi
44.5 <neque muniebantur ea>	<neque muniebantur>
52.2 nam Metello	nam <pro> Metello
53.7 hostes adventarent	hostes [adventare]
54.5 in acie	[in] acie
55.5 Sed igni magis quam praeda ager vastabatur	<i>transp. ante</i> Exercitus (55.4)
57.5 ardenti	ardentia
61.4 [clam]	clam
63.4 factis notus	<factis> facile notus
78.2 [in] tempestate	in tempestate
85.3 beneficio vostro	vostro beneficio
85.30 ego meis plurumis	egomet plurumis
85.47 in proelio	[in] proelio

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92.1 rem peregit Marius	rem Marius . . . incommodo <confecit>
92.7 satis<et> magna	satis, magna vis [et]
93.8 et <um pauciss>umis praesidio	et cum iis praesidio
95.3 remorata, nisi quod ad simulanda	remorata ; * * * nisi quod ad simulanda <ac dissimulanda>
99.3 formido [terrore]	formidine, terrore, quasi vecordia
100.1 in hiberna <pergit, quod> propter	in hiberna * * * propter
100.4 ad portas	in porta
non tam diffidentia	non diffidentia
100.5 <alii> quod a pueritia voluptati habuisset	alii a pueritia voluptati habuisse
102.7 si prope adessemus	si adessemus
103.3 ipsis permittit	[illis] permittit

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Works by Sallust are referred to by title only, except in instances where confusion might arise. Titles and names of ancient authors are abbreviated as in *OCD*<sup>4</sup>.

The following abbreviations of modern works are employed in the introductions to the speeches and in the notes:

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>CIL</i>            | <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . 17 vols. Berlin, 1863–.                                      |
| <i>CLA</i>            | Lowe, E. A. <i>Codices Latini antiquiores</i> . 11 vols and Supplement. Oxford, 1934–1971.           |
| <i>CSEL</i>           | <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> . Vienna, 1866–.                                 |
| <i>Fast. Triumph.</i> | <i>Fasti Triumphales</i> , in <i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> . vol. 13.1, ed. A. Degrassi. Rome, 1947. |
| <i>GL</i>             | <i>Grammatici Latini</i> , vols. 1–7, ed. H. Keil. Leipzig, 1855–1880.                               |
| <i>HRR</i>            | Peter, H. <i>Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae</i> . Vol. 1 (1914). Vol. 2 (1906). Leipzig.           |
| <i>ILS</i>            | Dessau, H., ed. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> . Berlin, 1892–1916.                           |

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- MRR* Broughton, T. R. S. *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. 3 vols. Atlanta, 1951–52, 1986.
- OLD* Glare, P. G. W., ed. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford, 1968–1982.
- ORF* Malcovati, H., ed. *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta Liberae Rei Publicae*. 4th ed. Turin, 1976.
- PL* *Patrologiae Cursus, series Latina*, vols. 1–221, ed. J.-P Migne. Paris, 1844–1864.
- RE* Pauly, F., and G. Wissowa, eds. *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart, 1893–1980.
- TLRR* Alexander, M. *Trials in the Late Roman Republic, 149 BC to 50 BC*. Toronto, 1990.
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- Schol. Stat. *Scholia in Statium = Lactantii Placidi qui dicitur commentarii*, ed. R. Jahnke. Leipzig, 1898.
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## SIGLA

*codices mutili* (\* indicates *suppleti*)

- X consensus of PABC  
a consensus of PA  
P cod. Parisinus lat. 16024 (late 9th cent.)  
A cod. Parisinus lat. 16025 (late 9th cent.)  
 $\beta$  consensus of BC  
B cod. Basileensis A. N. iv. 11 (11th cent.)  
C\* cod. Parisinus lat. 6085 (10th/11th cent.)  
Q\* cod. Parisinus lat. 5748 (late 10th cent.)
- Y consensus of NKHDF  
 $\delta$  consensus of NK  
N cod. Palatinus lat. 889 (11th cent.)  
K\* cod. Palatinus lat. 887 (10th/11th cent.)  
 $\gamma$  consensus of HDF  
H\* cod. Berolinensis 205 (11th cent.)  
 $\epsilon$  consensus of DF  
D\* cod. Parisinus lat. 10195 (11th cent.)  
F\* cod. Hauniensis 25 (11th cent.)  
R\* cod. Vaticanus lat. 3325 (10th cent.)
- $\omega$  consensus of all of the above



SIGLA

*codices integri*

- l** cod. Leidensis Voss. lat. O. 73 (11th cent.)  
**s** cod. Lipsiensis bibl. sen. rep. I. fol. 4 (11th cent.)  
**n** cod. Parisinus lat. 6086 (11th cent.)

for *Cat.* 6.1–7

- II** Oxoniensis Bodl. Lat. class. e. 20 (P) (9th cent.)  
for the orations and letters

- V** cod. Vaticanus lat. 3864 (9th cent.)

**P<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>** the first hand

**P<sup>2</sup>A<sup>2</sup>** a correcting hand

- s** readings found in sundry late manuscripts

THE WAR WITH CATILINE

## INTRODUCTION

### SALLUST'S SOURCES FOR THE *CATILINE*

The sources for the subject of S.'s first monograph, the conspiracy of Catiline in 63 BC, were almost superabundant, though admittedly monochromatic, since few writers cared to defend the memory of Catiline or present the failure of his movement in a favorable light. A rare exception is Cicero's special pleading in his speech for the young M. Caelius Rufus (tr. pl. 52), who had associated with Catiline in the 60s. In defending his client in 56, Cicero presents another, more nuanced portrait of Catiline's character, a blend of good and bad traits, to explain how Caelius and others had been drawn into Catiline's orbit (*Cael.* 10–14). That passage in the *pro Caelio*, taken with Cicero's willingness to entertain the possibility of defending Catiline in 65, when Catiline was tried for extortion (attested only by *Att.* 1.2[11].1), reveals a dimension of Catiline that is difficult to recover from S.'s treatment of the period and from most other extant sources. To the same category of outliers belongs the statement in Cicero's *pro Flacco* (95) that the conviction in 59 of Cicero's consular colleague C. Antonius, the commander of the army that had crushed Catiline's rebel band, caused a diehard

core of Catilinarian sympathizers to celebrate the verdict by placing flowers on Catiline's *sepulcrum* (a cenotaph, presumably).

Cicero, who took the lead in bringing the conspiracy to light and crushing it, never tired of recounting his services to his country: "not without justification but without limit" (*non sine causa sed sine fine*), as Seneca quipped (*Dial.* 10.5.1). In 60, Cicero published a Greek prose memoir (*hypomnema*) of his consulship (*Att.* 1.19[19].10, 1.20[20].6) and a Latin poem in three books, *De consulatu*, or more correctly *Consulatus suus* (fr. 5–12 Courtney). In the same year, soon after Cicero began circulating his Greek memoir, his friend Atticus composed a sketch of Cicero's consulship in Greek (*Att.* 2.1[21].1). A second prose account in Latin, *De consulatu*, was projected by Cicero (*Att.* 1.19[19].10) but perhaps never published, since five years later he refers to the project as something that he *may* undertake (*Fam.* 5.12[22].8). Later, a poem in three books recounting Cicero's exile (in 58–57) and triumphant return in September 57, *De temporibus suis*, appears to have been circulated in partial installments in 54. No fragments have been preserved, but the subject was one that permitted Cicero to recount his heroic achievement in suppressing the Catilinarians, for which he was later made to suffer exile at the hands of his enemy Clodius.

In addition to the works specifically written to celebrate Cicero's consulship and achievements, there was a large number of orations and published documents pertinent to this chapter in Roman history. Cicero's consular orations of 63 were revised and formed into a corpus for circulation in June of 60 (*Att.* 2.1[21].3). The influence of

the four *Catilinarians* may be detected here and there in S.<sup>1</sup> Much could be gleaned from Cicero's no-longer extant *oratio In toga candida*, which had been delivered shortly before the consular elections in the summer of 64,<sup>2</sup> and from the *pro Murena* of November 63, which was delivered in defense of one of the consular candidates who defeated Catiline at the elections in 63 (see *Cat.* 31.9n.). The *Pro Sulla* in particular, which was delivered in 62, appears to have greatly influenced S.'s conception of Catiline's role in the supposed, earlier coup d'état, allegedly planned for 65 BC.<sup>3</sup> Conceivably, S.'s description of Cicero as "the most excellent consul" (*optimo consuli*, 43.1) betrays the influence of Marcus Brutus' pamphlet celebrating the memory of Cato Uticensis shortly after his suicide in 46, since Brutus used that same term of praise to describe Cicero (*Att.* 12.21[260].1).

After the arrest of Catiline's accomplices on the night of December 2/3, Cicero arranged for the minutes of the senate's deliberations on December 3–5 to be taken down in shorthand and published (*Cic. Sull.* 42). Thanks to that verbatim transcription, the speech of Cato Uticensis, who played a pivotal role in the senatorial debate on December

<sup>1</sup> See notes on *Cat.* 15.2 and 20.9. At 51.9, the horrors of civil strife mentioned by Caesar touch on the theme of *Cic. Cat.* 4.11–12.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, *Tog. Cand.*, ap. Ascon. p. 93C sheds light on the possible motive of those in the senate who voted for the quaestor Cn. Piso to be posted to Spain (*Cat.* 19.2).

<sup>3</sup> S. appears to accept Cicero's argument (*Sull.* 67–68) that his client P. Sulla had nothing to do with the alleged plot to assassinate the consuls of 65 (*Cat.* 18.5).

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5, had been preserved, the only one of Cato's speeches to survive into the next century (Plut. *Cato Min.* 23.3). Clearly S. took that speech as his model for the address he assigns to Cato in *Cat.* 52.2–36, but like all the speeches in S.'s writings, Cato's is not intended to be read as a transcript of the speaker's exact words (see p. xlv).

Presumably S. himself could have been an eyewitness of some of the events that took place in 63 since he would have celebrated his twenty-third birthday in that year. He also clearly interacted later with some of the figures who played a role. For instance, M. Caelius Rufus, S.'s colleague as tribune of the plebs in 52, had been an ardent supporter of Catiline in the 60s. There is, however, no direct evidence in the *Catiline* that S. is describing events that he witnessed personally. The most likely explanation is that he was away from Rome in 64–63, perhaps serving on the staff of a governor of some province or performing military service.<sup>4</sup> In at least two instances, S. does appear to reproduce contemporary documents that he had discovered in his research, Catiline's letter to Catulus (*Cat.* 35) and Lentulus' cryptic, short note to Catiline (see *Cat.* 44.4n.). A number of contemporary rumors and hearsay evidence are offered concerning facts or events on which the author refuses to pass judgment (*Cat.* 14.7, 17.7, 19.4, 22.1, 48.7). And lastly, S. reports a remark that he claims to have heard from Crassus himself (*Cat.* 48.9).

<sup>4</sup> See Earl, "The Early Career of Sallust," 309–11.

## CHRONOLOGY

Material derived from sources other than S. is enclosed in square brackets. References are to the *Bellum Catilinae*, unless otherwise specified.

<b>68 BC</b>	[Catiline praetor. <i>MRR</i> 2.138.]
<b>67</b>	[Catiline propraetor governing Africa. (Cic. <i>Cael.</i> 10).]
<b>66</b>	
spring	[Catiline still in Africa.]
ca. July	P. Sulla and P. Autronius elected coss. for 65 (18.2).
late summer?	Catiline returns [from Africa (Ascon. 85, 89C)] and is indicted for extortion (18.3).
late summer/ autumn	Sulla and Autronius convicted of corrupt electioneering (18.2).
ca. Nov.?	Supplementary consular election: candidacy of Catiline disallowed (18.3); L. Cotta and L. Torquatus elected consuls for 65.
ca. Dec. 5	Catiline and Autronius form plot with quaestor Cn. Piso (18.5).

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- Dec. 29 [Catiline is observed with a weapon, participating in a threatening demonstration in the Forum (Cic. *Cat.* 1.15).]
- 65  
Jan. 1 Catiline and Autronius were to murder Cotta and Torquatus and seize consulship, send Cn. Piso to govern the two Spains (18.5).
- Feb. 5 Catiline spoils plot to murder consuls Cotta and Torquatus and many senators by giving the signal too soon (18.7)
- spring Cn. Piso sent as quaestor pro praetor to govern Nearer Spain (19.1)
- ca. late July [Cicero contemplates defending Catiline at his trial for extortion (Cic. *Att.* 1.2[11].1).
- autumn? [Catiline acquitted of extortion (*TLLR* no. 212)]  
Cn. Piso assassinated while governing Spain (19.3).
- 64  
ca. June 1 Catiline delivers preelection speech to his supporters at a secret meeting, promises revolution (17.1, 20–22).
- June [Cicero delivers in the senate a speech, *In toga candida*, attacking Catiline and C. Antonius, who were running in tandem against him. (Ascon. 82–94C).]

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- Rumors of Catiline's revolutionary designs are spread by Fulvia, girlfriend of Catiline's follower Q. Curius, and alienate voters (23).
- ca. mid-July Catiline defeated, Cicero and C. Antonius elected consuls (24.1).
- autumn [Catiline indicted by L. Lucceius for his role in the Sullan proscriptions, tried before Julius Caesar, and acquitted (*TLLR* no. 217).]
- 63  
ca. Jan. Cicero agrees to exchange provinces with his colleague, Macedonia for Cisalpine Gaul, to cause C. Antonius to break his ties with Catiline (26.4).
- ca. June [At a public meeting, Cicero renounces his intention to govern Cisalpine Gaul in 62 (Cic. *Att.* 2.1[21].3; *Pis.* 5).]  
[Cicero somehow influences the allotment of praetorian provinces at a meeting of the senate, so that Cisalpine Gaul falls to praetor Q. Metellus Celer (Cic. *Fam.* 5.2[2].3–4).]  
[Cicero and his colleague pass a law strengthening the penalties against corrupt electioneering (*MRR* 2.166).]  
Cicero recruits Q. Curius as a spy (26.2).

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- ca. early July [M. Cato threatens in a meeting of the senate to prosecute Catiline for corrupt electioneering (Cic. *Mur.* 51).]
- ca. mid-July [Senate meets on day consular elections were have to been held to investigate inflammatory remarks made by Catiline at a private meeting of his supporters, *contio domestica* (Cic. *Mur.* 50).]  
Elections held: [Cicero wears breastplate under his toga to show his fear of assassination (Cic. *Mur.* 52)]; Catiline defeated (16.5); [D. Silanus and L. Murena elected consuls.]
- mid-July-  
Oct. Manlius collects forces in Etruria at Faesulae; other followers of Catiline arrange disturbances in various parts of Italy (27.1).
- Sept. 23 [Senate meets to discuss issues relating to Catiline's plotting (Suet. *Aug.* 94.5).]
- Sept./Oct. [Senate votes *supplicatio* of ten days, on Cicero's motion, in celebration of Pompey's conclusion of the Mithridatic War in Asia (Cic. *Prov. cons.* 27).]
- Oct. 20 [Crassus and other leading nobles hand over to Cicero anonymous letters warning of an impending massacre in Rome (Plut. *Cic.* 15, *Crass.* 13.3; Dio 37.31.1-2.)]

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- Oct. 21 (or 22?) Senate arms the coss. with *senatus consultum ultimum* to defend the state from harm; watches posted in Rome (see 30.7n.). For the date, see 29.3n.
- Oct. 27 Manlius raises the standard of revolt at Faesulae (30.1). This is the only fixed date given by S. for 63.
- Oct. 28 [Intended massacre of leading citizens in Rome (Cic. *Cat.* 1.7).]
- ca. Oct. 29 Senate learns of uprising at Faesulae from a letter sent to a senator L. Sae-nius; military commanders dispatched to threatened areas; rewards offered for betrayal of the conspiracy (30).
- ca. Oct. 30 Catiline indicted by L. Aemilius Paulus under the *lex Plautia de vi* (31.4) [soon after news arrived from Etruria, Dio 37.31.3].
- night of.  
Nov. 1/2 [Attempt by conspirators to seize the town of Praeneste, ca. 23 miles SE of Rome, foiled (Cic. *Cat.* 1.8).]
- night of  
Nov. 6/7 Meeting of the conspirators at the house of M. Porcius Laeca. For the date, see 27.3n.
- early A.M. of  
Nov. 7 Failed assassination attempt against Cicero (28.1-3).
- Nov. 8 (or 7?) Meeting of the senate [in temple of Jupiter Stator]; Cicero's *First Catilinarian* delivered in the senate, urging Catiline to leave Rome (31.5-9). For the date, see 31.6n.

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- night of Nov. 8/9 (or 7/8?)  
Nov. 9 (or 8?) Departure of Catiline from Rome (32.1).  
[Cicero's *Second Catilinarian* delivered to the people the day following Catiline's departure (Cic. *Cat.* 2.12), justifying Cicero's treatment of Catiline.]
- ca. Nov. 9 [The quaestor P. Sestius sent with military forces by Cicero to secure Capua against the conspirators (Cic. *Sest.* 9).]
- ca. mid-Nov. Catiline joins Manlius at Faesulae, after spending a few days at Arretium (36.1).  
Catiline and Manlius declared *hostes* by the senate; date fixed for extending amnesty to deserters of the conspiracy; coss. authorized to levy an army, and Antonius instructed to crush the rebel forces (36.2–3).  
Catiline's associate, the praetor P. Lentulus, attempts to recruit the support of the Allobroges, a Gallic nation, through their ambassadors in Rome (40). The Allobroges betray the negotiations to Cicero and promise cooperation (41).
- late Nov. [Cicero successfully defends consul-elect L. Murena on a charge of corrupt electioneering (*TLRR* no. 224).]
- late Nov.–early Dec. Disturbances put down in the two Gauls, Picenum, the territory of the Bruttii, and Apulia (42.1–3).

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- late Nov. Catiline evacuates his camp near Faesulae to avoid the approach of Antonius' army (56.4).
- night of Dec. 2/3 Arrest of the conspirator Volturcius and the Allobroges on the Mulvian Bridge (45).
- Dec. 3 Meeting of the senate in the temple of Concord; documentary evidence and testimony presented against the conspirators; five of the leading conspirators placed under house arrest (46.3–47). [Cicero honored with a vote of thanks and declaration of a *supplicatio* (Cic. *Cat.* 3.15); Cicero caused a written record of the senate's meetings on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th to be made and published (Cic. *Sull.* 42).]  
[Cicero's *Third Catilinarian* delivered to the people, on the day of the arrest of the conspirators (Cic. *Cat.* 3.5), reporting the arrest and the senate's findings.] Conspirators lose sympathy among the common people when the populace learns of the plans to set fire to the city (48.1–2).
- Dec. 4 Meeting of the senate; further testimony against the conspirators; attempt by L. Tarquinius to implicate M. Crassus (48.3–9); rewards voted to the informers (50.1).  
Abortive attempt to rescue the conspirators under house arrest (50.1–2).

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- Dec. 5 Senate debates the punishment of the conspirators; Caesar advocates confiscation of property and life imprisonment in the towns of Italy; [Cicero delivers *Fourth Catilinarian* in the senate to rally senators who wavered after the speech of Caesar]; Cato advocates the death penalty, and the senate supports this motion (50.3–53.1).  
Five of the leading conspirators executed in the *Tullianum* toward evening (55). [Cicero makes a brief address to the crowd gathered outside the prison house in the Forum and is given a triumphal escort to his home by torch light (Plut. *Cic.* 22.2–4; App. *B Civ.* 2.6; Vell. 2.35.4). 56.1n.]
- ca. Dec. 10 The tribune L. Bestia was to attack the policies of Cicero at a public meeting, and this *contio* was to provide a signal for the conspirators to set fire to Rome and begin the massacre on the following night (43.1–2). [Praetor Q. Metellus Celer pays a flying visit to Rome (*Fam.* 5.2[2].1, 4).]
- ca. Dec. 15 News of the arrest and execution of the conspirators in Rome reaches Catiline's camp in the hills north of Fae-sulae; massive desertions occur in his army after this disclosure (57.1).

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- Dec. 17 [Festival of the Saturnalia: date advocated by some of the conspirators for the uprising and arson in Rome (see 43.1n.).]
- ca. Dec. 25 Catiline's attempt to break out of Etruria into Gaul with his remaining forces blocked by Q. Metellus Celer (57.1–3).
- Dec. 29 [Cicero prevented by the tribunes L. Bestia and Q. Metellus Nepos from addressing the Roman people when laying down his office on the grounds that he executed Roman citizens without a trial (Plut. *Cic.* 23.1).]
- 62**
- early Jan. Catiline arrives in the vicinity of Pistoria (57.1–4) [forces number approximately 3,000 men (Dio 37.40.1)].
- ca. Jan. 2–10 Battle of Pistoria, at which Catiline dies fighting against the army of Antonius under command of legate M. Petreius (57.5–61).
- Jan. 3 [The tribune Q. Metellus Nepos attempts to pass a bill recalling Pompey to crush the insurrection of Catiline; the bill is vetoed and rioting ensues; the senate passes the *senatus consultum ultimum*, and Nepos withdraws from Rome to join Pompey in the East (Dio 37.43; Cic. *Fam.* 5.2[2].8).]



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- ca. mid-Jan. [Catiline's head is brought to Rome to establish proof of his death (Dio 37.40.2).]  
spring [The praetors Q. Cicero and M. Bibulus put down disturbances in central and southern Italy caused by Catiline's followers (Oros. 6.6.7).]

## OUTLINE OF THE *BELLUM CATILINAE*

The outline below is designed to show the arrangement of the work as a whole. Digressions are marked with a double vertical stroke ||. Events occurring outside Rome that are interwoven with happenings in the capital are marked with a single vertical stroke |. Speeches and documents are set in italics.

### PREFACE

- 1-4.2           Justification for abandoning public life and turning to the writing of history  
4.3-5           Choice of topic

### PRELIMINARIES

- 5.1-8           Portrait of Catiline  
5.9-13          Early history of Rome: growth and moral decline

### NARRATIVE

- 14-16          Corruption of Catiline and his associates  
17              Meeting of conspirators (June 64)

## SALLUST

18-19	<b>Excursus on "First Conspiracy" (Dec. 66-Feb. 65)</b>
20-22	Resumption of meeting
20.2-20.17	<i>Speech of Catiline</i>
23	Alarm caused by rumors of Catiline's intentions
24	Election of Cicero (ca. mid-July); history of conspiracy to end of 64
25	Portrait of Sempronia
26	Defeat of Catiline at consular elections in 63 (ca. mid-July)
27.1	Manlius and others dispatched to various parts of Italy (late summer)
27.2-28.3	Activities of conspirators in Rome; attempt on Cicero's life (Nov. 7)
28.4-31.3	Activities of Manlius in Etruria and countermeasures of government (Oct. 21)
31.4-32.2	Departure of Catiline from Rome (night of Nov. 8/9 or Nov. 7/8)
32.3-34.1	Negotiations with Manlius (early Nov.)
33	<i>Dispatch of Manlius to Marcus Rex</i>
34.2-36.3	Reaction of government against Catiline (mid-Nov.)
35	<i>Letter of Catiline to Catulus</i>

## THE WAR WITH CATILINE

36.4-39.5	<b>Excursus on the corrupt state of Roman society</b>
39.6-41	Negotiations of Lentulus with Allobroges (mid-Nov.)
42	Disturbances in various regions of Italy and Gaul (late Nov.-early Dec.)
43	Plans of conspirators to set fires in Rome and carry out massacre
44-45	Betrayal of conspirators by Allobroges and arrest (night of Dec. 2/3)
44.5	<i>Letter of Lentulus to Catiline</i>
46-48	Examination of conspirators and informers by senate (Dec. 3-4)
49	Attempt to implicate Caesar in conspiracy
50-53.1	Debate in senate on fate of conspirators in custody (Dec. 5)
51	<i>Speech of Caesar</i>
52.2-36	<i>Speech of Cato</i>
53.2-54	<b>Excursus: Synkrisis of Caesar and Cato</b>
55	Execution of conspirators (Dec. 5)
56-57	Movements of Catiline's army (late Nov.-early Jan. 62)
58-61	Final Battle (early Jan. 62)
58	<i>Speech of Catiline</i>

## BELLUM CATILINAE

1. Omnis homines qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus summa ope niti decet ne vitam silentio transeant veluti pecora, quae natura prona atque ventri oboedientia  
2 finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est; animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur; alterum  
3 nobis cum dis, alterum cum beluis commune est. Quo mihi rectius [esse]<sup>1</sup> videtur ingeni quam virium opibus  
4 gloriam quaerere, et, quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxime longam efficere; nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus clara aeternaque habetur.
- 5 Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit vine corporis an virtute animi res militaris magis procederet. Nam  
6 et prius quam incipias, consulto, et ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est. Ita utrumque per se indigens alterum  
7 alterius auxilio eget. 2. Igitur initio reges—nam in terris nomen imperi id primum fuit—divorsi pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant; etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur; sua quoique satis placebant. Postea vero  
2

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<sup>1</sup> *om. s: esse videtur aCN: videtur esse BKy*

<sup>1</sup> *Viz., mind and body.*

## THE WAR WITH CATILINE

1. All humans who are keen to surpass other animals had best strive with all their might not to pass through life without notice, like cattle, which nature has fashioned bent over and subservient to their stomachs. All *our* power, however, is situated in mind and body; we employ the mind to rule, the body rather to serve; the one we have in common with the gods, the other with beasts. Accordingly, it seems to me more proper to seek renown with the resources of intellect than of physical strength, and since the life we enjoy is itself brief, to make the memory of ourselves as lasting as possible. For the renown of riches and beauty is fleeting and fragile; excellence is a shining and lasting possession.

Yet for a long time there was a big dispute among mortals whether success in war depends more on bodily strength or mental excellence. (For, before you begin, there is need for deliberation, and for prompt action after you have deliberated. Thus each component,<sup>1</sup> inadequate on its own, requires the help of the other.) 2. And so, in the beginning kings—for that was the first title of sovereignty on earth—adopted different courses, some employing their intellect, others their body; men were still living their lives at that time without greed; each person was quite content with his own possessions. But after Cyrus in Asia,

quam in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbis atque nationes subigere, lubricum dominandi causam belli habere, maxumam gloriam in maximo imperio putare, tum demum periculo atque negotiis conpertum est in bello plurimum ingenium posse.

3 Quodsi regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita ut in bello valeret, aequabilis atque constantius sese res humanae haberent, neque aliud alio ferri neque mutari ac

4 misceri omnia cerneret. Nam imperium facile eis artibus

5 retinetur quibus initio partum est. Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate libido atque superbia

6 invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus inmutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur.

7 Quae homines arant, navigant, aedificant, virtuti omnia

8 parent. Sed multi mortales dediti ventri atque somno indocti incultique vitam sicuti peregrinantes transiere;<sup>2</sup> quibus profecto contra naturam corpus voluptati, anima onerata

9 vivit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque iuxta aestumo, quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enim vero is demum mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui aliquo negotio intentus praeclari facinoris aut artis bonae famam quaerit.

Sed in magna copia rerum aliud alii natura iter ostendit. 3. Pulchrum est bene facere rei publicae, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est; vel pace vel bello clarum fieri

<sup>2</sup> *N<sup>2</sup>K, Prisc. GL 3.433.32, Non. 419M.24: transire A<sup>1</sup>: transigere N<sup>1</sup>, Donat. Ter. Ph. 605 (sed transierunt, Donat. cod. 0), Serv. auct. G. 1.3: transegeret PA<sup>2</sup>βy*

and the Spartans and Athenians in Greece, had begun to subdue cities and peoples, to treat their lust for dominion as a justification for war, to equate the greatest glory with possession of the greatest empire, then finally it was ascertained from perilous enterprises that in war the intellect can accomplish the most. But if the mental excellence of kings and commanders were just as vigorous in peace as in war, human affairs would maintain a more even and steady course; you would not behold power shifting to and fro and everything in turmoil and confusion. For sovereignty is easily preserved by those practices which brought it into being in the first place. But when hard work is replaced by laziness, self-restraint and evenhandedness by willfulness and insolence, there is a change in fortune accompanying the change in character. Thus sovereignty is always being transferred to the best man from the hands of his inferior.

Success in agriculture, navigation, and building structures depends entirely upon prowess. Yet many mortals, being given over to their stomachs and sleep, have passed through life, untaught and unrefined, like mere wayfarers; to such men indeed, contrary to nature's intent, their body has been a source of pleasure, their intellect a burden. The life and death of such men I place on a par since there is no report of either. But to be sure, only that man appears to me to be alive and make the most of life who by devoting himself to some enterprise, seeks fame for a glorious deed or good practice.

But amid a great abundance of opportunities, nature points out different paths to different people. 3. It is a fine thing to do serve the Republic well with deeds; even to do so with words is by no means worthless; one may become

- licet. Et qui fecere et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi  
 2 laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudquaquam par  
 gloria sequitur scriptorem et auctorem<sup>3</sup> rerum, tamen in  
 primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere; primum quod  
 facta dictis exaequanda sunt, dehinc quia plerique quae  
 delicta reprehenderis malivolentia et invidia dicta putant;  
 ubi de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memores,  
 quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat, aequo animo accipit,  
 supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit.
- 3 Sed ego adulescentulus initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad  
 rem publicam latus sum, ibique mihi multa advorsa fuere.  
 Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute audacia, lar-  
 4 gitio, avaritia vigeabant. Quae tametsi animus aspernabatur  
 insolens malarum artium, tamen inter tanta vitia inbecilla  
 5 aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur; ac me quom ab reli-  
 cuorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris  
 cupido eadem qua ceteros fama atque invidia vexabat. 4.  
 Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requie-  
 vit et mihi relicuam aetatem a re publica procul habendam  
 decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum  
 otium conterere, neque vero agrum colundo aut venando  
 2 servilibus officiis intentum aetatem agere; sed a quo in-  
 cepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem re-

<sup>3</sup> PβH, *Gell.* 4.15.2 *codd.* PV, *Charis.* GL 1.215.28: actorem  
 rell.

famous in either peace or war. Both those who have done deeds, as well as those who have written about the deeds of others, receive praise in many instances. And in my view, although by no means equal renown attends the narrator of deeds and the one responsible for them, nevertheless the writing of history is an especially difficult task: first, because words must match the deeds recorded; next, because such criticisms as you make of others' faults are thought by most readers to be uttered out of malice and envy. But when you recount great merit and renown of good men, while everyone accepts with equanimity that which he thinks he could easily do himself, everything over and above he regards as false, tantamount to fiction.

I myself as a very young man, like a great many, was initially carried along into politics by my inclination, and there I encountered many setbacks; for instead of modesty, instead of incorruptibility, instead of merit, there flourished shamelessness, bribery and greed. And although my mind, a stranger to evil practices, rejected such conduct, nevertheless amid such rampant vices my youthful weakness was seduced and held captive by the desire for advancement; and despite having no sympathy with the evil ways of the rest, nonetheless, the craving for public office made me the victim of the same ill-repute and jealousy as the rest. 4. Accordingly, when my mind had found peace after many perilous misfortunes and I had determined that I ought to pass the remainder of my life apart from public affairs, it was not my plan to waste my precious leisure in indolence and sloth, nor yet to spend my life by devoting myself to the slavish employments of turning the soil or hunting. Rather, I decided to return to an undertaking and pursuit from which the harmful crav-

gressus statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere; eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus rei publicae animus liber erat.

3 Igitur de Catilinae coniuratione quam verissime po-  
4 tero paucis absolvam; nam id facinus in primis ego memo-  
5 rabile existumo sceleris atque periculi novitate. De quoius  
hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam ini-  
tium narrandi faciam.

5. L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et  
2 animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab  
adulescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia  
3 civilis grata fuere, ibique iuventutem suam exercuit. Cor-  
pus patiens inediae, alboris, vigiliae supra quam quouquam  
4 credibile est. Animus audax, subdolos, varius, quoius rei  
lubet simulator ac dissimulator, alieni adpetens, sui profu-  
5 sus, ardens in cupiditatibus; satis eloquentiae, sapientiae  
parum. Vastus animus inmoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta  
6 semper cupiebat. Hunc post dominationem L. Sullae lu-  
bido maxuma invaserat rei publicae capiundae, neque id  
quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet,  
7 quicquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in  
dies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia sce-  
8 lerum, quae utraque eis artibus auxerat quas supra memo-  
ravi. Incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos

<sup>2</sup> After his victory in the civil war (83-82), Sulla was elected dictator in November 82 and ruled Rome with absolute power until he retired into private life in 80, after holding a second consulship.

ing for advancement had held me back, and to write up the deeds of the Roman people selectively, according to whatever seemed to me worthy of record; all the more was this my intention because I possessed a mind free from hope, fear, and partisanship.

Therefore, concerning the conspiracy of Catiline I shall provide a brief account, as truthfully as I can; for I regard that enterprise especially worthy of notice because of the novelty of the crime and danger arising from it. But before I can begin my narrative, a few remarks must first be made concerning that man's character.

5. Lucius Catiline, born of a noble family, had great vigor of both mind and body, but an evil and depraved nature. From an early age he delighted in civil wars, bloodshed, pillage, and political dissension, and amid these he spent his early manhood. His body could endure hunger, cold and want of sleep to an incredible degree. His mind was reckless, cunning, adaptable, capable of any form of pretense or concealment; covetous of others' possessions, he was prodigal of his own; he was intense in his passions; he possessed adequate eloquence, but too little discretion. His insatiable mind always craved the excessive, the incredible, the impossible. After the tyranny of Lucius Sulla,<sup>2</sup> Catiline had been assailed by the greatest passion for seizing control of the government, and he did not consider it at all important by what means he achieved his objective, provided he gained sovereignty for himself. His fierce spirit was goaded more and more every day by his lack of wealth and a consciousness of his crimes, both of which he had increased by the practices I have already mentioned. He was spurred on, also, by corrupt public morals, which were being exacerbated by two very de-

peissima ac divorsa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant.

9 Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere ac paucis instituta maiorum domi militiaeque, quo modo rem publicam habuerint quantamque reliquerint, ut paulatim inmutata ex pulcherrima <atque optuma><sup>4</sup> pessima ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.

6. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur, cumque his Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alius<sup>5</sup> alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint; <ita brevi multitudo divorsa atque vaga concordia civitas facta erat>.<sup>6</sup>

3 Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque

4 mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulenta orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello temptare, pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri metu perculsi a periculis aberant.

5 At Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem, patriam

<sup>4</sup> s, *Aug. Civ. 2.18*

<sup>5</sup> Π, *codd. plerique: alii B<sup>1</sup>N<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>6</sup> Π (facta est), *Aug. Ep. 138.10, s: om. ω*

<sup>3</sup> Sallust indicates that he is drawing on a historical tradition; conspicuously absent in this version is Romulus, the eponymous founder of Rome, and his brother, Remus.

<sup>4</sup> The name traditionally used to designate the indigenous populace living in the region of Rome.

structive evils of an opposite character, extravagance and greed.

Since the occasion has raised the topic of public morals, the subject matter itself seems to encourage me to go back in time and talk briefly about the established practices of our forefathers in peace and in war, how they administered the state, how great it was when they passed it on, and how by gradual changes, instead of the noblest and the best, it has become the worst and the most infamous.

6. The city of Rome, as I have learned,<sup>3</sup> was at the outset founded and inhabited by Trojans, who were wandering in exile, without any fixed abodes, under the leadership of Aeneas; their cofounders were the Aborigines,<sup>4</sup> a rustic folk, without laws, without government, free and unrestrained. After these two peoples, different in race, unlike in speech and living according to different customs, came together within the same walls, it is unbelievable to relate how easily they merged, so quickly did harmony change a heterogeneous and roving throng into a body of citizens. But after their community had grown in population, civilization, and territory, and was beginning to appear fairly rich and fairly strong, then, as generally happens in mortal affairs, prosperity gave rise to envy. Therefore, neighboring kings and peoples<sup>5</sup> put them to the test in war, and only a few of their friends came to their aid; for the rest were struck with fear and kept clear of dangers. But the Romans, alert at home and on campaign, made haste, prepared themselves, encouraged one another, went to meet the foe, and defended with arms their

<sup>5</sup> Such as the Sabini, Aequi, Rutuli, and Volsci.

parentisque armis tegere. Post ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant, magisque dandis quam accipiundis beneficiis amicitias parabant.

- 6 Imperium legitimum, nomen imperi regium habebant. Deiecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, rei publicae consultabant; ei vel  
7 aetate vel curae similitudine patres appellabantur. Post ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandae libertatis atque augendae rei publicae fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque se convertit, inmutato more annua imperia binosque imperatores sibi fecere; eo modo minime posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

7. Sed ea tempestate coepere se quisque magis extollere magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt semperque eis aliena virtus formidulosa est. Sed civitas incredibile memoratu est adepta libertate quantum brevi creverit; tanta cupido gloriae incesserat. Iam primum iuventus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usum militiae<sup>7</sup> discebat magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis atque conviviis lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non labor insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidulosus; virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriae maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat; se quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici dum tale facinus faceret, properabat; eas divitias, eam

<sup>7</sup> usum militiae s, *Veget. 1.4.4 codd.* β: usu militiae P<sup>1</sup>: et usu militiam H; usu militiam *rell.*, *Veget. codd.* ε

<sup>6</sup> These magistrates were styled praetors when first chosen, traditionally in 509 BC; later consuls.

liberty, as well as their native land and parents. Afterward, whenever their prowess repelled dangers, they rendered aid to their allies and friends, and established friendly relations rather by giving than by receiving kindnesses.

They had a government bound by law, whose name was monarchy; select men, whose bodies were weak from age but whose minds were strong with wisdom, took counsel for the welfare of the state. These were called Fathers, either as a result of their age or the similarity of their responsibility. Later, when royal power, which at first had tended to preserve freedom and advance the state, had changed into haughty tyranny, they altered their past practice and created for themselves annually twin chief executives,<sup>6</sup> thinking that in this way men's minds would be least able to become overbearing through unlimited authority.

7. Moreover in that era every man began more and more to distinguish himself and place his talent to the fore. For kings feel threatened more by good men than bad, and the merit of others always arouses fear in them. As for the state, it is unbelievable to relate how quickly it increased in size, once liberty had been won; such a craving for glory arrived on the scene. First of all, as soon as young men were capable of enduring military service, they learned practical lessons in soldiering through toil on campaign, and they took more delight in handsome arms and war horses than in harlots and revelry. Consequently, for such men toil was not unfamiliar, nor any locale rough or steep, nor an armed foeman a cause of fear; valor had mastered all obstacles. Indeed, their greatest struggle for glory was with one another; each man hastened to strike down the foe, to scale a wall, to be observed while doing such a deed.



7 bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant. Laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant; gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possum<sup>8</sup> quibus in locis maximas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbis natura munitas pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius nos ab inepto traheret.

8. Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubricitate magis quam ex vero celebrat obscure. Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuerunt, verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui [ea]<sup>9</sup> fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam<sup>10</sup> verbis potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. At populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissimus quisque maxime negotiosus erat; ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat; optimus quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis benefacta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

9. Igitur domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur, concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat, ius bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat. Iurgia, discordias, simultates cum hostibus exercebant, cives cum civibus de virtute certabant. In suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. Duabus his artibus,

<sup>8</sup> *A<sup>1</sup>H, Serv. Aen. 12.230: possem rell.*

<sup>9</sup> *qui fecere P<sup>1</sup>, Aug. Civ. 18.2, Hieron. 1.2: quia ea rell.*

<sup>10</sup> *F, Aug. l.c., Hieron. l.c.: ea rell.*

<sup>7</sup> Such as Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon.

This they considered riches, this fair fame and high nobility. Praise they coveted, money they lavished; they wanted vast renown and riches gained honorably. I could recall places where the Roman people routed with a small band huge forces of their adversaries, recall naturally fortified cities which they captured by assault, were it not that such a theme would drag us too far from the subject begun.

8. But Fortune assuredly is master of every situation. It is she that makes all events famous or obscure according to her pleasure rather than in accordance with the truth. The acts of the Athenians, in my judgment, were fairly great and glorious, but nevertheless somewhat less important than fame represents them. But because Athens happened to have writers of exceptional talent,<sup>7</sup> the deeds of the men of Athens are heralded throughout the world as unsurpassed. So it is that the merit of those who perform deeds is rated as high as brilliant intellects have been able to exalt it with words of praise. But the Roman people never had this advantage, since their cleverest men were always most engaged with affairs; no one employed his intellect apart from his body; the best individuals preferred action to words, to have their good deeds praised by others rather than to be themselves reporters of others' accomplishments.

9. Accordingly, good morals were cultivated at home and on campaign; there was the greatest harmony, the least avarice; right and decency prevailed among them, thanks not so much to laws as to nature. Quarrels, discord, and feuds were carried out against their enemies; citizen vied with citizen only for the prize of merit. They were lavish in acts of worshipping the gods, frugal in their homes, loyal to their friends. By these two practices, bold-

audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat aequitate seque remque  
 4 publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma docu-  
 menta haec habeo, quod in bello saepius vindicatum est  
 in eos qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant quique  
 5 tardius revocati proelio excesserant, quam qui signa relin-  
 quere aut pulsi loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod  
 beneficiis magis<sup>11</sup> quam metu imperium agitabant, et ac-  
 cepta iniuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

10. Sed ubi labore atque iustitia res publica crevit, res  
 ges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes  
 vi subacti, Carthago aemula imperi Romani ab stirpe  
 interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant, saevire fortuna  
 2 ac miscere omnia coepit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias  
 atque asperas res facile toleraverant, eis otium, divitiae,<sup>12</sup>  
 3 optanda alias, oneri miseriaeque fuere. Igitur primo pecu-  
 niae, deinde imperi cupido crevit; ea quasi materies om-  
 4 nium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem  
 ceterasque artis bonas subvertit; pro his superbiam, cru-  
 delitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit.  
 5 Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, aliud clausum  
 in pectore aliud in lingua promptum habere, amicitias ini-  
 micitiasque non ex re sed ex commodo aestumare, magis-  
 6 que voltum quam ingenium bonum habere. Haec primo  
 paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari; post, ubi contagio

<sup>11</sup> *om. PBD*<sup>1</sup>      <sup>12</sup> *divitiaeque A*<sup>2</sup>*β*

<sup>8</sup> E.g., the successors to Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia: Philip V in 197 and Perseus in 168 BC.

<sup>9</sup> In part, a reference to the conquest of former Carthaginian holdings in Spain, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily.

<sup>10</sup> In 146 BC.

ness in warfare and justice when peace came about, they watched over themselves and their country. And I regard the following as the most convincing proof of these statements: first, that in time of war punishment was more often inflicted on those who had attacked the enemy contrary to orders or who had withdrawn too tardily when recalled from battle, than on those who had dared to abandon the regimental standards or yield ground in disorderly retreat; and second, that in time of peace they exercised power more by acts of kindness than by inspiring dread, and when wronged preferred forgiveness to vengeance.

10. But when our country had grown strong through toil and the practice of justice, when great kings had been vanquished in war,<sup>8</sup> savage tribes and mighty peoples subdued by force of arms,<sup>9</sup> when Carthage, the rival of Rome's dominion, had perished root and branch,<sup>10</sup> and all seas and lands lay open, then Fortune began to be savage and to throw all into confusion. Those who had easily endured toil dangers, uncertain and difficult undertakings, found leisure and wealth, desirable under other circumstances, a burden and a curse. Hence a craving first for money, then for power, increased; these were, as it were, the root of all evils. For avarice subverted trustworthiness, integrity, and other virtuous practices; in place of these, it taught insolence, cruelty, to neglect the gods, to set a price on everything. The desire for advancement drove many mortals to become false; to have one thought locked in their breast, another ready on their tongue; to value friendships and enmities not on their merits but by the standard of self-interest, and to show a good front rather than a good heart. These vices grew little by little at first; from time to time they were punished; later, when the disease had spread

quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas inmutata, imperium ex iustissimo atque optumo crudele intolerandumque factum.

11. Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat, quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium bonus et ignavus aequae sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit; ea quasi venenis malis inbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat, semper infinita insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia minuitur. Sed postquam L. Sulla armis recepta re publica bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores habere, foeda crudelique in civis facinora facere. Huc adcedebat quod L. Sulla exercitum quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem maiorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat. Loca amoena, voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata mirari; ea privatim et publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur ei milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil relicui victis fecere. Quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant: ne<sup>13</sup> illi corruptis moribus victoriae temperarent.

<sup>13</sup> Xδϵ, *Prisc. GL 3.100.1, Sacerd. GL 6.469.9, Dosith. GL 7.421.17*: nedum A<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup> C<sup>2</sup>HD<sup>2</sup>, *Prisc. GL 3.503.9*

<sup>11</sup> By civil war in 83–82 BC.

like a deadly plague, the community was changed, and governmental authority, instead of being the most just and best, became cruel and intolerable.

11. But at first men's minds were stirred less by avarice than a desire for advancement—a fault, yet one not so far removed from virtue; for the noble and the ignoble man alike crave for themselves glory, public office, and power; but the former strives by the true path, whereas the latter, being without noble qualities, contends with craft and deception. Avarice entails the pursuit of money, which no wise man covets; avarice, as though steeped with noxious poisons, renders a manly body and mind effeminate; it is always boundless and insatiable; it is lessened neither by plenty nor want. But after Lucius Sulla had regained control of the state by arms<sup>11</sup> and brought about bad results despite good beginnings, all men began to rob and pillage; one coveted a house, another lands; the victors showed neither moderation nor restraint, but did shameful and cruel deeds against their fellow citizens. To this was added the fact that Lucius Sulla, so as to secure the loyalty of the army which he had led in Asia, had allowed it luxury and excessive license contrary to our ancestral custom; charming and pleasure-filled places had easily sapped the warlike spirit of his soldiers in their idle moments. There it was that an army of the Roman people first became accustomed to indulge in women and wine; to admire statues, paintings, and chased vessels; to steal them from private houses and public places; to pillage shrines, and to desecrate everything, both sacred and profane. These soldiers, therefore, after they had achieved victory, left nothing to the vanquished. In truth, prosperity tries wise men's souls; still less could men of depraved character like those temper victory.

12. Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentia duci coepit.

2 Igitur ex divitiis iuventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere; rapere, consumere, sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere, pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere.

3 Operae pretium est, quom domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri maiores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere.  
4 Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant, neque victis quicquam praeter iniuriae licentiam eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissimi homines, per  
5 summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissimi viri victores reliquerant; proinde quasi iniuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti.

13. Nam quid ea memorem, quae nisi eis qui videre nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis compluribus subvorsos  
2 montis, maria constrata esse? Quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae; quippe quas honeste habere licebat,  
3 abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed libido stupri, ganeae ceterique cultus non minor incusserat; viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere, dormire prius quam somni cupidus esset, non famem aut sitim neque

<sup>12</sup> Wealthy Romans in Sallust's day cut through hills to bring salt water into their fishponds (Plin. *HN* 9.170) and built villas on pilings sunk into the sea, especially on the Bay of Naples, at Baiae (Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.33–37).

12. After riches began to be held in honor and led to the acquisition of glory, positions of authority, and political influence, then virtue began to lose its edge, poverty to be considered a disgrace, blamelessness to be regarded as spitefulness malevolence. Therefore, as a result of riches, the youth were suddenly consumed with luxury and greed, together with insolence. They robbed, squandered, valued little their property, coveted that of others; they treated without distinction modesty, chastity, things human and divine; they had no scruples and no moderation.

It is worthwhile, when you have acquainted yourself with houses and villas built on the scale of cities, to visit the temples of the gods fashioned by our forefathers, most reverent mortals. But those men adorned the shrines of the gods with piety, their own homes with glory, while from the vanquished they took nothing except the license to do harm. The men of today, on the contrary, most worthless fellows, through their supreme wickedness take from our allies all that those most courageous men had left them in the hour of victory; as though to do a wrong were precisely what it means to exercise power.

13. Why should I speak of things which no one will believe except those who have seen them, that a great many individuals have leveled mountains and built upon the seas?<sup>12</sup> To such men their riches seem to me to have served as a mere plaything; for they rushed shamelessly to misuse wealth which they could have possessed honorably. But there had arisen an equally strong passion for lewdness, gluttony, and other accompaniments of luxury; men played the woman, women offered their chastity for sale; the land and sea were scoured for everything to gratify their palates; they slept before they felt a desire for sleep;

frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu  
 4 antecapere. Haec iuventutem, ubi familiares opes defece-  
 5 rant, ad facinora incendebant. Animus inbutus malis arti-  
 bus haud facile lubidinibus carebat; eo profusius omnibus  
 modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat.

14. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id quod  
 factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinor-  
 um circum se tamquam stipatorum catervas habebat.

- 2 Nam quicumque inpudicus, [adulter,] ganeo,<sup>14</sup> aleo,<sup>15</sup>  
 manu, ventre, pene bona patria laceraverat, quique alien-  
 um aes grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus re-  
 3 dimeret, praeterea omnes undique parricidae, sacrilegi,  
 convicti iudiciis aut pro factis iudicium timentes, ad hoc  
 quos manus atque lingua periurio aut sanguine civili ale-  
 bat, postremo omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius ani-  
 mus exagitabat, ei Catilinae proximi familiaresque erant.  
 4 Quodsi quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam eius inci-  
 derat, cotidiano usu atque inlecebris facile par similisque  
 5 ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxime adulescentium familiarit-  
 ates adpetebat; eorum animi molles etiam et<sup>16</sup> fluxi dolis  
 6 haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam ut quousque studium  
 ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praebere, aliis canes atque  
 equos mercari, postremo neque sumptui neque modestiae

<sup>14</sup> *om.* P<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>K<sup>1</sup>: *inpudicus adulter (secl. adulter Wölfflin) ganeo*  
*rell., om. Fro. 145.18, del. Sauppe, Reynolds*

<sup>15</sup> *corr. Wölfflin: ganeo alea (ganeo s.s. A) C: manu: . . . (lacuna*  
*5 litt.) . . . alea ventre pene B*

<sup>16</sup> *etiam et a: aetate et, A<sup>2</sup>BH: et aetate δε*

<sup>13</sup> Superabundance produced decadent, luxurious habits:  
 drinking and eating merely for pleasure, not to satisfy genuine

they did not await the onset of hunger or thirst, of cold or  
 of weariness, but all such things they anticipated with self-  
 indulgence.<sup>13</sup> These perversions incited youth to crime, as  
 soon as their resources had run out. Their minds, steeped  
 in evil practices, did not at all easily refrain from self-in-  
 dulgence, and so they abandoned themselves the more  
 recklessly to every means of gain and extravagance.

14. In so great and so corrupt body of citizens, Catiline  
 gathered around himself throngs of all depraved and crim-  
 inal sorts, like attendants (a thing which was very easy to  
 do). For whatever lecher, glutton, or gambler had squan-  
 dered his family's property in gaming, feasting, or lech-  
 ery;<sup>14</sup> anyone who had run up immense debt in order to  
 buy his way out of a shameful deed or crime; further, ab-  
 solutely everyone convicted of murder or sacrilege (or  
 fearing prosecution for their deeds); moreover, those  
 whose hand and tongue supported them by perjury or  
 the murder of their fellow citizens; finally, all who were  
 hounded by depravity, poverty, or a guilty conscience—all  
 these were Catiline's nearest and dearest friends. And if  
 anyone without guilt had happened to become his friend,  
 daily intercourse and allurements easily made him just like  
 the rest. But most of all Catiline sought the intimacy of  
 young men; their minds, still pliable and unstable, were  
 without difficulty ensnared by his deceits. For in keeping  
 with the passion burning in each, according to his age,  
 Catiline procured prostitutes for some, purchased dogs  
 and horses for others; in short, he spared neither expense

physical needs (cf. *Jug.* 89.7); bathing when neither fatigued nor  
 chilled.

<sup>14</sup> Lit. "by means of his hand, belly, or penis."

7 suae parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret. Scio fuisse nonnullos qui ita existumarent, iuventutem quae domum Catilinae frequentabat parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis, quam quod quoiquam id conpertum foret, haec fama valebat.

15. Iam primum adulescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestae, 2 alia huiusce modi contra ius fasque. Postremo captus amore Aureliae Orestillae, quoniam praeter formam nihil umquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, 3 timens privignum adulta aetate, pro certo creditur necato filio vacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse facinus matu- 4 randi. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat; ita 5 conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur colos<sup>17</sup> ei<sup>18</sup> exanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus incessus; prorsus in facie voltuque vecordia inerat.

16. Sed iuventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, inlexerat, 2 multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testis signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere, post ubi eorum famam atque pudorem

<sup>17</sup> *Prob. GL 4.15.14, 4.23.34, Sacerd. 6.446.11: color ω*  
<sup>18</sup> *PβKHD, in ras. A<sup>2</sup>: eius F*

<sup>15</sup> I.e., engaged in pederasty, a charge explicitly made by Cicero (*Cat.* 2.23). <sup>16</sup> Identity unknown.

<sup>17</sup> Fabia, half sister (or cousin?) of Terentia, Cicero's wife. She was charged and acquitted of having had sexual relations with Catiline (*Ascon.* p. 91C), mostly likely in 73.

nor his own sense of decency, provided he made them indebted and loyal to himself. I know that there were some who believed that the youth who frequented Catiline's house had too little regard for their chastity;<sup>15</sup> but this rumor prevailed more from other circumstances than because anyone had ascertained the fact.

15. Now to begin with, as a youth Catiline had committed many shameful debaucheries—with a maiden of noble rank,<sup>16</sup> with a priestess of Vesta<sup>17</sup>—and other unlawful and impious acts of this sort. Finally, having been seized with love for Aurelia Orestilla, in whom no decent person ever commended anything except her beauty, because she hesitated to marry him out of fear for a grown-up stepson, Catiline is believed without a doubt to have made an empty house for his wicked marriage by the murder of his son.<sup>18</sup> This deed seems to me to have been the chief catalyst for hastening his plot; for his guilt-stained soul, at odds with gods and men, could find peace neither in wakefulness nor in sleep; to such a degree did his conscience ravage his overwrought mind. Hence his pallid complexion, his haggard eyes, his gait now fast, now slow; in short, madness was present in the features and expression of his face.

16. The young men whom he had ensnared, as I have mentioned above, were instructed by him in wicked deeds of many forms. From their number he supplied false witnesses and forgers; he commanded them to hold cheap their good name, possessions, and risks; then, when he had

<sup>18</sup> Cicero (*Cat.* 1.14) may cryptically allude to the son's murder when he asserts that Catiline "added another monstrous crime" to the act of murdering his own wife to clear the way for a new marriage.

3 adriverat, maiora alia imperabat. Si causa peccandi in  
praesens minus suppetebat, nihilo minus insontis sicuti  
sontis circumvenire, iugulare; scilicet, ne per otium tor-  
pescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque  
crudelis erat.

4 His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod aes  
alienum per omnis terras ingens erat et quod plerique  
Sullani milites largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriae vete-  
ris memores, civile bellum exoptabant, opprimundae rei  
5 publicae consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus, Cn.  
Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat; ipsi consula-  
tum petenti magna spes, senatus nihil sane intentus; tutae  
tranquillaequae res omnes, sed ea prorsus opportuna Cati-  
linae.

17. Igitur circiter Kalendas Iunias L. Caesare et C.  
Figulo consulibus primo singulos appellare, hortari alios,  
alios temptare; opes suas, inparatam rem publicam, magna  
2 praemia coniurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt  
quae voluit, in unum omnis convocat quibus maxuma ne-  
cessitudo et plurimum audaciae inerat. Eo convenere  
3 senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius  
Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Ser. Sullae Ser. filii, L. Vargunteius,  
Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Cur-  
4 rius; praeterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L.

<sup>19</sup> During 65–63 BC, Pompey was engaged in concluding the war against Mithridates in Asia Minor and the Middle East.

<sup>20</sup> 64 BC.

worn down their good repute and modesty, he called for still greater crimes. If there was no immediate motive for wrongdoing, he nevertheless defrauded and murdered innocent victims just as though they deserved it. (You see, he preferred to be gratuitously evil and cruel so that the hands and spirits of his associates might not grow dull through lack of activity.)

Relying upon these friends and associates—at the same time because debt was enormous throughout all lands, and because a great many of Sulla's veterans were eager for civil war since they had squandered their property and recalled their lucrative victory of old—Catiline adopted a plan to overthrow the government. In Italy, there was no army; Gnaeus Pompey was waging war in distant lands;<sup>19</sup> Catiline himself had high hope as a candidate for the consulship; the senate was not at all alert; all was secure and quiet, but those conditions were thoroughly advantageous for Catiline.

17. Accordingly, about the first of June in the consulate of Lucius Caesar and Gaius Figulus,<sup>20</sup> he addressed his followers one by one at first; he encouraged some, sounded out others; he pointed out his own resources, the unprepared condition of the state, the great prizes of conspiracy. When he had adequately carried out such investigations as he desired, he convened in one assembly all who had the most pressing need and greatest recklessness. To that assembly there came from the senatorial order Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Gaius Cethegus, Publius and Servius Sulla, sons of Servius, Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Marcus Porcius Laeca, Lucius Bestia, Quintus Curius; besides from the equestrian order, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lu-

5 Statilius, P. Gabinus Capito, C. Cornelius; ad hoc multi ex  
 coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant praeterea com-  
 plures paulo occultius consili huiusce participes nobiles,  
 6 quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut  
 alia necessitudo. Ceterum iuventus pleraque, sed maxime  
 nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat, quibus in otio vel  
 7 magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis,  
 bellum quam pacem malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate  
 qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum eius  
 consili fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius invisus ipsi magnum  
 exercitum ductabat, quousvis opes voluisse contra illius  
 potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si coniuratio valuis-  
 set, facile apud illos principem se fore.

18. Sed antea item coniuravere pauci contra rem publi-  
 2 cam, in quis<sup>19</sup> Catilina fuit; de qua quam verissime potero  
 dicam. L. Tullo et M'.<sup>20</sup> Lepido consulibus P. Autronius et  
 3 P. Sulla, designati consules, legibus ambitus interrogati  
 poenas dederant. Post paulo Catilina pecuniarum repe-  
 4 tendarum reus prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod  
 intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverat.<sup>21</sup> Erat eodem

<sup>19</sup> *Diom. GL 1.445.23*: quibus ω

<sup>20</sup> *corr. Orelli*: m. ω

<sup>21</sup> *ς*: nequiverit *rell.*

<sup>21</sup> See 16.5.

<sup>22</sup> The so-called First Conspiracy of Catiline. Catiline's role in disturbances and demonstrations that broke out in late 66, early 65, appears to have been greatly exaggerated, and the aim was far less grandiose than the overthrow of the government.

<sup>23</sup> 66 BC.

<sup>24</sup> The penalties included a fine, the loss of the office to which they had been elected, permanent expulsion from the senate, and disqualification from holding public office.

cius Statilius, Publius Gabinus Capito, Gaius Cornelius; in addition there were many men from the colonies and towns of Italy, men of high standing locally. There were, besides, a great many nobles a little more clandestinely participating in the plot, men who were motivated more by their hope for supremacy than by poverty or other exigency. In addition, the youth generally, but especially those of high standing, favored Catiline's undertakings; for although under settled conditions they had the means of living grandly or luxuriously, they preferred uncertainty to certainty, war to peace. There were likewise at that time some who believed that Marcus Licinius Crassus was not unaware of the plot; that because Gaius Pompey, whom he detested, was in command of a large army,<sup>21</sup> he was willing to see the strength of anyone at all grow in opposition to the power of his rival, being as the same time confident that if the conspiracy was successful, he would easily be the chief figure among them.

18. But previously a few men had conspired in a like manner against the government, and among them was Catiline; of that affair<sup>22</sup> I shall speak as truthfully as I can. In the consulship of Lucius Tullus and Manius Lepidus,<sup>23</sup> the consuls elect, Publius Autronius and Publius Sulla, were indicted under the law covering corruption electioneering and convicted.<sup>24</sup> A little afterward, Catiline, who was charged with extortion,<sup>25</sup> had been prevented from standing for the consulship, because he had been unable to announce his candidacy within the prescribed number of

<sup>25</sup> For alleged misconduct while governing the province of Africa in 67–66 as *propraetor*. His trial and acquittal did not take place until the second half of 65.



tempore Cn. Piso, adulescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rem publicam  
 5 inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc Catilina et  
 Autronius circiter Nonas Decembris consilio communi-  
 cato parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Ianuariis L. Cottam et  
 L. Torquatam consules interficere, ipsi fascibus conreptis  
 6 Pisonem cum exercitu ad optinendas duas Hispanias mit-  
 7 tere. Ea re cognita rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium  
 caedis transtulerant. Iam tum non consulibus modo, sed  
 8 plerisque senatoribus perniciose machinabantur. Quod ni  
 Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die  
 post conditam urbem Romam pessimum facinus patra-  
 tum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant,  
 ea res consilium diremit.

19. Postea Piso in citiorem Hispaniam quaestor pro

<sup>26</sup> I.e., at the supplementary election held late in 66, after the conviction of Sulla and Autronius. Catiline's candidacy was disallowed on the technicality that he had not announced his candidacy at the first election. Candidates were required to declare a minimum of a *trinundinum* in advance of the electoral assembly, i.e., three market days (*nundinae*) which occurred every eight days.

<sup>27</sup> On December 5, 66, Piso will have entered the office of quaestor, to which he had been elected for the following year (19.1).

<sup>28</sup> Of 65 BC. The senate was customarily convened by the new consuls on January 1 each year, in the Capitoline temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, to inaugurate the new year with vows and sacrifices for the safety of the nation in the coming year.

<sup>29</sup> This symbol of the magisterial authority of the consuls stands for the office itself. The fasces, a bound bundle of elm- or birch-wood rods about five feet long, with an ax projecting from

days.<sup>26</sup> There was at that same time a young noble called Gnaeus Piso, a man of the utmost recklessness, needy, and given to intrigue, who was being goaded on by lack of resources and an evil character to overthrow the government. About the fifth of December,<sup>27</sup> Catiline and Autronius shared their plan with him and prepared to murder the consuls Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus on the Capitoline on the first of January,<sup>28</sup> to seize the fasces<sup>29</sup> for themselves and dispatch Piso with an army to govern the two Spanish provinces. Since knowledge of this plot leaked out, they had postponed their murderous design until the fifth of February. Then on that occasion they were plotting the destruction not merely of the consuls but of a great many senators, and had Catiline not been overhasty in giving the signal to his accomplices in front of the senate house, on that day the most dreadful crime since the founding of the city of Rome would have been perpetrated. Because the armed conspirators had not yet assembled in sufficient numbers, that circumstance ruined their plan.<sup>30</sup>

19. Piso was afterward, through the efforts of Crassus,

their middle, were carried before higher magistrates by attendants known as lictors, twelve in number for each consul. The axes were removed when magistrates (other than dictators and triumphing generals) were within the city to signify a citizen's right to appeal magisterial verdicts of corporal or capital punishment.

<sup>30</sup> According to Suetonius (*Jul.* 9.2), the plot involved Marcus Crassus and Julius Caesar, and it came to nothing because Caesar did not give the agreed upon signal when Crassus failed to appear at the appointed time.

2 praetore missus est adnitere Crasso, quod eum infestum  
 3 inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus  
 4 provinciam invitus dederat, quippe foedum hominem a re  
 5 publica procul esse volebat; simul quia boni complures  
 praesidium in eo putabant et iam tum potentia Pompei  
 formidulosa erat. Sed is Piso in provincia<sup>22</sup> ab equitibus  
 Hispanis quos in exercitu ductabat iter faciens occisus est.  
 Sunt qui ita dicant, imperia eius iniusta, suberba, crudelia  
 barbaros nequissime pati; alii autem equites illos Cn. Pompei  
 veteres fidosque clientis voluntate eius Pisonem ad-  
 gressos; numquam Hispanos praeterea tale facinus fecisse,  
 sed imperia saeva multa antea perpessos. Nos eam rem in  
 medio relinquemus. De superiore coniuratione satis dic-  
 tum.

20. Catilina ubi eos quos paulo ante memoravi conve-  
 nisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, ta-  
 men in rem fore credens univorsos appellare et cohortari,  
 in abditam partem aedium secedit atque ibi omnibus arbi-  
 tris procul amotis orationem huiusce modi habuit.

2 "Ni virtus fidesque vostra <satis><sup>23</sup> spectata mihi fo-  
 3 rent,<sup>24</sup> nequiquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna,  
 dominatio in manibus frustra fuissent, neque ego per igna-  
 viam aut vana ingenia incerta pro certis captarem. Sed  
 quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortis fi-  
 dosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maxumum atque pul-

<sup>22</sup> H: provinciam *rell.*

<sup>23</sup> s: *om. ω*

<sup>24</sup> foret VP<sup>2</sup>, *Serv. G. I.260*

31 17.3-4

who knew him to be a deadly enemy of Gnaeus Pompey, sent to Hither Spain with praetorian powers, though only a quaestor. The senate, however, had not unwillingly given him the province, for it wished to remove the detestable fellow to a distance from the seat of government and at the same time, because a great many good men thought they had in him a safeguard against Pompey, whose power was even then becoming formidable. But while on a march this Piso was slain by the Spanish cavalry attached to his army. Some say that the natives could not endure his unjust, insolent, and cruel administration; others, that the horsemen, who were old and devoted retainers of Pompey, attacked Piso at his instigation, pointing out that the Spaniards had never before committed such a crime but had tolerated many cruel administrations in former days. We shall leave this matter open. Concerning the first conspiracy, enough has been said.

20. When Catiline saw assembled before him the men whom I mentioned a short time ago,<sup>31</sup> although he had often had many discussions with them individually, still, since he thought that it would be advantageous to address and encourage the entire body, he withdrew to an out-of-the-way room in the house, and there, after sending far away all witnesses, he delivered a speech of this sort:

"If I had not sufficiently observed your courage and loyalty, in vain would a favorable opportunity have presented itself; high hope and supremacy within our grasp would have been to no purpose, nor would I through reliance on fickle-minded cowards be grasping at uncertainty in place of certainty. But because I have learned in many great critical situations that you are brave and faithful to me, for that reason my mind has ventured to begin a

cherrumum facinus incipere, simul quia vobis eadem quae  
 4 mihi bona malaque esse intellexi; nam idem velle atque  
 idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.

5 "Sed ego quae mente agitavi omnes iam antea divorsi  
 6 audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus adcenditur,  
 quom considero quae condicio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet  
 7 ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam res publica  
 in paucorum potentium ius atque dicionem concessit,  
 semper illis reges, tetrarchae vectigales esse, populi, na-  
 tiones stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni,  
 nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus sine gratia, sine  
 8 auctoritate, eis obnoxii, quibus, si res publica valeret, for-  
 midini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divi-  
 9 tiae apud illos sunt aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere peri-  
 cula, repulsas, iudicia, egestatem. Quae quousque tandem  
 patiemini, o fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem  
 praestat quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alie-  
 10 nae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Ve-  
 rum enim vero, pro deum atque hominum fidem, victoria  
 in manu nobis<sup>25</sup> est, viget aetas, animus valet; contra illis  
 annis atque divitiis omnia consenuerunt. Tantummodo  
 11 incepto opus est; cetera res expedit. Etenim quis morta-

<sup>25</sup> nobis *aNe*, *Prisc. GL 3.364.7* (nobis in manu): vobis  
 VP<sup>2</sup>A<sup>2</sup>βKH

<sup>32</sup> I.e., pay bribes to secure recognition of their titles.

<sup>33</sup> Words that echo the opening line of Cicero's *First Catilina*: "*Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?*" which must have been familiar to Sallust and his readers.

<sup>34</sup> Since *in manu* (sing.), in contrast with *in manibus* (pl.) at, e.g., 20.2, normally means "depends upon," some MSS read *in*

mighty and glorious enterprise, also because I have perceived that you and I share in common a view of the good and the bad; for to have the same desires and aversions, precisely that constitutes solid friendship.

"As for the designs which I have formed, you have all individually already heard about them before. But my resolution is fired more and more every day, when I consider what the condition of our lives will be if we do not take the initiative to set ourselves free. For ever since the state fell under the jurisdiction and sway of a few powerful men, it is always to them that kings and petty rulers are tributary,<sup>32</sup> to them nations and peoples pay taxes. All the rest of us, energetic, good—nobles as well as nobodies—have been a common herd, without influence, without prestige, subservient to those to whom, if the state were healthy, we would be an object of dread. Accordingly, all influence, power, office, and wealth are in *their* hands, or wherever those individuals wish them to be; to us they have left threats of prosecution, defeats in elections, convictions, and poverty. How much longer still will you put up with this, o bravest men?<sup>33</sup> Is it not better to die valiantly, than ignominiously to lose a wretched, inglorious life in which you end up being an object of derision in the eyes of some haughty person? But assuredly (by the faith of gods and men!) victory is within our grasp.<sup>34</sup> We are in the prime of life, our resolve is strong; by contrast, as a result of years and riches, all the strength of our opponents has grown feeble. We need only to begin; existing conditions will take care of the rest. Indeed, what mortal who

*manu vobis* (your) in place of *in manu nobis* (our), but the context better suits "in our grasp."

lium, quoi virile ingenium est, tolerare potest illis divitias superare, quas profundant in extruendo mari et montibus coaequandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? Illos binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis  
 12 larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Quom tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant, tamen  
 13 summa lubidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris aes alienum, mala res, spes multo asperior; denique quid relicui habemus praeter miseram animam?  
 14 “Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa illa quam saepe optastis libertas, praeterea divitiae, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt. Fortuna omnia ea victoribus praemia posuit.  
 15 Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magna magis quam oratio mea vos hortantur. Vel imperatore vel  
 16 milite me utimini; neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. Haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam,  
 17 nisi forte me animus fallit et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis.”

21. Postquam accepere ea homines quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis quietam movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulavere plerique ut proponeret quae condicio belli foret, quae praemia armis peterent, quid ubique opis

<sup>35</sup> See 13.1n.

<sup>36</sup> *Toreumata* is the Greek equivalent of *vasa caelata*, 11.6.

has a manly disposition can endure that our opponents have a surfeit of riches to squander in building upon the sea and in leveling mountains,<sup>35</sup> while we lack the private means to buy the bare necessities of life? That *they* join together two or even more houses to form a mansion, and yet we have nowhere a hearthstone? Though they purchase paintings, statues and objects engraved in relief,<sup>36</sup> demolish new houses and construct others, in short squander and abuse their money in every way, nevertheless their utmost extravagance is unable to outdo their riches. But at home we have scarcity, outside out homes debt, bad circumstances and even more discouraging prospects; in short, what do we have left, except the wretched breath of life?

“Why not rouse yourselves, therefore? Behold, here, here placed before your eyes, is the freedom for which you have often longed, and with it riches, honor, and glory. Fortune has set all these things as prizes for the victors. Circumstances, timing, dangers, your poverty, the splendid spoils of war, urge you to action more than this speech of mine does. Employ me as either commander or soldier; neither my mind nor my body will fail you. These very enterprises, I hope, I shall carry out as consul together with you, unless by chance my mind is self deluded, and you are more ready to be slaves than to rule.”

21. When these words had been heard by men who had misfortune of every kind in profusion, but neither means nor any decent hope, although the act of disturbing settled affairs seemed to them ample wages, nevertheless a great many of them called upon him to set forth what would be the terms of the war, what prizes they were to seek with arms, and what resources or prospects they had in any

2 aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas,  
 proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapi-  
 3 nae, alia omnia quae bellum atque lubido victorum fert.  
 Praeterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania  
 cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consili sui participes;  
 petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi conlegam fore  
 speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus  
 circumventum; cum eo se consulem  
 4 initium agundi facturum. Ad hoc maledictis increpabat  
 omnis bonos, suorum unum quemque nominans laudare;  
 admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suae, compluris  
 periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae,  
 5 quibus ea praedae fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris  
 videt, cohortatus ut petitionem suam curae haberent,  
 conventum dimisit.

22. Fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent Catilinam oratione  
 habita quom ad ius iurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret,<sup>26</sup>  
 2 patris circumtulisse; inde quom post execrationem omnes  
 degustavissent, sicuti in sollemnibus sacris fieri consuevit,  
 aperuisse consilium suum; idque<sup>27</sup> eo [dictitare]<sup>28</sup> fecisse  
 3 quo inter se fidi magis forent, alius alii tantum facinoris  
 conscii. Nonnulli ficta et haec et multa praeterea existumabant  
 ab eis qui Ciceronis invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri  
 credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum qui poenas dederant.  
 Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum conperta est.

<sup>26</sup> *Eugraph. Ter. Ph.* 35: adiceret  $\omega$

<sup>27</sup> *Wirz*: atque  $\omega$

<sup>28</sup> *del. Selling*: atque eo dictitare fecisse *del. Ritschl, Reynolds*

quarter. Thereupon Catiline promised the cancellation of debts, a massacre of the wealthy, public offices, priest-hoods, plunder, and all the other spoils that war and the wantonness of victors can offer. He added that Piso was in Hither Spain, Publius Sittius of Nuceria in Mauretania with an army, both being partners in his plot; that Gaius Antonius was a candidate for the consulship, who, he hoped, would be his colleague, an intimate friend his, a man beset by every sort of need; that as consul with him, he would launch his undertaking. In addition, he heaped abuse upon all good citizens, praised each of his own followers by name; he reminded one of his poverty, another of his craving, quite a few of their danger or disgrace, many of Sulla's victory, which had been a source of gain for them. When he saw that the spirits of all were aroused, he dismissed the meeting, after urging them to make his candidacy their concern.

22. (There were some in that period who claimed that Catiline passed around bowls of human blood mixed with wine, when, after finishing his address, he bound the participants in his criminal enterprise with an oath; that then, when all had tasted it after taking an oath sealed with a curse—as is usual in solemn rites—he disclosed his project; and that he did this so that they might be more faithful to one another, each sharing the guilty knowledge of so dreadful a deed. Some people thought that both this detail and much besides had been invented by those who believed that the hostility against Cicero which afterward arose was dampened by the savage criminality of those who had been punished. For my own part, I have learned too little to pronounce upon this matter considering its magnitude.)

23. Sed in ea coniuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus, quem  
 2 censores senatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam audacia; neque reticere quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare; prorsus  
 3 neque dicere neque facere quicquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo; quoi quom minus gratus esset quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montisque polliceri coepit et minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret; postremo  
 4 ferocius agitare quam solitus erat. At Fulvia insolentiae<sup>29</sup> Curi causa cognita tale periculum rei publicae haud occultum habuit, sed sublato auctore de Catilinae coniuratione quae quoque modo audierat compluribus narravit.

5 Ea res in primis studia hominum adcondidit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea ple-  
 6 raque nobilitas invidia aestuabat<sup>30</sup> et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novos adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere.

24. Igitur comitiis habitis consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius, quod factum primo popularis coniurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinae furor minue-

<sup>29</sup> N<sup>2</sup> s: insolentia ω

<sup>30</sup> B<sup>2</sup>Y: aestimabat X

<sup>37</sup> In 70, for "many disgraceful deeds" (App. 2.3); said to have been a notorious gambler, he was convicted on an unknown charge sometime after the consular elections in 64 (Ascon. p. 93C). <sup>38</sup> Lit. "seas and mountains," possibly coined on the model of the proverbial expression of "promising mountains of gold" (e.g., Ter. *Phorm.* 68).

23. Now in that conspiracy was Quintus Curius, a man of no mean birth but guilty of many shameful crimes, whom the censors<sup>37</sup> had expelled from the senate because of his immorality. This man was no less irresponsible than he was reckless; he had no concern at all about keeping secret what he had heard or concealing even his own misdeeds, nor, in short, for what he did or said. He had a long-standing, illicit love affair with Fulvia, a woman of high birth, and when he began to lose favor with her because poverty compelled him to be less lavish, he suddenly fell to boasting, began to promise her heaven and earth,<sup>38</sup> and sometimes to threaten her with steel if she did not bow to his will; in brief, he behaved more boldly than he had been accustomed to. But Fulvia, when she learned the cause of Curius' unusual behavior, did not keep hidden such a peril to her country, but withholding the name of her source, she told a great many people what she had heard about Catiline's conspiracy on various occasions.

This information in particular aroused people's support for conferring the consulship upon Marcus Tullius Cicero. For previously most of the nobles seethed with jealousy and thought the consulship sullied, as it were, if a "new man,"<sup>39</sup> no matter how outstanding, obtained it. But when danger came along, haughty pride was set aside.

24. Accordingly, when the elections were held, Marcus Tullius and Gaius Antonius were proclaimed consuls, an outcome that at first dismayed the adherents of the conspiracy. And yet Catiline's frenzy was not lessened; rather,

<sup>39</sup> Meaning one who was the first in his family to reach the senate (as Cicero was), and especially such a person who then went on to reach the consulship.

batur, sed in dies plura agitare, arma per Italiam locis  
 opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide  
 sumptam mutuam Faesulas ad Manlium quendam por-  
 3 tare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Ea tempestate  
 plurimos quousque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur,  
 mulieres etiam aliquot, quae primo ingentis sumptus  
 stupro corporis toleraverant, post ubi aetas tantummodo  
 quae stui neque luxuriae modum fecerat, aes alienum  
 4 grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebat posse  
 servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum  
 vel adiungere sibi vel interficere.

25. Sed in eis erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis  
 2 audaciae facinora commiserat. Haec mulier genere atque  
 forma, praeterea viro [atque]<sup>31</sup> liberis satis fortunata fuit;  
 litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere [et]<sup>32</sup> saltare ele-  
 gantius, quam necesse est probae, multa alia, quae instru-  
 3 menta luxuriae sunt. Sed ei cariora semper omnia quam  
 decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniae an famae minus par-  
 ceret, haud facile discerneres; libido<sup>33</sup> sic adensa, ut  
 4 saepius peteret viros quam peteretur. Sed ea saepe ante-  
 hac fidem prodiderat, creditum abiuraverat, caedis conscia  
 5 fuerat, luxuria atque inopia praecipua abierat. Verum inge-

<sup>31</sup> *om. A*<sup>1</sup>, *Fro. 100.23, Arus. GL 7.473.28, Eugraph. Ter. Andr. 97*

<sup>32</sup> *om. Fro. 101.1, Macrob. Sat. 3.14. 5: psallere et saltare ω*

<sup>33</sup> *aY, Fro. 101.4, Ti. Cl. Don. A. 6.525: libidine A<sup>2</sup>βK<sup>2</sup>H<sup>2</sup>D<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>40</sup> On October 27 (30.1).

<sup>41</sup> Contradicted elsewhere by Catiline's explicit (56.5) and implicit (44.6) rejection of recruits from among runaway slaves.

<sup>42</sup> Mentioned again only in passing at 40.5, she was the wife

he increased his activity every day, made ready arms at strategic points throughout Italy, conveyed money borrowed on his own credit or that of his friends to Faesulae, to a certain Manlius, who afterward was the first to launch the war.<sup>40</sup> At that period Catiline is said to have gained the support of a great many men of all conditions and even of some women, who at first had met their enormous expenses by trading sexual favors, but later, when their time of life had set a limit only to their traffic but not to their extravagance, they had run up enormous debt. Through them Catiline believed he could incite the city slaves to an uprising,<sup>41</sup> set fire to Rome, and as for their husbands, either attach them to his cause or kill them.

25. Now among those women was Sempronia,<sup>42</sup> who had often perpetrated many deeds of masculine daring. In birth and appearance, in her husband too and children, she was quite favored by fortune; she was well versed in Greek and Latin literature, at playing the lyre, at dancing more skillfully than a virtuous woman needed to, and in many other accomplishments which are instruments of wantonness. But there was nothing which she held so cheap as modesty and chastity; you could not easily decide whether she was less sparing of her money or her reputation; her lust was so heated that she pursued men more often than she was pursued. Even before the time of the conspiracy she had often broken her word, repudiated a debt, been an accessory to murder, rushed headlong to ruin as a result of extravagance and lack of means. Never-

of D. Junius Brutus (cos. 77); one of her children (or stepchildren?) was D. Junius Brutus Albinus, the future assassin of Caesar (not to be confused with M. Brutus, also an assassin).

nium eius haud absurdum; posse versus facere, iocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procacis; prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

26. His rebus comparatis Catilina nihilo minus in proximum annum consulatum petebat, sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque in terea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat  
 2 Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae  
 3 deerant. Namque a principio consulatus sui multa pollicendo per Fulviam effecerat ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo  
 4 ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet. Ad hoc conlegam suum Antonium pactione provinciae perpulerat ne contra rem publicam sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat.

5 Postquam dies comitiorum venit et Catilinae neque petitio neque insidiae quas consulibus<sup>34</sup> in Campo fecerat prospere cessere, constituit bellum facere et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quae occulte temptaverat aspera foedaque evenerant. 27. Igitur C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Iulium in Apuliam dimisit,

<sup>34</sup> consuli A<sup>2</sup>β

<sup>43</sup> See ch. 24.2.      <sup>44</sup> At the elections in mid-63 for 62.

<sup>45</sup> See ch. 23 for Fulvia and Curius.      <sup>46</sup> Early in 63 Cicero struck a deal to exchange provinces when the drawing of lots resulted in him receiving the potentially more lucrative province of Macedonia, while Cisalpine Gaul fell to his colleague.

<sup>47</sup> The assembly convened to elect consuls met outside the sacred boundary of the city (*pomerium*), on the plain known as the Campus Martius, which was bounded by a bend in the Tiber. On this occasion, Cicero wore a breastplate under his toga and let

theless, her intellect was by no means contemptible; she could compose verses, raise a laugh, use language that was modest, or tender, or wanton; in short, she possessed much wit and much charm.

26. After making these preparations,<sup>43</sup> Catiline nonetheless began campaigning for the consulship for the next year,<sup>44</sup> hoping that if he were elected he would easily manipulate Antonius according to his will. In the meantime, he was not inactive but kept forming plots of all kinds against Cicero. The latter, however, did not lack the craft and cunning for taking precaution. For from the beginning of his consulship, by means of many promises made through Fulvia, Cicero had induced Quintus Curius, the man whom I mentioned a little while ago,<sup>45</sup> to disclose Catiline's designs to him. In addition, by an agreement concerning his province,<sup>46</sup> Cicero had persuaded his colleague Antonius not to entertain schemes hostile to the state, and he also had surrounded himself secretly with a bodyguard of friends and dependents.

After the day of the elections had come, and neither Catiline's candidacy nor the plots which he had made against the consuls in the Campus Martius were successful,<sup>47</sup> he resolved to make war and put everything to the ultimate test, since his covert attempts had resulted in disappointment and disaster. 27. He, therefore, dispatched Gaius Manlius to Faesulae and that region of Etruria, a certain Septimius of Camerinum to the Picene district, and Gaius Julius to Apulia;<sup>48</sup> others too to other places,

the voters catch a glimpse of it to alert them to the danger to his life posed by Catiline's plots (*Mur.* 52; *Plut. Cic.* 14.7–8; *Dio* 37.29.4).

<sup>48</sup> This Julius (not to be confused with the future dictator) and Septimius are otherwise unknown.



praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat.

- 2 Interea Romae multa simul moliri: consulibus insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere, ipse cum telo esse, item alios iubere, hortari uti semper intenti paratique essent; dies noctisque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo ubi multa agitant nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte coniurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium
- 3 Laecam, ibique multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet se Manlium praemisisse ad eam multitudinem quam ad capiunda arma paraverat, item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent, seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis multum officere.

28. Igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, C. Cornelius eques Romanus operam suam pollicitus et cum eo L. Vargunteius senator constituere ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem
- 2 ac de inproviso domi suae inparatum confodere. Curius ubi intellegit quantum periculum consuli impendat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur enuntiat.
- 3 Ita illi ianua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra susceperant.

<sup>49</sup> Of November 6/7 (Cic. *Sull.* 52). The meeting took place at Laeca's house (one of Catiline's senatorial supporters, cf. 17.3) in the Street of the Scythemakers (Cic. *Cat.* 1.8).

<sup>50</sup> The *salutatio* was a ceremonial call, paid to distinguished men by clients and friends shortly before sunrise, or soon after.

wherever he believed that each would be serviceable to him.

Meanwhile at Rome he set in motion many concurrent undertakings, laid traps for the consuls, prepared arson, blockaded strategic places with armed men; he himself was armed, ordered others to do likewise, urged them to be always alert and ready, kept on the move night and day, went without sleep, yet was not worn out by either lack of sleep or exertion. Finally, when his manifold activities met with no success, he caused Marcus Porcius Laeca to summon the ringleaders of the conspiracy again in the dead of night,<sup>49</sup> and at that meeting, after making many complaints about their apathy, he informed them that he had sent Manlius on ahead to the large throng which he had prepared for taking up arms, and likewise had sent to other suitable places other men who were to start the fighting; that he himself was eager to set out to join his army if only he could first crush Cicero; that the latter was a serious obstacle to his plans.

28. Accordingly, while the rest were terrified and hesitant, Gaius Cornelius, a Roman knight, pledged his services and with him Lucius Vargunteius, a senator; they resolved that very night to enter Cicero's house a little later with armed men, as if to pay their respects,<sup>50</sup> and to stab the unsuspecting victim unexpectedly in his own home. When Curius realized how great a danger threatened the consul, he quickly reported to Cicero through Fulvia the treachery that was being set in motion. Hence the callers were turned away from the door and had undertaken such a deed in vain.

4 Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore iniuriae novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullae dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat, praeterea latrones quousque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat, nonnullos ex Sullanis coloniis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil relicui fecerat.<sup>35</sup>

29. Ea quom Ciceroni nuntiarentur, ancipiti malo per-  
motus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio lon-  
gius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus aut quo  
consilio foret satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum  
2 refert, iam antea vulgi rumoribus exagitata.<sup>36</sup> Itaque,  
quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit  
darent operam consules ne quid res publica detrimenti  
3 caperet. Ea potestas per senatum more Romano magistra-  
tui maxuma permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere,  
coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis, domi mili-  
tariaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere; aliter  
sine populi iussu nullius earum rerum consuli ius est.

<sup>35</sup> P<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>B<sup>1</sup>: fecerant *rell.*

<sup>36</sup> exagitatum *Cortius*

<sup>51</sup> The repetition of the word “meanwhile” (*interea*) from 27.2 signals the resumption of the narrative interrupted by the account of affairs in Rome introduced at 27.2. The context is now September/October 63. <sup>52</sup> Veterans of Sulla’s army who were settled on land in Etruria confiscated from the locals just mentioned who had supported Sulla’s opponents.

<sup>53</sup> The paradosis *exagitata* (modifying *rem* = the doings of the conspirators) necessitates the meaning “bandied about,” which is otherwise unattested in Classical Latin. The easy emendation *exagitatum*, would restore a more normal meaning (“disturbed” or “agitated”), making it modify *senatum*.

Meanwhile<sup>51</sup> Manlius in Etruria was rousing the common folk already eager for revolution as a result of poverty and resentment over wrongs, because during Sulla’s domination they had lost their lands and all their property. Manlius also incited robbers of every sort, of whom there was an abundance in that region, and some members of Sulla’s colonies<sup>52</sup> whose prodigal and luxurious style of living had reduced their great booty to nothing.

29. When these developments were reported to Cicero, he was greatly disturbed by the twofold peril, because he could no longer by his unofficial precautions protect the city against the plots, nor did he have sufficient intelligence as to the size and purpose of Manlius’s army; he, therefore, laid the matter before the senate, it having already been the subject of popular gossip.<sup>53</sup> Thereupon, as is generally done in a desperate situation, the senate decreed “that the consuls should see to it that the country suffer no harm.” That power is the greatest conferred by the senate upon a magistrate according to Roman usage, allowing him to raise an army, wage war, exert compulsion of all sorts upon allies and citizens, and exercise unlimited command and jurisdiction at home and in the field; otherwise the consul has no authority over such matters except by the order of the people.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup> This decree, known as the “ultimate decree” or SCU (*senatus consultum ultimum*)—first so called by Caesar (*BCiv.* 1.5.3)—served as a substitute for the earlier practice of appointing a dictator with broad powers to meet a grave emergency. According to Ascon. (p. 6C), it was passed in 63, eighteen days before Cicero’s *First Catilinarian* (probably of November 8: see 31.6n.): so on October 21 (a meeting attested by Cic. *Cat.* 1.7) or October 22 (by inclusive reckoning).

30. Post paucos dies L. Saenius senator in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Faesulis adlatas sibi dicebat, in quibus scriptum erat C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magna multitudo ante diem VI Kalendas Novembris. Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nuntiabant, alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri.

3 Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca missi—ei utriusque ad urbem imperatores erant, impediti ne triumpharent calumniis paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat—sed praetores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum, eisque permissum uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent. Ad hoc, si quis indicavisset de coniuratione, quae contra rem publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et sestertia centum, libero inopunitatem eius rei et sestertia ducenta [milia];<sup>37</sup> itemque decrevere

<sup>37</sup> *del. Carrio*

<sup>55</sup> Ca. October 29, 63 (it taking an estimated three days for news to travel the ca. 180 miles from Faesulae to Rome by way of the via Cassia: Cic. *Cat.* 2.15).

<sup>56</sup> This is the only fixed date given by Sallust in 63. Cic. (*Cat.* 1.7) claims that at a meeting of the senate on October 21 (the likely occasion of the passage of the SCU: see 29.3n.) he correctly predicted the uprising would begin on the 27th.

<sup>57</sup> The city of Capua in Campania was noted for its concentration of gladiators, who were mostly slaves from capture in war or mercenaries, and as such, were potential recruits to Catiline's cause (cf. 30.7; Cic. *Sest.* 9).

<sup>58</sup> The former (cos. 68) had waged war successfully in Cilicia in 67–66, while the latter (cos. 69) had won his surname by paci-

30. A few days later,<sup>55</sup> the senator Lucius Saenius read aloud in the senate a letter which he said had been brought to him from Faesulae, in which it was stated that Gaius Manlius had taken up arms with a large throng on the twenty-seventh day of October.<sup>56</sup> At the same time, as is usual in such a crisis, some people reported portents and prodigies, others that meetings were being held, weapons were being transported, and an insurrection of slaves was being set in motion at Capua<sup>57</sup> and in Apulia.

Therefore, by decree of the senate Quintus Marcius Rex was sent to Faesulae and Quintus Metellus Creticus to Apulia and round about that locale—both these generals were just outside Rome, being prevented from celebrating triumphs<sup>58</sup> by the obstruction of a few men, whose habit it was to sell for a price everything, honorable and dishonorable—praetors were sent, Quintus Pompeius Rufus to Capua, Quintus Metellus Celer to the Picene district, with permission to raise an army as befit the dangerous crisis. In addition, if anyone should give information concerning the plot which had been formed against the state, as a reward a slave was to have freedom and a hundred thousand sesterces, a free person immunity for complicity therein and two hundred thousand sesterces;<sup>59</sup> further, the senate decreed that bands of gladi-

fyng Crete and organizing it into a province. A victorious general could not enter Rome with his army and *imperium* intact to celebrate a triumph without authorization from the senate.

<sup>59</sup> 100,000 sesterces was the minimum property qualification for a citizen to be enrolled in the first census class, and under the empire, 400,000 sesterces was the minimum property for members of the equestrian order.

uti gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur pro quouisque opibus, Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur, eisque minores magistratus praeessent.

31. Quibus rebus permota civitas atque inmutata urbis facies erat. Ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna  
 2 quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit; festinare, trepidare, neque loco neque homini quoiquam satis credere, neque bellum gerere neque pacem habere, suo  
 3 quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, adflictae sese, manus supplices ad caelum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, rogitare omnia, <omni rumore> pavere, <adripere omnia><sup>38</sup> superbia atque deliciis omissis sibi patriaeque diffidere.
- 4 At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi praesidia parabantur et ipse legem Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. Postremo dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi, sicut iurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit.  
 6 Tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam eius timens sive ira conmotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem  
 7 rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed ubi ille

<sup>38</sup> omni rumore et adripere omnia *Fro. 101.13: om. ω*

<sup>60</sup> Magistrates below the rank of praetor (Gell. 13.15), especially the *tresviri capitales*, who were responsible for maintaining public order (Ascon. p. 37C) and oversaw the execution of criminals (55. 1). This last measure was probably adopted earlier, at the passage of the SCU on October 21 or 22 (see 29.3n.).

<sup>61</sup> This law covered acts of violence such as the unlawful use of a weapon or the occupation of public places with armed men.

tors were to be parceled out to Capua and the other Italian towns in keeping with the resources of each place; that at Rome watchmen were to be posted throughout the whole city and the lesser magistrates were to be in charge of them.<sup>60</sup>

31. These measures struck the community with terror, and the aspect of the City was changed. In place of extreme gaiety and frivolity, the fruit of long-continued peace, suddenly gloom descended on all. They hurried about, did not quite trust any place or any person, were neither waging war nor in possession of peace, they measured the perils, each by his own fear. The women, too, who experienced the terror of war, one unfamiliar to them owing to the magnitude of the nation, beat their breasts, raised suppliant hands to heaven, expressed pity for their little children, kept asking about everything, trembled at every rumor, eagerly grasped at every scrap of information, and throwing aside haughtiness and self-indulgence, despaired of themselves and of their native land.

But Catiline's pitiless heart kept setting in motion those same projects, even though defenses were being made ready, and he himself had been arraigned by Lucius Paulus under the Plautian law.<sup>61</sup> Finally, in order to conceal his designs or to clear himself, as though he had been provoked by abuse, Catiline came into the senate. Then the consul Marcus Tullius, either fearing his presence or roused by indignation, delivered a brilliant speech of great service to the state, which he later circulated in written

This is the earliest prosecution on record under the *lex Plautia*; it was used in 62 to charge Catiline's followers with complicity in the armed insurrection that had been crushed.

adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso voltu, voce supplicis postulare a<sup>39</sup> patribus coepit ne quid de se temere crederent; ea familia ortum, ita se ab adulescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet; ne existumarent sibi, patricio homini, quous ip-sius atque maiorum pluruma beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita re publica opus esse, quom eam ser-varet M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romae. Ad hoc  
8 maledicta alia quom adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem  
9 atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus "Quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, "ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam."<sup>40</sup>

32. Deinde se ex curia domum proripuit. Ibi multa ipse secum volvens, quod neque insidiae consuli procedebant et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augere ac, prius quam le-giones scriberentur, multa antecapere quae bello usui

<sup>39</sup> *Q. om. rell.*

<sup>40</sup> restinguam (-gam P)  $N^1D^2$  (cf. *Cic. Mur. 51; Flor. 2.12.7; Val. Max. 9.11.3*): restringam ACKH<sup>2</sup>: exstinguam BN<sup>2</sup>γ

<sup>62</sup> The *First Catilinarian*, delivered on November 8 (the meeting at Laeca's house on the night of November 6/7, see 27.3n., having taken place two nights before: *Cic. Cat. 1.1, 8*), or on November 7 (the date implied by *Plut. Cic. 16.3*; cf. *Cic. Cat. 2.12*).

<sup>63</sup> Lit. "a lodger in a house not his own": the haughty patrician, belonging to a centuries-old Roman family, alludes to Cicero's municipal origin from the town of Arpinum (some sixty miles southeast of Rome), which had enjoyed full Roman franchise only since 188.

<sup>64</sup> *Ruina* (demolition) refers to the practice of fighting an ur-

form.<sup>62</sup> When Cicero took his seat, Catiline, prepared as he was to conceal all his guilt, with downcast eyes and pleading voice began to beg the senators not to believe rashly anything concerning him; he was sprung from such a family, he said, and had so ordered his life from youth up, that he had nothing but the best prospects; they must not suppose that he, a patrician, who like his forefathers had rendered a great many good services to the commons of Rome, had any need for the overthrow of the government, while its savior was Marcus Tullius, a resident alien<sup>63</sup> in the city of Rome. Next, when he tried to add other insults on top of this, everyone raised an uproar, called him traitor and assassin. Then in a rage he said: "Inasmuch as I have been cornered and am being driven to desperation by my enemies, I shall put out the fire setting me with demolition."<sup>64</sup>

32. Then, he dashed out of the senate<sup>65</sup> to his house. There turning over in his mind many thoughts, given the fact that his plots against the consul were making no progress, and he perceived that the city had been fortified against arson by watchmen, believing the best course of action was to increase the size of his army and to secure in advance, before the legions were enrolled, many things

ban conflagration by demolishing structures in the fire's path. According to Cicero (*Mur. 51*), Catiline used this imagery in an angry retort to Cato before the consular elections in 63, when Cato was threatening him with prosecution.

<sup>65</sup> By a common metonymy, *curia* (meeting chamber of the senate) stands for the body itself, since on this occasion the meeting was held in the temple of Jupiter Stator, at the foot of the Palatine (*Cic. Cat. 2.12*), not in the Curia Hostilia in the Forum.

forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra  
 2 profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo ceterisque,  
 quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat quibus  
 rebus possent opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli  
 maturent, caedem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora parent:  
 sese propediem cum magno exercitu ad urbem adcessu-  
 rum.

3 Dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero  
 legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit cum mandatis huiusce  
 modi:

33. "Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma  
 neque contra patriam cepisse neque quo periculum alii  
 faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab iniuria tuta forent,  
 qui miseri, egentes violentia atque crudelitate faeneratorum  
 plerique patriae<sup>41</sup> sed omnes fama atque fortunis  
 expertes sumus. Neque quouiquam nostrum licuit more  
 maiorum lege uti neque amisso patrimonio liberum cor-  
 2 pus habere; tanta saevitia faeneratorum atque praetoris  
 fuit. Saepe maiores vestrum,<sup>42</sup> miseriti plebis Romanae,  
 decretis suis inopiae eius opitulati sunt, ac novissime  
 3 memoria nostra propter magnitudinem aeris alieni, volentibus  
 omnibus bonis, argentum aere solutum est. Saepe  
 ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota aut superbia

<sup>41</sup> patria VN<sup>2</sup>Kγ

<sup>42</sup> Gellius 20.6.14: vestri VP<sup>2</sup>A<sup>1</sup>F: nostri rell.

<sup>66</sup> In violation of the *lex Poetelia et Papiria* of 326, which curtailed imprisonment for debt.

<sup>67</sup> The urban praetor presided over suits involving debts.

<sup>68</sup> The *lex Valeria* of 86 permitted debts to be settled by payment of one-quarter of the remaining principle (Vell. Pat. 2.23.2),

which would be of use in war, he set out for the camp of Manlius with a few companions in the dead of night. However, he commissioned Cethegus, Lentulus, and the others whose reckless daring he knew to be ready for anything, to bolster the strength of their faction by whatever means they could, to hasten along the plots against the consul, to make ready murder, arson, and other deeds of war; as for himself, he would, he said, shortly draw near the City with a large army.

While this was going on at Rome, Gaius Manlius sent a delegation from the company of his men to Marcium Rex with a message of this sort:

33. "We call gods and men to witness, general, that we have taken up arms, not against our native land nor to bring danger upon others, but to protect our own persons from outrage; for wretched and destitute, thanks to the violent cruelty of moneylenders, a great many of us are deprived of our native land, but all are without repute as well as fortune. None of us has been allowed to avail ourselves of the law after the usage of our forefathers or to retain our personal liberty after being stripped of our patrimony,<sup>66</sup> such has been the inhumanity of moneylenders and the praetor.<sup>67</sup> Often your forefathers, taking pity on the Roman commons brought help to their helplessness by means of their decrees, and quite recently, within our own memory, because of the magnitude of debt, silver was paid in bronze with the consent of all men of substance.<sup>68</sup> Often the commons themselves, stirred by a desire to be in control or by the arrogance of the magistrates, have

hence bronze for silver since each silver sesterce equaled four bronze asses.

4 magistratuuum, armata a patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum causa bella  
 5 quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima simul amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus, legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis, neve nobis eam necessitudinem inponatis, ut quaeramus quonam modo maxime ulti sanguinem nostrum pereamus.”

34. Ad haec Q. Marcius respondit, si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices profiscantur; ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populi Romani semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit.

2 At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, praeterea optumo quoique litteras mittit: se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, Massiliam in exsilium proficisci, non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti res publica quieta foret neve ex sua contentione seditio oreretur.<sup>43</sup> Ab his longe divorsas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditas dicebat. Earum exemplum infra scriptum est.

35. “L. Catilina Q. Catulo. Egregia tua fides re cognita,

<sup>43</sup> PN<sup>1</sup>: oriretur *rell.* (*cf. Jug. 72.1*)

<sup>69</sup> As many as three separate secessions are credited with taking place when the commons (plebeians) protested against harsh economic conditions and the monopoly of power exercised by patricians: to the Mons Sacer (or Aventine) in 494, to the Aventine in 449, and to the Janiculum in 287.

<sup>70</sup> Catulus had defended Catiline when he was charged with

seceded under arms from the patricians.<sup>69</sup> But we are seeking neither power nor riches for the sake of which all wars and strife arise among mortals, but rather freedom, which no upstanding man gives up except together with his life. We implore you and the senate to take thought for your downtrodden countrymen, to restore the protection of the law, which has been snatched away by the praetor’s injustice, and not to impose upon us the necessity of seeking how most to avenge our blood in laying down our lives.”

34. To this appeal Quintus Mucius replied that if they wished to ask anything of the senate, let them lay down their arms and set out for Rome as suppliants; that the senate of the Roman people had always been so compassionate and merciful that no one ever sought assistance from it in vain.

But on his journey, Catiline sent letters to a great many of the ex-consuls and to all the most upstanding political figures, stating that inasmuch as he had been assailed by false accusations and unable to withstand the partisanship of his personal enemies, he was yielding to fortune and was setting out for exile at Massilia; not because he was complicit in such a dreadful crime, but in order that the state might be at peace and that no dissension might arise from a struggle on his part. A far different letter was read in the senate by Quintus Catulus, who said that it had been delivered to him in Catiline’s name. The following is a transcript of it:

35. “Lucius Catilina to Quintus Catulus. Your eminent good faith, known by experience<sup>70</sup> and pleasing to me in

having an affair with the Vestal priestess Fabia in 73 (Oros. 6.3.1); *cf.* 15.1 above.

grata mihi magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam commendationi meae tribuit. Quam ob rem defensionem in vobis consilio non statui parare; satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, quam me dius fidius veram licet cognoscas. Iniuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus statur dignitatis non optinebam, publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi, non quin<sup>44</sup> aes alienum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem<sup>45</sup>—et alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillae suis filiaeque copiis persolveret—sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam meque falsa suspitione alienatum esse sentiebam. Hoc nomine satis honestas pro meo casu spes relicuae dignitatis conservandae sum secutus. Plura quom scribere vellem, nuntiatum est vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei trado. Eam ab iniuria defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. Haveto.”

36. Sed ipse paucos dies conmoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Arretino,<sup>46</sup> dum vicinitatem antea sollicitam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperi insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Haec ubi Romae conperta sunt, senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostis iudi-

<sup>44</sup> VXX<sup>1</sup>D<sup>1</sup> quia B<sup>2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>N<sup>1</sup>K<sup>2</sup>HD<sup>2</sup>F: qui N<sup>2</sup>

<sup>45</sup> possem A<sup>1</sup>B<sup>2</sup>CD<sup>1</sup>F<sup>1</sup>: non possem, VPA<sup>2</sup>B<sup>1</sup>δHD<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup>

<sup>46</sup> A<sup>1</sup>: reatino (-inio P) rell.

<sup>71</sup> A deliberately vague expression, capable of being used to describe his voluntary withdrawal into exile (34.2) or his decision to join Manlius' forces at Faesulae (32.1, 36.1).

<sup>72</sup> See 24.2.

<sup>73</sup> Such trappings of proconsular *imperium* as the curule chair

my great peril, inspires me with confidence in my putting things into your hands. For that reason I have decided not to make a formal defense in adopting a novel course of action;<sup>71</sup> I have resolved out of no feeling of guilt to set forth an explanation which, so help me, you may perceive is valid. Provoked by wrongs and outrages, since I had been robbed of the fruits of my toil and exertion and was unable to maintain the position of my prestige, I took up the general cause of the unfortunate in keeping with my usual custom; not because I could not pay my personal debts from my own holdings (and the liberality of Orestilla, by means of her own and her daughter's resources, would have wiped out the obligations incurred through others<sup>72</sup>), but because I saw the unworthy elevated to public office and realized that I was an outcast because of baseless suspicion. On this account I have pursued honorable enough hopes of preserving my remaining prestige in view of my situation. Though I would like to write more, word has come that violence is being prepared against me. Now I commend and entrust Orestilla to your protection. Defend her from harm, I beseech you in the name of your own children. Farewell.”

36. Catiline himself, after spending a few days with Gaius Flaminius in the vicinity of Arretium, while he furnished arms to the populace, which had already been roused to revolt, hastened to join Manlius in his camp, taking with him the fasces and other emblems of authority.<sup>73</sup> When this became known at Rome, the senate pronounced Catiline and Manlius enemies of the state and set

of ivory and the general's cloak (*paludamentum*). On the *fasces*, see 18.5n.



cat, ceterae multitudini diem statuit ante quam sine fraude  
 liceret ab armis discedere, praeter rerum capitalium con-  
 demnatis. Praeterea decernit uti consules dilectum ha-  
 3 beant, Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet,  
 Cicero urbi praesidio sit.

4 Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo  
 maxime miserabile visum est. Quoi quom ad occasum ab  
 ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque  
 divitiae, quae prima mortales putant, adfluere, fuere  
 tamen cives qui seque remque publicam opstinatis animis  
 5 perditum irent. Namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta  
 multitudine neque praemio inductus coniurationem pate-  
 fecerat neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium dis-  
 cesserat; tanta vis morbi atque uti tabes plerosque civium  
 animos invaserat.

37. Neque solum illis aliena mens erat qui conscii con-  
 iurationis fuerant, sed omnino cuncta plebes novarum  
 2 rerum studio Catilinae incepta probabat. Id adeo more  
 3 suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate quibus opes  
 nullae sunt bonis invident, malos extollunt, vetera odere,  
 nova exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student;  
 turba atque seditioibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam eges-  
 4 tas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea vero  
 5 praeceps erat de multis causis. Primum omnium, qui  
 ubique probro atque petulantia maxime praestabant,

<sup>74</sup> Those of 30.6 and 36.2.

a date before which the rest of the throng might lay down  
 their arms and escape punishment, excepting those under  
 sentence for capital crimes. It was further decreed that the  
 consuls should raise a military force, that Antonius should  
 hasten to pursue Catiline with an army, while Cicero was  
 to watch over the City.

At that period the dominion of the Roman people, it  
 seems to me, was by far the most pitiable. Although the  
 whole world, from the rising to the setting of the sun, had  
 been subdued by arms and was obedient to Rome, al-  
 though at home there was peace and wealth, which mor-  
 tals deem the foremost blessings, nevertheless, there were  
 citizens who from sheer perversity set out to destroy them-  
 selves and the state. For in spite of the two senatorial  
 decrees<sup>74</sup> neither was anyone out of such a great throng  
 induced by a reward to betray the conspiracy, nor did a  
 single individual desert Catiline's camp; a disease of such  
 great intensity, and just like a plague, had infected the  
 minds of a great many of our countrymen.

37. This insanity was not just confined to those who  
 were privy to the plot, but the whole body of the commons  
 out of eagerness for change approved Catiline's undertak-  
 ings. This, indeed, they appeared to do according to their  
 usual custom; for in every community those who have no  
 wealth envy men of substance, exalt the disreputable, hate  
 the old, long for something new, and from hatred of their  
 own lot desire a general upheaval. Amid turmoil and re-  
 bellion they maintain themselves without concern, since  
 poverty is easily provided for and can suffer no loss. But  
 the city commons in particular was reckless for many rea-  
 sons. To begin with, men who were especially conspicuous  
 for their shamelessness and impudence, those too who

item alii<sup>47</sup> per dedecora patrimonii amissis, postremo omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, ei Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant. Deinde multi memores Sullanae victoriae, quod ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites ut regio victu atque cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis foret, ex victoria talia sperabat. Praeterea iuventus, quae in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerat. Eos atque alios omnium malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum est homines egentis, malis moribus, maxuma spe, rei publicae iuxta ac sibi consuluisse. Praeterea, quorum victoria Sullae parentes proscripti, bona erepta, ius libertatis inminutum erat, haud sane alio animo bellum eventum expectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque aliarum atque senatus partium erant conturbari rem publicam quam minus valere ipsi malebant. Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem revorterat.

38. Nam postquam Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus tribunicia potestas restituta est, homines adulescentes summam potestatem nacti, quibus aetas animus-

<sup>47</sup> A<sup>1</sup>, *Sacerd.* GL 6.446.4: alii qui *rell.*

<sup>75</sup> Lit. "freedom" (sc. to exercise their rights as citizens), since under Sulla's *lex Cornelia* of 82 the sons and grandsons of the proscribed were barred from holding public office.

<sup>76</sup> In 81, Sulla had stripped the ten annually-elected plebeian tribunes of their considerable power to operate independently of the senate's leadership by restricting their veto power and right to pass legislation and by barring tribunes from holding any fur-

had squandered their patrimony in disgraceful living, finally all whom disgrace or crime had driven from their homes, such men had all flowed into Rome as into a ship's bilge. Many, too, who recalled Sulla's victory, because they saw some common soldiers become senators, and others become so rich that they feasted and lived like kings, each hoped for like fruits of victory for himself, if he took up arms. Besides this, the young men who had maintained a wretched existence by manual labor in the country, tempted by private and public doles, had come to prefer idleness in the city to their disagreeable toil. These and all the others were nourished by the public disorder. And therefore it is not at all surprising that impoverished men of bad character and of unbounded hope, had as little respect for the republic as they did for themselves. Moreover, those to whom Sulla's victory had resulted in the proscription of their parents, the loss of property, and the curtailment of their rights,<sup>75</sup> looked forward in a similar spirit to the issue of a war. In addition, all who stood apart from partisans of the senate's leadership preferred to see general chaos than be less powerful themselves. Such an evil indeed had reappeared in the state after many years.<sup>76</sup>

38. For after the tribunician power had been restored in the consulship of Gnaeus Pompey and Marcus Crassus, young men, whose age and disposition made them aggressive, attained that very great power and thereupon began

ther, higher public office. The "evil" of ambitious politicians using that office as a weapon reappeared eleven years later, when in 70 (in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus: see 38.1) the powers of the tribunes were fully restored.

que ferox erat, coepere senatum criminando plebem  
 2 exagitare, dein largiundo atque pollicitando magis incen-  
 3 dere, ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa  
 ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas senatus specie pro sua  
 4 magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis verum absolvam, post  
 illa tempora quicumque rem publicam agitavere honestis  
 nominibus, alii sicuti populi iura defenderent, pars quo  
 5 senatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simu-  
 lantes pro sua quisque potentia certabant. Neque illis  
 modestia neque modus contentionis erat; utriusque victo-  
 riam crudeliter exercebant.

39. Sed postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritu-  
 2 mum atque Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes inminu-  
 tae, paucorum potentia crevit. Ei magistratus, provincias,  
 3 aliaque omnia tenere; ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu  
 aetatem agere, ceterosque iudiciis terrere, quo plebem in  
 4 magistratu placidius tractarent. Sed ubi primum dubiis  
 rebus novandi<sup>48</sup> spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos  
 5 eorum adrexit. Quod si primo proelio Catilina superior aut  
 aequa manu discessisset, profecto magna clades atque  
 calamitas rem publicam oppressisset; neque illis qui victo-  
 riam adepti forent diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis  
 et exanguibus qui plus posset imperium atque libertatem  
 extorqueret. Fuere tamen extra coniurationem complures

<sup>48</sup> Q<sup>1</sup>: novandis *rell*.

<sup>77</sup> Lit. "handle the commons more gently"; the meaning seems to be that tribunes were cowed by the threat of prosecution into pursuing a more moderate course of managing the *plebs*, one less hostile to senatorial interests and that of the governing clique.

to stir up the commons by criticizing the senate and then to inflame their passions still more by doles and promises, thus making themselves conspicuous and influential. Against these men the greater part of the nobles strove with all their might, ostensibly on behalf of the senate but really for their own aggrandizement. For, to tell the truth in a few words, after that time, whoever disturbed the state under the guise of honorable slogans—some as though defending the rights of the people, others so that the senate's influence might be dominant—under pretense of the public good, each in reality strove for his own influence. Such men showed neither self-restraint nor moderation in their strife; both parties used their victory ruthlessly.

39. However, after Gnaeus Pompey had been dispatched to wage war against the pirates and against Mithridates, the strength of the commons was lessened, while the power of the few increased. These held magistracies, provinces and everything else; being themselves secure against attack and prosperous, they lived without fear, and by means of the courts they terrified the others, so that the latter, while in office, might govern the commons more moderately.<sup>77</sup> But as soon hope of revolution was presented in a perilous state affairs, then the old contest aroused their passions once more. And if in the first battle Catiline had gained the upper hand or had merely held his own, great bloodshed and disaster would assuredly have overwhelmed the republic; nor would those who had obtained the victory have been permitted to enjoy their success any longer without someone more powerful snatching from them, worn out and exhausted, supreme power and with it their freedom. Even as it was, there were a great

qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt. In eis erat Fulvius senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere parens necari iussit.

6 Isdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat aut per se aut per alios sollicitabat, neque solum civis, sed quousque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret.

40. Igitur P. Umbreno quodam negotium dat uti legatos Allobrogum requirat eosque, si possit, inpellat ad societatem belli, existumans publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat atque eos noverat. Itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percontatus paucos de statu civitatis et quasi dolens eius casum, requirere coepit quem exitum tantis malis sperarent. Postquam illos videt queri de avaritia magistratum, accusare senatum quod in eo auxilii nihil esset, miseris suis remedium mortem expectare, "At ego," inquit, "vobis, si modo viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam qua tanta ista mala effugiatis."

4 Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maxumam spem adducti Umbrenum orare ut sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum

<sup>78</sup> The narrative now resumes after the digression introduced at 36.4.

<sup>79</sup> See 32.2.

<sup>80</sup> The *negotiatores* were involved in moneylending, tax collecting, and public contracts of all sorts in the province of Transalpine Gaul (cf. Cic. *Font.* 11).

many outside the conspiracy who went to join Catiline in the early stages. Among them was Fulvius, a senator's son, who was brought back from his journey and put to death by order of his father.

At this same time<sup>78</sup> in Rome Lentulus, just as he had been directed by Catiline,<sup>79</sup> was recruiting, either personally or through others, any whom he thought ripe for revolution by disposition or fortune—and not merely citizens, but men of every sort and kind, provided only that they might be of service in war.

40. Accordingly, he assigned to a certain Publius Umbrenus the task of seeking out the envoys of the Allobroges, and bringing them, if possible, into an alliance for making war, thinking that they could easily be led to such a course, since they were burdened with public and private debt, and besides the Gallic people is by nature prone to war. Because Umbrenus had engaged in business transactions in Gaul,<sup>80</sup> he was personally acquainted with most of the leading men of their states. Therefore, as soon as he caught sight of the envoys in the Forum, he at once asked them a few questions about the condition of their country, and pretending grief at its lot, began to inquire what outcome they were expecting for such great troubles. After he saw that they had complaints about the avarice of the magistrates, blamed the senate because no aid was to be found there, that they looked for death as the only remedy for their wretchedness, he said: "Yet, I myself shall show you a scheme which will enable you to escape those great evils of yours, if only you are willing to be real men."

When Umbrenus had said this, the Allobroges were filled with the greatest hope and begged him to take pity on them; nothing, they said, was so hard or so difficult that

neque tam difficile esse quod non cupidissime facturi  
 5 essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. Ille eos  
 in domum D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat  
 neque aliena consili propter Semproniam; nam tum Bru-  
 6 tus <ab> Roma<sup>49</sup> aberat. Praeterea Gabinium arcessit, quo  
 maior auctoritas sermoni inesset. Eo praesente coniura-  
 tionem aperit, nominat socios, praeterea multos quouis-  
 que generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset.  
 Deinde eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit.

41. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere quidnam  
 2 consili caperent. In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium  
 belli, magna merces in spe victoriae, at in altera maiores  
 3 opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa praemia. Haec  
 4 illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae. Itaque  
 Q. Fabio Sanga<sup>e</sup>, quouis patrocini civitas plurimum ute-  
 5 batur, rem omnem uti cognoverant aperiunt. Cicero, per  
 Sangam consilio cognito, legatis praecipit<sup>50</sup> ut studium  
 coniurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene  
 polliceantur, dentque operam uti eos quam maxime ma-  
 nifestos habeant.

<sup>49</sup> ab Roma B<sup>2</sup>D<sup>2</sup>, *Prob. GL 4.150.21, Serg. GL 4.511.30, Prisc. GL 3.66.15, Aud. GL 7.355.8: ab om. ω: Romae P*

<sup>50</sup> *corr. Linker: praecipit ω*

<sup>81</sup> Seeing that Gabinus was a member of the equestrian order.

<sup>82</sup> I.e., back to the place where they were lodging in Rome—the house of Sanga? (41.4)—not back to Gaul.

<sup>83</sup> That is, he looked after their interests in Rome. Most likely he inherited this role from a family connection to Quintus Fabius Maximus (cos. 121), who had won the surname “Allobrogicus” by reducing that people to submission.

they would not most eagerly perform it, provided the undertaking would free their country from debt. Umbrenus conducted them to the house of Decimus Brutus because it was near the Forum and not unsuitable for a conference because of Sempronia, and Brutus was absent from Rome at the time. He also sent for Gabinus so that the conversation might carry greater weight.<sup>81</sup> In his presence, Umbrenus disclosed the plot, named the participants, as well as many persons of every sort unconnected with the conspiracy in order to inspire the ambassadors with greater confidence. Then he sent them home<sup>82</sup> after they had promised their services.

41. Now the Allobroges for a long time were in doubt as to what course to adopt. On the one hand was their debt, their fondness for war, and substantial remuneration in their hope for victory; but on the other, were the greater resources of the Roman state, a safe course of action, and sure rewards in place of unsure hope. While they weighed these considerations, finally the fortune of the Republic prevailed. Accordingly, they divulged to Quintus Fabius Sanga, a chief patron of their nation,<sup>83</sup> the whole affair, just as it was known to them. Cicero, on being informed of the plan<sup>84</sup> through Sanga, instructed the envoys to make a great pretense of support for the conspiracy, approach the others,<sup>85</sup> make grand promises, and endeavor to bring the guilt of the conspirators out into the open to the greatest possible extent.

<sup>84</sup> Namely, the conspirators' plan of enlisting the aid of the Allobroges. He already knew of the conspiracy.

<sup>85</sup> Besides Umbrenus and Gabinus.

42. Isdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque  
 2 ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia motus erat.  
 Namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac  
 veluti per dementia cuncta simul agebant: nocturnis  
 consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festi-  
 3 nando, agitando omnia plus timoris quam periculi effece-  
 rant. Ex eo numero compluris Q. Metellus Celer praetor,  
 ex senatus consulto causa cognita, in vincula coniecerat;  
 item in citeriore Gallia C. Murena, qui ei provinciae lega-  
 tus praeerat.

43. At Romae Lentulus cum ceteris qui principes con-  
 iurationis erant, paratis ut videbatur magnis copiis, consti-  
 tuerant uti, quom Catilina in agrum †Faesulanum†<sup>51</sup> cum  
 exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis contione habita  
 2 quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis bellique gravissimi  
 invidiam optumo consuli inponeret; eo signo proxima  
 nocte cetera multitudo coniurationis suom quisque<sup>52</sup> ne-  
 gotium exequeretur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur:  
 Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul

<sup>51</sup> Aefulanum *Kunze*

<sup>52</sup> s: quoque A<sup>1</sup>; quemque N<sup>1</sup>: quaeque A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup> *rell.*

<sup>86</sup> Passed in October (30.5).

<sup>87</sup> An error (of Sallust or the MSS?); C. Murena was in charge of Farther Gaul (Cic. *Mur.* 89), while Metellus Celer most likely proceeded to Hither Gaul in October, after it had been allotted to him shortly before the consular elections in July 63 (Cic. *Fam.* 5.2[2].3-4).

<sup>88</sup> All MSS read *Faesulanum*, but the context demands a district near Rome, not Faesulae ca. 150 miles to the north, since conspirators planned for the uprising in Rome to begin when Catiline and his army had drawn *close* to the city (32.2, 43.2, 44.6; cf. Cic. *Cat.* 3.8). Read possibly *Aefulanum*, referring to the town

42. At about this same time there were disturbances in Hither and Farther Gaul, as well as in the Picene and Bruttian districts and in Apulia; for those whom Catiline had previously dispatched were doing everything simultaneously, rashly and just as if under the influence of madness: by their meetings at night, by their transportation of arms and weapons, and by their bustle and general activity they had caused more apprehension than actual danger. The praetor Quintus Metellus Celer had subjected quite a few of their number to judicial investigation in accordance with a decree of the senate<sup>86</sup> and put them in chains; and in Hither Gaul<sup>87</sup> the same was done by Gaius Murena, who was in charge of that province as a deputy.

43. At Rome, Lentulus and the other leaders of the conspiracy, having made ready a large force, as it appeared to them, had decided that when Catiline arrived with his army in the region of [Faesulae],<sup>88</sup> the plebeian tribune Lucius Bestia was to hold a public meeting<sup>89</sup> and complain about the conduct of Cicero and throw upon the most excellent consul the odium of a very grievous war; at that signal, the rest of the throng of conspirators was to carry out each his assigned task on the following night. Now the tasks were said to have been divided up in the following way: Statilius and Gabinius, with a large contingent, were

Aefula, situated on an elevation just south of Tibur and ca. fifteen miles east, northeast of Rome.

<sup>89</sup> Bestia, tr. pl. 62, entered office on December 10, 63, which will have been the earliest possible date for the planned meeting. Conceivably it was to have been held on December 16, the day preceding the festival of the Saturnalia, the date that is said to have been favored by Lentulus and some other conspirators for the bloodshed and fires in Rome (Cic. *Cat.* 3.10; cf. 3.17; Plut. *Cic.* 18.2).

opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilius aditus ad consulem ceterosque quibus insidiae parabantur fieret; Cethegus Ciceronis ianuam obsideret eumque vi adgrederetur; alius autem alium, sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentis interficerent; simul caede et incendio percussis omnibus ad Catilinam erumperent.

- 3 Inter haec parata atque decreta Cethegus semper que-  
rebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et dies prolata-  
tando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non con-  
sulto<sup>53</sup> in tali periculo opus esse, seque, si pauci adiuverent,  
4 languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura  
ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat; maxumum bonum  
in celeritate putabat.

44. Sed Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabi-  
nium ceteros conveniunt. Ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statio,  
item Cassio postulant ius iurandum, quod signatum ad  
civis perferant; aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium  
2 impelli posse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant; Cassius semet  
eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paulo ante legatos ex urbe  
3 proficiscitur. Lentulus cum eis T. Volturcium quendam  
Crotoniensem mittit, ut Allobroges, prius quam domum

<sup>53</sup>  $A^2\beta N^2KH^2D^2F$ : consultando  $aN^1H^1D^1$

<sup>90</sup> At *Cat.* 1.32, Cicero refers to an earlier occasion (October 21?) when the conspirators threatened violence outside the senate house.

<sup>91</sup> Not otherwise known. Judging from his name and role in the conspiracy, he is more likely to have been a native of Cortona (*Cortonensem*), an Etruscan town ca. fourteen miles south, southeast of Arretium, than of Croton (*Crotoniensem*), a Greek foundation on the "sole" of the Italian peninsula (Forsythe, "Municipal *Origo*," 407-12).

to set ablaze simultaneously twelve strategic points in the city so that in the ensuing confusion access might more easily be gained to the consul and the others against whom their plots were directed; Cethegus was to obstruct Cicero's door and attack him with force; others were to attack other victims, but sons belonging to families that were for the most part aristocratic were to kill their fathers; when everything had been thrown into confusion by the simultaneous bloodshed and arson, they were to rush out to join Catiline.

Amid these preparations and arrangements, Cethegus constantly complained about the inaction of his accomplices: that they were wasting great opportunities by indecision and delay; that in such a perilous situation there was need for action, not deliberation, and that if a few would give aid, he would storm the senate house,<sup>90</sup> even though the rest were fainthearted. By nature he was aggressive, violent, and prompt to act; he set the highest value upon speed.

44. Meanwhile, the Allobroges, in keeping with Cicero's instructions, approached the other conspirators through Gabinius as intermediary. They demanded of Lentulus, Cethegus, Statio, and likewise of Cassius a sealed oath to take back to their countrymen, saying that otherwise their countrymen could not readily be induced to embark upon so serious an enterprise. The others complied without the least suspicion; Cassius promised to come in person to Gaul shortly and left the City a little before the envoys. Lentulus sent with the Allobroges a certain Titus Volturcius<sup>91</sup> of Croton, so that before they

4 pergerent, cum Catilina data atque accepta fide societa-  
 4 tum confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat,  
 quarum exemplum infra scriptum est:

5 “Qui<sup>54</sup> sim ex eo quem ad te misi cognosces. Fac cog-  
 5 gites in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse.  
 Consideres quid tuae rationes postulent. Auxilium petas  
 ab omnibus, etiam ab infumis.”

6 Ad hoc mandata verbis dat: quom ab senatu hostis iudi-  
 catus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? In urbe parata  
 esse quae iusserit; ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere.

45. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua proficisce-  
 rentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta doctus L. Valerio  
 Flacco et C. Pomptino praetoribus imperat ut in ponte  
 Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant.  
 Rem omnem aperit quouis gratia mittebantur; cetera, uti  
 2 facto opus sit, ita agant permittit. Illi, homines militares,  
 sine tumultu praesidiis conlocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat,  
 3 occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum  
 Volturcio venerunt et simul utrimque clamor exortus est,  
 Galli cito cognito consilio sine mora praetoribus se tra-

<sup>54</sup> quis CQN (ex Cic. Cat. 3.12)

<sup>92</sup> Cic. Cat. 3.12 preserves a very similar but less polished  
 (hence presumably verbatim) version of Lentulus' letter.

<sup>93</sup> Lit. “how/in what a condition I am”; *qui* = *qualis* (OLD s.v.  
*qui*<sup>1</sup> A.2), not *quis*, “who am I,” since the letter was in Lentulus’  
 handwriting and bore his familiar family seal (Cic. Cat. 3.10),  
 thereby making it possible for Catiline to know *who* the writer  
 was.

<sup>94</sup> The absence of an addressee and the vague language (“low-  
 liest” in place of “slaves”) gave Lentulus cover, in case the letter  
 was intercepted. He could argue that it was not incriminating.

returned home they might confirm the alliance by ex-  
 changing pledges of fidelity with Catiline. Lentulus gave  
 Volturcius a letter for Catiline, of which the following is a  
 transcript:<sup>92</sup>

“My present situation<sup>93</sup> you will learn from the person  
 I have sent you. See to it that you bear in mind in what a  
 desperate situation you are, and remember that you are  
 indeed a man. Consider what your interests demand; seek  
 help from all, even the lowliest.”<sup>94</sup>

In addition, he gave a message for oral delivery: what  
 was his reason for rejecting slaves as recruits seeing that  
 he had been declared an outlaw by the senate? That the  
 preparations he had ordered had been made in the City;  
 that he himself should not hesitate to draw nearer.

45. When these arrangements had been made in this  
 manner and the night for their departure appointed, Cic-  
 ero (having been informed of everything through the en-  
 voys) ordered the praetors Lucius Valerius Flaccus and  
 Gaius Pomptinus to arrest the entourage of the Allobroges  
 on the Mulvian Bridge<sup>95</sup> by means of an ambush. He fully  
 explained why they were being sent; as to the rest, he left  
 it up to them to carry out the operation according to what  
 action was needed. They, being experienced military men,  
 after posting guards without any disturbance, just as they  
 had been ordered, secretly invested the bridge. After the  
 envoys reached that spot with Volturcius and an uproar  
 arose simultaneously at both ends of the bridge, the Gauls  
 quickly realized the intention and surrendered to the

<sup>95</sup> Approximately 2.5 miles north of the Forum, carrying the  
 via Flaminia across the Tiber.



4 dunt. Volturcius primo cohortatus ceteros gladio se a multitudine defendit, deinde, ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus ac vitae diffidens velut hostibus sese praetoribus dedit.

46. Quibus rebus confectis omnia prope per nuntios  
 2 consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere. Nam laetabatur intellegens coniuratione patefacta civitatem periculum ereptam esse; porro autem anxius erat, dubitans in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset; poenam illorum sibi oneri, inpunitatem perdundae rei publicae fore credebat.  
 3 Igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese iubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, itemque Caeparium Tarracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt; Caeparius, paulo  
 4 ante domo egressus, cognito indicio ex urbe profugerat.  
 5 Consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens in senatum perducit; relicuos cum custodibus in aedem  
 6 Concordiae venire iubet. Eo senatum advocat magnaue frequentia eius ordinis Volturcium cum legatis introducit; Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre iubet.

<sup>96</sup> The senate met in this temple, situated at the northeast corner of the Forum, at the foot of the Capitoline, on this occasion (December 3) and on the following two days.

<sup>97</sup> Sallust contradicts Cicero (*Cat.* 3.8), who states that Gauls were brought before the senate later, after Volturcius.

praetors without delay. Volturcius at first urged on his companions and with his sword defended himself against the throng; then, when he was deserted by the envoys, he made many appeals to Pomptinus concerning his safety, because they were acquainted, and finally in fear and despair of his life surrendered to the praetors, as if to foreign enemies.

46. After this operation had been carried out, the details were quickly communicated to the consul by messengers. But he was seized simultaneously by enormous anxiety and joy. For he rejoiced in the knowledge that the disclosure of the plot had snatched the community from peril; on the other hand, he was troubled, being uncertain concerning what ought to be done now that citizens of such high standing had been caught in a most serious crime. He believed that their punishment would produce trouble for him personally, that failure to punish them would be ruinous to the state. Therefore, steeling his resolution, he ordered Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius to be brought to him, as well as a certain Caeparius of Tarracina, who was getting ready to leave for Apulia to rouse the slaves. The others came without delay; Caeparius, who had left his home a little earlier and learned of the disclosure of the plot had escaped from the city. The consul himself led Lentulus into the senate because he was a praetor, grasping him with his hand; he ordered the rest to come into the Temple of Concord<sup>96</sup> in the custody of guards. He summoned the senate to that place, and when it had assembled in a full meeting, he brought in Volturcius together with the envoys;<sup>97</sup> he ordered the praetor Flaccus to bring to the same place the letter case together with the letters which he had taken from the envoys.

47. Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid aut qua de causa consili habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare de coniuratione; post ubi fide publica dicere iussus est, omnia uti gesta erant aperit docetque se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Caepario socium adscitum nihil amplius scire quam legatos; tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio P. Autronium, Ser. Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea coniuratione esse. Eadem Galli fatentur ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt praeter litteras sermonibus quos ille habere solitus erat: ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romae tribus Cornelii portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse quoi fatum foret urbis potiri; praeterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore.
- 2 Igitur perlectis litteris, quom prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit uti abdicato magistratu
- 3 Lentulus itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis habeantur. Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat,

<sup>98</sup> The official collection of Sibylline oracles was kept in the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter and consulted only by order of the senate. Rumor sometimes spread concerning the content of a given pronouncement (e.g., in 44 that the Parthians could be conquered only by a "king," Suet. *Iul.* 79.3). In addition various unofficial collections were in private circulation, and it may have been to these that Lentulus made reference.

<sup>99</sup> The Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was destroyed by a fire (cause unknown) on July 6, 83 (Plut. *Sull.* 27.6; cf. Cic. *Cat.* 3.9), the first year of the civil war precipitated by Sulla's return to Italy after concluding the war against Mithridates in the East.

47. When Volturcius was questioned about his journey, about the letters, and finally about what was his aim and motive, he at first invented lies and concealed his knowledge of the conspiracy; afterward, when he had been ordered to speak under an official pledge of immunity, he revealed everything just as it had been carried out; he informed them that he had been admitted as a confederate a few days before by Gabinus and Caeparius, that he knew no more than the envoys, except that he had been accustomed to hear from Gabinus that Publius Autronius, Servius Sulla, Lucius Vargunteius, and many besides were involved in the plot. The Gauls made the same admissions, and when Lentulus tried to conceal his involvement, they proved him guilty (in addition to the evidence of his letter) by means of oral remarks which he had been in the habit of making, to the effect that according to the Sibylline books,<sup>98</sup> sovereignty over Rome was portended for three Cornelii; that there had already been Cinna and Sulla, and that he was the third who was destined to gain control of the City; furthermore, that reckoning from the burning of the Capitol,<sup>99</sup> this was the twentieth year, which according to portents the soothsayers had often declared would be bloody as a result of civil war.

Therefore, after the letters had been read aloud (when all individuals had first acknowledged their own seals), the senate voted that Lentulus, after he had resigned his office, and likewise the rest were to be held in the custody of guardians.<sup>100</sup> Accordingly, Lentulus was delivered to Publius Lentulus Spinther, who at the time was an aedile,

<sup>100</sup> In such cases, the person to whom each accused was entrusted became responsible for his appearance at a later date.

Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Caeparius—nam is paulo ante ex fuga retractus erat—Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

48. Interea plebs, coniuratione patefacta, quae primo cupida rerum novarum nimis bello favebat, mutata mente Catilinae consilia execrari, Ciceronem ad caelum tollere; veluti ex servitute erepta gaudium atque laetitiam agitabat. Namque alia belli facinora praedae magis quam detrimento fore, incendium vero crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxime calamitosum putabat, quippe quoi omnes copiae in usu cotidiano et cultu corporis erant.

3 Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere  
4 retractum aiebant. Is quom se diceret indicaturum de coniuratione si fides publica data esset, iussus a consule quae sciret edicere, eadem fere quae Volturcius de paratis incendiis, de caede bonorum, de itinere hostium senatum docet; praeterea se missum a M. Crasso qui Catilinae nuntiaret ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliique ex coniuratione deprehensi terrerent, eoque magis properaret ad urbem adcedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur.

5 Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem maxumis divitiis, summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars tametsi verum existumabant, tamen quia

<sup>101</sup> December 4.

<sup>102</sup> Nothing further is known about him.

Cethegus to Quintus Cornificius, Statilius to Gaius Caesar, Gabinius to Marcus Crassus, and Caeparius—for at little earlier he had been dragged back from flight—to Gnaeus Terentius, a senator.

48. Meanwhile, after the disclosure of the plot, the commons, who at first out of their eagerness for revolution were all too supportive of war, changed their mind and denounced the designs of Catiline, while they extolled Cicero to the sky; they displayed joy and exultation, just as if they had been rescued from slavery. For while they thought that other acts of war would serve more as a source of booty than loss, they regarded arson as cruel, monstrous, and especially calamitous to themselves, since all their resources consisted of articles for everyday use and clothing.

On the following day,<sup>101</sup> there had been brought before the senate one Lucius Tarquinius,<sup>102</sup> who was said to have been dragged back from his journey as he was setting out for Catiline. When he said that he would disclose information concerning the conspiracy if he were given a formal pledge of immunity, upon being ordered by the consul to declare what he knew, he gave the senate practically the same account as Volturcius about the intended fires, the murder of loyal citizens, and the movement of the enemy; he added that he had been sent by Marcus Crassus to direct Catiline not to be alarmed by the arrest of Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other conspirators, but to hasten all the more to draw near the City, both so as to revive the spirits of the rest and so that those in custody might more easily be snatched from danger.

But when Tarquinius named Crassus, a noble of tremendous wealth and extraordinary power, a cry arose that the informer was a liar and the demand was made for the

in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant indicem falsum esse, deque ea re postulant uti referatur. Itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit Tarquini indicium falsum videri eumque in vinculis retinendum, neque amplius potestatem faciendam, nisi de eo indicaret quous consilio tantam rem esset mentitus. Erant eo tempore qui existumarent indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum quo facilius, appellato Crasso, per societatem periculi relicuos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone inmissum aiebant, ne Crassus more suo suscepto malorum patrocinio rem publicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem audivi tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone inpositam.

49. Sed isdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque precibus neque gratia neque pretio Ciceronem impellere potuere uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem C. Caesar falso nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant; Piso oppugnatus in iudicio pecuniarum repetundarum propter quousdam Transpadani supplicium iniustum, Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus,

<sup>103</sup> Crassus is said to have taken the cases of clients whom Pompey, Caesar, and Cicero turned down (Plut. *Crass.* 3.2).

<sup>104</sup> Since 89, natives of Cisalpine Gaul who lived south of the Po had enjoyed full Roman citizenship (and so protection from magisterial punishment), whereas most residents to the north possessed the more limited rights of Latin status. Previously, in 68, Caesar made known his support for the aspirations of the Transpadanes to achieve full franchise (Suet. *Iul.* 8), and his prosecution of Piso (cos. 67: governor of Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul 66–65) in 63 helped advertise his sympathy for their cause. Piso was successfully defended by Cicero (*Flacc.* 98).

matter to be laid before the senate—some raising their voices because they thought the whole thing incredible, others because it seemed best in such a crisis for so powerful a man to be conciliated rather than provoked (quite a few being under obligation to Crassus as a result of private business relations), even though they believed Tarquinius' allegation to be true. Accordingly, upon Cicero putting the question, a full senate voted that the disclosure of Tarquinius in their view was false; that he should be kept in bonds and given no further opportunity to testify unless he revealed the identity of the man at whose instigation he had concocted such a monstrous lie. (At the time, some believed that that disclosure had been contrived by Publius Autronius so that once Crassus was named as an accessory, his influence might shield the rest through his involvement in the danger. Others declared that Tarquinius had been instigated by Cicero so that Crassus might not take up the protection of evildoers after his usual custom,<sup>103</sup> and throw the nation into confusion. I personally heard Crassus himself assert afterward that that grave and shameful allegation had been inflicted upon him by Cicero.)

49. Now at that same time neither by means of entreaties nor personal influence nor a bribe were Quintus Catulus and Gaius Piso able to induce Cicero to have a false accusation brought against Gaius Caesar, either through the Allobroges or some other informer. For both these men were at bitter enmity with Caesar: Piso because he had been prosecuted for extortion on account of the unjust punishment of a resident living in Cisalpine Gaul north of the Po;<sup>104</sup> Catulus' enmity arose from his candidacy for the

3 quod extrema aetate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab adules-  
centulo Caesare victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna  
videbatur, quod is privatim egregia liberalitate, publice  
4 maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi  
consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi sin-  
gillatim circumeundo atque ementiundo quae se ex Vol-  
turcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invi-  
diam conflaverant, usque eo ut nonnulli equites Romani,  
qui praesidi causa cum telis erant circum aedem Concor-  
diae, seu periculi magnitudine seu animi mobilitate in-  
pulsu, quo studium suum in rem publicam clarius esset,  
egredienti ex senatu Caesari gladio minitarentur.

50. Dum haec in senatu aguntur et dum legatis Allo-  
brogum et T. Volturcio, conprobato eorum indicio, prae-  
mia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli di-  
vorsis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum  
eripiundum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces mul-  
titudinum, qui pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant.  
2 Cethegus autem per nuntios familiam atque libertos suos,

<sup>105</sup> In 63 (or 64?), Caesar employed massive bribery to defeat his two chief rivals for election to the lifetime office of chief priest (*pontifex maximus*), Catulus (cos. 78) and P. Servilius Isauricus (cos. 79), men more than twenty years his senior (Plut. *Caes.* 7.1–3; Suet. *Iul.* 13).

<sup>106</sup> A reference especially to the extremely lavish public games sponsored by Caesar as aedile in 65 (Suet. *Iul.* 10.1; Plut. *Caes.* 5.5).

<sup>107</sup> This incident occurred on December 5, after Caesar had stirred up enmity by arguing unsuccessfully against the death penalty along the lines reported in ch. 51 (cf. Plut. *Caes.* 8.2; Suet. *Iul.* 14.2).

pontificate, because he, a man of advanced years and having held the highest offices ended up being defeated by Caesar, a mere youth.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, circumstances seemed favorable, because Caesar was heavily in debt on account of his eminent generosity in private life and lavish entertainments when in office.<sup>106</sup> But when they were not able to induce the consul to such an outrageous deed, they themselves, by going around individually and making up false reports of what they said they had heard from Volturcius or the Allobroges, stirred up great hostility against Caesar to such an extent that some Roman knights, who were stationed as an armed guard around the temple of Concord, roused either by the magnitude of the danger or by their own excitability, threatened Caesar with their swords when he was exiting the senate, so that their devotion to their country might be all the more manifest.<sup>107</sup>

50. While these matters were being dealt with in the senate,<sup>108</sup> and while rewards were being voted to the envoys of the Allobroges and to Titus Volturcius upon the certification of their testimony,<sup>109</sup> Lentulus' freedmen and a few of his dependants, taking different routes, tried to rouse workmen and slaves in the neighborhoods of Rome to rescue him from custody, while others sought out leaders of mobs who had made it a practice to cause public disturbances for a price. Moreover, through messengers Cethegus exhorted his slaves and freedmen, picked and

<sup>108</sup> The narrative of the senate's meeting on December 4 now resumes after the digression introduced at 48.7.

<sup>109</sup> Rewards were approved at the meeting on December 4 (Cic. *Cat.* 4.5; cf. 4.10).

lectos et exercitatos, orabat in audaciam,<sup>55</sup> ut grege facto cum telis ad sese inrumperent.

- 3 Consul ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu, refert quid de eis fieri placeat qui in custodiam traditi erant. (Sed eos paulo ante frequens senatus iudicaverat contra rem publicam fecisse.) Tum D. Iunius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de eis qui in custodiis tenebantur et praeterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumundum decreverat; isque postea permotus oratione C. Caesaris pedibus in sententiam Ti. Neronis iturum se dixerat,<sup>56</sup> qui<sup>57</sup> de ea re praesidiis additis referendum censuerat. Sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule huiusce modi verba locutus est.

<sup>55</sup> in audaciam *del. Dietsch, post exercitatos transp. s*  
<sup>56</sup> dixit *Bussman et Roscher*      <sup>57</sup> *AF<sup>2</sup>: quod rell.*

<sup>110</sup> At the meeting on December 3 (46.5-47) or December 4 (48.3-6). <sup>111</sup> *Supplicium* can mean "punishment" or "capital punishment" (with *summum* understood or expressed as at 51.39). Later in the debate, Silanus took advantage of this inherent ambiguity to soften his recommendation, after Caesar's speech (ch. 51) caused a shift in the mood of the senate (Plut. *Cic.* 21.3, *Cat. Min.* 22.3; Suet. *Iul.* 14.1) <sup>112</sup> First mentioned here. Cicero (*Cat.* 3.14) identifies him as a colonist settled by Sulla at Faesulae. <sup>113</sup> The plupf. "had said" (*dixerat*) is somewhat unexpected and is altered to *dixit* in the Teubner and OCT. Woodman in his Penguin translation implausibly interprets *dixerat* as referring to an earlier, otherwise unattested debate at which Caesar spoke. The difficulty disappears if the plupf. is intended to convey the meaning that Silanus "had said" *after* Cae-

trained men, to be bold, to get a band together and force their way in to him with weapons.

When the consul learned that these preparations were being made—after posting guards as the circumstances and time dictated—he convened the senate and put the question what action they recommended to be taken with the men who had been delivered into custody. (Yet shortly before,<sup>110</sup> a full meeting of the senate had decided that those men had committed treason). On the present occasion, Decimus Junius Silanus, being the first to be called upon for his opinion because he was consul-elect, had recommended that punishment<sup>111</sup> be exacted from those who were being held in custody, as well as from Lucius Cassius, Publius Furius,<sup>112</sup> Publius Umbrenus, and Quintus Annius if they were apprehended; later, influenced by the speech of Gaius Caesar, he had said<sup>113</sup> that he would support the proposal of Tiberius Nero,<sup>114</sup> who had recommended that the question be reopened after an augmentation of the guards.<sup>115</sup> But Caesar, when his turn came and the consul asked him for his opinion, spoke in the following manner:

sar's speech, but *before* the final vote (*discessio*) of the senate (53.1), that he was planning to support Nero's proposal. This interpretation of the plupf. finds support in Sallust's use of this tense in narratives elsewhere: e.g., 18.6, 24.1; *Jug.* 39.3.

<sup>114</sup> The expression for support (*pedibus ire in sententiam alicuius*) literally means to draw near the proposer. Nero an ex-praetor(?) in 63 and grandfather of the future emperor Tiberius, will have spoken after Caesar (a praetor-designate in 63).

<sup>115</sup> I.e., those mentioned at 50.3, who had been posted by Cicero to thwart any attempt to rescue the conspirators from house arrest.

51. "Omnis homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet ubi illa officiant, neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul et usui paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet; si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia est memorandi, patres conscripti, qui reges atque populi ira aut misericordia impulsu male consuluerint. Sed ea malo dicere quae maiores nostri contra lubidinem animi sui recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas magna atque magnifica, quae populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque advorsa nobis fuit. Sed postquam bello confecto de Rhodiis consultum est, maiores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis quam iniuriae causa bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos eos dimisere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, quom saepe Carthaginienses et in pace et per inducias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere; magis, quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illos iure fieri posset quaerebant. Hoc item vobis providendum est, patres conscripti, ne plus apud vos valeat P.

<sup>116</sup> In the year preceding Rome's victory in the Third Macedonian War (171-168), the Rhodians, whose maritime trade was suffering from disruption by the war, sent ambassadors to King Perses and to Rome to demand that the two sides settle their dispute, threatening to declare war on whichever side refused (Livy 44.14.8-13).

<sup>117</sup> The elder Cato, in a speech in 167, fragments of which are preserved (Cell. 6. 3), persuaded the Romans not to declare war on the Rhodians. The Rhodians, however, were stripped of their possessions on the mainland of southwest Asia Minor, and their

51. "Members of the Senate, all men who deliberate upon difficult questions had best be devoid of hatred, friendship, anger and pity. When those feelings stand in the way, the mind cannot at all easily discern the truth, and no one has ever served at the same time his passions and his best interests. When you apply your intellect, it prevails; if passion takes control, it is master, whereas the mind is entirely impotent. I can mention, Members of the Senate, plenty of examples of kings and nations who made bad decisions under the influence of wrath or pity. But I prefer to speak of those deeds which our forefathers did properly and in due order contrary to the impulse of passion. In the Macedonian war, which we waged with King Perses, the great and glorious community of the Rhodians, which had flourished thanks to the support of the Roman people, was unfaithful and opposed to us.<sup>116</sup> But after the war was over and the question of the Rhodians was discussed, our ancestors let them go unpunished so that no one might say that war had been undertaken more because of the wealth of the Rhodians than their misconduct.<sup>117</sup> So, too, in all the Punic wars,<sup>118</sup> although the Carthaginians both in peacetime and during truces had often done many abominable deeds, our ancestors never did likewise when they had the opportunity, but they took into consideration what conduct would be consistent with their dignity rather than what action could be justified against the Carthaginians. You likewise, Members of the Senate, must see to it that the villainy of Publius Lentulus and the

trade was crippled when Rome elevated the island of Delos to a duty-free port.

<sup>118</sup> Three in number: 264-241, 218-201, and 149-146.

8 Lentuli et ceterorum scelus quam vostra dignitas, neu  
 magis irae vestrae quam fama consulatus. Nam si digna  
 poena pro factis eorum reperitur, novom consilium ad-  
 probo; sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exuperat,  
 eis utendum censeo quae legibus comparata sunt.

9 "Plerique eorum qui ante me sententias dixerunt  
 compositae atque magnifice casum rei publicae miserati  
 sunt. Quae belli saevitia esset, quae victis acciderent,  
 enumeravere; rapti virgines pueros, divelli liberos a paren-  
 tum complexu, matres familiarum pati quae victoribus  
 conlubuissent,<sup>58</sup> fana atque domos spoliari, caedem, in-  
 cendia fieri, postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque  
 10 luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis, quo illa  
 oratio pertinuit? An uti vos infestos coniurationi faceret?  
 Scilicet, quem res tanta et tam atrox non permovet, eum  
 11 oratio accendit.<sup>59</sup> Non ita est, neque quocumque morta-  
 lium iniuriae suae parvae videntur; multi eas gravius ae-  
 12 quo habuere. Sed alia aliis licentia est, patres conscripti.  
 Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent si quid iracundia  
 deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna eorum pares  
 sunt: qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt,  
 13 eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxuma for-  
 tuna minuma licentia est. Neque studere neque odisse,  
 14 sed minime irasci decet. Quae apud alios iracundia dicitur,  
 ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur.  
 15 Equidem ego sic existumo, patres conscripti, omnis cru-  
 ciatius minores quam facinora illorum esse. Sed plerique

<sup>58</sup> collubuisset *P*<sup>2</sup>, *Aug. Civ. 1.5*

<sup>59</sup> accendit, *VA*<sup>2</sup>*C*<sup>1</sup>

rest does not have more weight with you than your own dignity, and that you do not take more thought for your anger than for your good name. For if a punishment commensurate with their deeds is discovered, I approve a departure from precedent; but if the enormity of their villainy surpasses all men's ingenuity, I advise applying such penalties as have been established by law.

"Most of those who have expressed their opinions before me have deplored the lot of the nation in well-structured, grand language; they recounted the horrors of war, the wretched fate of the conquered, the rape of maidens and boys, children torn from their parents' arms, matrons subjected to the will of the victors, shrines and houses pillaged, bloodshed and acts of arson; in short, everywhere arms and corpses, gore and lamentation. But, by the immortal gods! what was the aim of that eloquence? Was it to make you detest the conspiracy? No doubt a man who has not been disturbed deeply by a crime so monstrous and so cruel will be fired by a speech! Certainly not; no mortal views his own wrongs as trivial; many resent them more than is just. But not all men, Members of the Senate, have the same freedom of action. If unimportant persons, who pass their lives in obscurity, commit any offense out of anger, few know about it; their fame and fortune are alike. But the actions of those who hold great power and pass their lives in a lofty station are known to all mortals. So there is the least freedom of action for those in the highest position. There neither partiality nor dislike is proper, but anger least of all; for that which in others is called wrath is termed haughtiness and cruelty in persons having power. For my own part, Members of the Senate, I consider all tortures too small for the crimes of those



mortales postrema meminere, et in hominibus inpiis sceleris eorum obliti de poena disserunt, si ea paulo severior<sup>60</sup> fuit.

- 16 "D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuom, certo<sup>61</sup>  
scio quae dixerit studio rei publicae dixisse, neque illum  
17 in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere; eos mores  
eamque modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia eius  
18 mihi non crudelis—quid enim in talis homines crudele  
fieri potest?—sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur. Nam  
19 profecto aut metus aut iniuria te subegit, Silane, consulem  
designatum genus poenae novom decernere. De timore  
supervacuaneum<sup>62</sup> est disserere, quom praesertim dili-  
gentia clarissimi viri consulis tanta praesidia sint in armis.  
20 De poena possum equidem dicere, id quod res habet, in  
luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non  
21 cruciatum esse, eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere,  
ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. "Sed, per  
22 deos immortalis, quam ob rem in sententiam non addidisti  
uti prius verberibus in eos animadvorteretur? An quia lex  
Porcia vetat? At aliae leges item condemnatis civibus non  
23 animam eripi sed exsilium permitti iubent. An quia gravius  
est verberari quam necari? Quid autem acerbum aut nimis  
24 grave est in homines tanti facinoris convictos? Sin quia

<sup>60</sup> *VAC*<sup>1</sup>*N*: saevior *rell*.

<sup>61</sup> certe *BKγ*

<sup>62</sup> *VaC*<sup>1</sup>*K* supervacuaneum *BC*<sup>2</sup>*Ne*: -vacuum *H*

<sup>119</sup> There were three laws of that name enacted early in the second century BC. The exact provisions of each are unknown, but they restricted the right of magistrates to scourge or execute a Roman citizen without first allowing an appeal to the assembly.

men; but most mortals remember the recent past, and in the case of godless men forget their guilt and talk about their punishment, if it was a bit more harsh.

"I am certain that Decimus Silanus, a gallant and dedicated man, said what he has said out of patriotism and showed neither favor nor enmity in a matter of such importance; such I know is the man's character and such his moderation. Yet his proposal seems to me, I will not say cruel—for what measure against such men can be characterized as cruel?—but contrary to the best interests of our country. For surely, Silanus, it was either fear or the gravity of the offense which impelled you, a consul elect, to advocate a novel form of punishment. About fear it is needless to speak, especially since, thanks to the precautions of our distinguished consul, we have such strong guards under arms. Concerning the penalty, I can indeed say, in keeping with the facts of the matter, that amid grief and wretchedness death is a relief from woes, not torment; that it puts an end to all mortal ills and leaves no room either for anxiety or for joy. But, by the immortal gods! why did you not, Silanus, add to your recommendation that they first be scourged? Was it because the Porcian law<sup>119</sup> forbids? Yes, but there are other laws<sup>120</sup> too which provide that Roman citizens, even when found guilty, shall not lose their lives, but shall be permitted to go into exile. Was it because it is more grievous to be scourged than to be put to death? But what punishment is cruel or too grievous for men convicted of so great a crime? If, how-

<sup>120</sup> E.g., the lex Sempronia of Gaius Gracchus in 123, which, it appears, was cited by Caesar in his actual speech (*Cic. Cat.* 4.10).

levius est, qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere, quom eam in maiore neglexeris.<sup>63</sup>

25 "At enim quis reprehendet quod in parricidas rei publica  
 26 decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, quouis lubido  
 27 gentibus moderatur. Illis merito addidet quicquid evene-  
 28 rit; ceterum vos, patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis  
 29 considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex rebus bonis orta  
 30 sunt; sed ubi imperium ad ignaros eius aut minus bonos  
 31 pervenit, novom illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad  
 32 indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedaemonii devic-  
 33 tis Atheniensibus triginta viros inposuere qui rem publi-  
 34 cam eorum tractarent. Ei primo coepere pessimum  
 35 quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare. Ea  
 36 populus laetari et merito dicere fieri. Post ubi paulatim  
 37 licentia crevit, iuxta bonos et malos lubricose interficere,  
 38 ceteros metu terrere; ita civitas servitute oppressa stultae  
 39 laetitiae gravis poenas dedit. Nostra memoria victor Sulla  
 40 quom Damasippum et alios eius modi, qui malo rei publica  
 41 creverant, iugulari iussit, quis non factum eius lauda-  
 42 bat? Homines scelestos et factiosos, qui seditionibus rem

<sup>63</sup> P: *neglexeris rell.* (cf. *Jug.* 40.1)

<sup>121</sup> At the close of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC), in the late summer of 404, the Spartans suspended Athens' democratic government and installed a board of thirty, pro-Spartan regents, who came to be known as the "Thirty Tyrants." They were expelled and the democracy was restored after the lapse of approximately one year.

<sup>122</sup> A praetor in 82 who was executed by Sulla after his capture of Rome in retaliation for Damasippus' role in putting to death suspected Sullan sympathizers earlier in the year.

ever, it was because scourging is too light a punishment, how is it consistent is to respect the law in a lesser matter when you have disregarded it in a greater one?

"But, you may say, who will complain of a decree which is passed against traitors to their country? Time, I answer, the lapse of years, and Fortune, whose caprice rules nations. Whatever befalls those prisoners will be deserved; but see that you consider, Members of the Senate, how your decision will affect other criminals. All bad precedents have originated from good measure; but when power comes to those inexperienced in exercising it or to men not so virtuous, that new precedent is transferred from those deserving and fit for such punishment to the undeserving and unfit. The Spartans, after they had conquered the Athenians, set thirty men over them to administer their state.<sup>121</sup> Those men at first began to put to death without a trial the most wicked and generally hated citizens. The people rejoiced at those executions and declared that they were carried out deservedly. But afterward, when their license gradually increased, the tyrants slew good and bad alike at their pleasure and intimidated the rest. Thus the nation was reduced to slavery and paid a heavy penalty for its foolish rejoicing. Within our own memory, when the conqueror Sulla ordered the killing of Damasippus<sup>122</sup> and others of that kind, who had become prominent to the detriment of the state, who did not commend his deed? People asserted that criminal intriguers, who had disturbed the country with civil strife, had de-

- 33 publicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit; nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas aut vestimentum aliquoivis concupiverat, dabat operam ut is in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita illi quibus Damasippi mors laetitiae fuerat paulo post ipsi trahebantur, neque prius finis iugulandi fuit quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit.
- 34 “Atque ego haec non in M. Tullio neque his temporibus vereor; sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. 35 Potest alio tempore, alio consule, quoi item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi; ubi hoc exemplo per senatus decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem statuet aut quis moderabitur?”
- 36 “Maiores nostri, patres conscripti, neque consili neque audaciae umquam eguere, neque illis superbia obstabat quominus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt. Postremo quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exequabantur; imitari quam invadere bonis malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore, Graeciae morem imitati, verberibus animadvortebant in civis, de 37 condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam res publica adolevit et multitudine civium factiones va-

<sup>123</sup> I.e., on the publicly posted list of outlaws, for whose death a reward was offered; their property was confiscated and sold at public auction, often for a nominal sum.

<sup>124</sup> According to tradition, the laws of the Twelve Tables, published in 449, were based on those of Athens and other Greek cities, to which a commission was sent from Rome for that purpose.

servedly been put to death. But that act was the beginning of great bloodshed; for whenever anyone coveted a man's house in Rome or the countryside, or in short even a man's cup or clothing, he contrived to have him enrolled among the proscribed.<sup>123</sup> Thus those who had exulted in the death of Damasippus were themselves a little afterward dragged off to execution, and there was no end to the killing until Sulla glutted all his followers with riches.

“For my own part, I fear nothing of this kind in Marcus Tullius or in these circumstances, but in a great community of citizens there are many different natures. It is possible for something false to be believed true at another time, when someone else is consul who may likewise have an army under his control. When the consul, on the basis of this precedent, shall draw the sword in obedience to the senate's decree, who will limit or who restrain him?”

“Our ancestors, Members of the Senate, never lacked either wise counsel or courage, and yet pride did not keep them from adopting foreign institutions, provided they were honorable. They adopted defensive and offensive weapons from the Samnites, the badges of their magistrates for the most part from the Etruscans. In short, that which seemed to them suitable anywhere among allies or foes, they put in practice at home with the greatest enthusiasm; they preferred to imitate rather than envy good practices. But in that same age, copying the usage of Greece,<sup>124</sup> they punished citizens with the lash and exacted the supreme penalty from those found guilty. Afterward, when the state reached maturity, and because of its large population factions prevailed—when the blameless

41 luere, circumveniri<sup>64</sup> innocentes, alia huiusce modi fieri  
 coepere, tum lex Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, qui-  
 bus legibus exilium damnatis permissum est. Hanc ego  
 42 causam, patres conscripti, quominus novom consilium  
 capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque  
 sapientia maior illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum impe-  
 rium fecere quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retine-  
 mus.

43 “Placet igitur eos dimitti et augeri exercitum Catilinae?  
 Minume. Sed ita censeo: publicandas eorum pecunias,  
 ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia quae maxime  
 opibus valent, neu quis de eis postea ad senatum referat  
 neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum existu-  
 mare eum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium fac-  
 turum.”

52. Postquam Caesar dicundi finem fecit, ceteri verbo  
 alius alii varie adsentiebantur. At M. Porcius Cato rogatus  
 sententiam huiusce modi orationem habuit:

2 “Longe mihi alia mens est, patres conscripti, quom res  
 atque pericula nostra considero, et quom sententias non-  
 nullorum ipse mecum reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse viden-  
 3 tur de poena eorum, qui patriae, parentibus, aris atque  
 focus suis bellum paravere. Res autem monet cavere ab  
 4 illis magis quam quid in illos statuamus consultare. Nam

<sup>64</sup> V: circumvenire *rell.*

<sup>125</sup> See 51.22n. <sup>126</sup> Great-grandson of Cato the Elder (cos. 195, cens. 184), he was tribune-elect in 62 and played an ever more prominent role in defending the influence of the senate against attempts by Pompey, and later by Caesar in alliance with Pompey and Crassus, to dominate Roman politics.

began to be oppressed and other wrongs of that kind were perpetrated—then they devised the Porcian law<sup>125</sup> and other laws, which allowed the condemned the alternative of exile. This I regard, Members of the Senate, as a particularly weighty reason why we should not adopt a new policy. Surely there was greater merit and wisdom in those men of old, who from slight resources created such a mighty empire, than in us, who barely maintain what they gloriously brought into being.

“Do I then recommend that the prisoners be released and Catiline’s forces be augmented? By no means! This, rather, is my advice: that their assets be confiscated, that they themselves be kept in bonds throughout the towns of Italy which are the strongest in resources; that no one hereafter shall refer their case to the senate or bring it before the people; that the senate take the view that anyone who acts otherwise will be acting against the nation and the common safety.”

52. After Caesar had finished speaking, the rest with a word or two signified agreement with one or another of the various proposals. But Marcus Porcius Cato,<sup>126</sup> when called upon for his opinion, delivered a speech of the following sort:

“My judgment is very different, Members of the Senate, when I consider our perilous situation, and when I reflect upon the recommendations of several colleagues. Those speakers appear to me to have discoursed on the punishment of men who have prepared war against their native land, parents, altars, and hearths. But circumstances warn us to take precautions against the culprits rather than to deliberate about what we are to do to punish them. For regarding other offenses, you may proceed

cetera maleficia tum perseguare ubi facta sunt; hoc nisi  
 provideris ne adcidat, ubi evenit frustra iudicia inplores;  
 5 capta urbe nihil fit relicui victis. Sed, per deos immortalis,  
 vos ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas  
 vostras pluris quam rem publicam fecistis; si ista, quous-  
 cumque modi sunt, quae amplexamini, retinere, si vo-  
 luptatibus vestris otium praebere voltis, expergiscimini  
 6 aliquando et capessite rem publicam. Non agitur de vec-  
 ticalibus neque de sociorum iniuriis; libertas et anima  
 nostra in dubio est.

7 “Saepenumero, patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc  
 ordine feci, saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum ci-  
 vium questus sum, multosque mortalis ea causa advorsos  
 8 habeo. Qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti  
 gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubricum male facta  
 9 condonabam. Sed ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen  
 res publica firma erat, opulentia negligentiam tolerabat.

10 “Nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus  
 vivamus, neque quantum aut quam magnificum imperium  
 11 populi Romani sit, sed haec, quouscumque modi viden-  
 tur, nostra an nobiscum una hostium futura sint. Hic mihi  
 quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat?  
 Iam pridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus.  
 Quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum auda-  
 cia fortitudo vocatur, eo res publica in extremo sita est.

against them after they have been committed; with this  
 one, unless you take measures to forestall it, in vain will  
 you appeal to the courts when once it has materialized;  
 after the capture of a city, nothing is left to the vanquished.  
 But, by the immortal gods, I call upon you, who have  
 always valued your houses, villas, statues, and paintings  
 more highly than the nation; if you want to retain the pos-  
 sessions to which you cling, of whatsoever kind they are,  
 if you want to provide freedom from disturbance for in-  
 dulgung your pleasures, wake up at last, and lay hold of the  
 reins of government. At issue is not revenues or the wrongs  
 of our allies; our very lives and liberty are at stake.

“Repeatedly, Members of the Senate, I have spoken at  
 great length in this body; often I have deplored the ex-  
 travagance and greed of our citizens, and for that reason  
 I have many mortals opposed to me. Since I had never  
 granted to myself, or to my impulse, indulgence for any  
 transgression, I have found it quite difficult to pardon mis-  
 deeds on the part of a dissolute person. But although you  
 customarily assigned little weight to my words, yet the  
 state was unshaken; its prosperity put up with your ne-  
 glect.

“Now, however, at issue is not the question whether our  
 morals are good or bad, nor how great or glorious the  
 empire of the Roman people is, but whether all this, of  
 whatever sort it appears to be, is going to be ours or belong  
 to the enemy along with control over our very selves. In  
 these circumstances, does someone mention to me clem-  
 ency and compassion? To be sure we have long since lost  
 the true names for things. It is precisely because squan-  
 dering the goods of others is called generosity, and reck-  
 lessness in wrongdoing is called courage, that the republic

- 12 Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex socio-  
rum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus aerari; ne illi  
sanguinem nostrum largiantur et, dum paucis sceleratis  
parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant.
- 13 “Bene et composita C. Caesar paulo ante in hoc ordine  
de vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea quae  
de inferis memorantur, divorso itinere malos a bonis loca  
14 taetra, inculta, foeda atque formidulosa habere. Itaque  
censuit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia  
in custodiis habendos, videlicet timens ne, si Romae sint,  
aut a popularibus coniurationis aut a multitudine conducta  
15 per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantum-  
modo in urbe et non per totam Italiam sint, aut non ibi  
plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores  
16 sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si pericu-  
lum ex illis metuit; sin in tanto omnium metu solus non  
17 timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere. Quare  
quom de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuatis, pro certo habe-  
tote vos simul de exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus con-  
18 iuratis decernere. Quanto vos adtentius ea ageris, tanto  
illis animus infirmior erit; si paululum modo vos languere  
viderint, iam omnes feroces aderunt.
- 19 “Nolite existumare maiores nostros armis rem publi-  
20 cam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pul-

<sup>127</sup> At 51.20, Caesar argued that death is a release from all pain and suffering, an Epicurean view rejecting the immortality of the soul.

has been placed in a crisis. Let my colleagues by all means, since such is the fashion of the time, be liberal at the expense of our allies, let them be merciful to robbers of the treasury; but let those men not be prodigal of our blood, and in sparing a few scoundrels bring ruin upon all good men.

“A sort while ago, in fine and well-ordered phrases Gaius Caesar discoursed in this meeting on the subjects of life and death, regarding as false, I presume, the tales which are told concerning the inhabitants of Underworld, that along a different path from the good the wicked occupy gloomy, desolate, foul, and frightful regions.<sup>127</sup> Accordingly, he recommended that their assets be confiscated and that they themselves be imprisoned throughout the towns of Italy, doubtless out of fear that if they are in Rome, the adherents of the plot or a hired mob will free them by force. (As if, indeed, wicked criminals exist only in the City and not throughout the whole of Italy, or as if audacity does not have greater strength where the resources to resist it are weaker!) Therefore, this advice is utterly worthless, if Caesar fears danger from the conspirators; but if amid such universal dread he alone is not afraid, there is all the more reason for me to fear for your sake and my own. Therefore, be assured that when you decide the fate of Publius Lentulus and the rest, you will at the same time be passing a decree concerning Catiline’s army and all the conspirators. The more vigorous your action, the weaker will be their courage; if they detect even a little weakness on your part, they will all fiercely make their presence immediately felt.

“Do not suppose that it was by arms that our forefathers made our country great from humble beginnings. If

cherrumam eam nos haberemus, quippe sociorum atque  
 civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum maior copia  
 21 nobis quam illis est. Sed alia fuere quae illos magnos fe-  
 cere, quae nobis nulla sunt; domi industria, foris iustum  
 imperium, animus in consulundo liber neque delicto  
 22 neque lubrici obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam  
 atque avaritiam, publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam.  
 Laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam. Inter bonos et  
 23 malos discrimen nullum, omnia virtutis praemia ambitio  
 possidet. Neque mirum; ubi vos separatim sibi quisque  
 consilium capit, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae aut  
 gratiae servitis, eo fit ut impetus fiat in vacuam rem publi-  
 cam.  
 24 "Sed ego haec omitto. Coniuravere nobilissimi cives  
 patriam incendere, Gallorum gentem infestissimam no-  
 mini Romano ad bellum arcessunt. Dux hostium cum ex-  
 25 exercitu supra caput est. Vos cunctamini etiam nunc et dubi-  
 tatis quid intra moenia deprentis hostibus faciatis?  
 26 Misereamini censeo—deliquere homines adulescentuli  
 27 per ambitionem—atque etiam armatos dimittatis. Ne ista  
 vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in  
 28 miseriam convortat. Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos  
 non timetis eam. Immo vero maxime; sed inertia et mol-  
 litia animi alius alium expectantes cunctamini, videlicet  
 29 dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem publicam saepe in  
 maxime periculis servavere. Non votis neque suppliciis  
 muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agundo,

that were so, we would have a much fairer state than  
 theirs, since we have a greater abundance of citizens and  
 allies than they possessed, to say nothing of arms and  
 horses. But there were other qualities which made them  
 great, which we do not possess at all: exertion at home, a  
 just rule abroad, in counsel an independent spirit enslaved  
 to neither misdeed nor passion. In place of these, we have  
 extravagance and greed, public poverty and private opu-  
 lence. We extol wealth, we pursue idleness. No distinction  
 is made between good men and bad, and ambition ap-  
 propriates all the prizes of merit. And no wonder! When  
 each of you takes counsel separately for his own personal  
 interests, when you are slaves to pleasure in your homes  
 and to money or influence here, the natural result is an  
 attack upon the defenseless republic.

"But I drop this subject. Citizens of the highest rank  
 have conspired to set fire to their native land; they sum-  
 mon to war the Gauls, a nation most bitterly hostile to the  
 very name of Rome. The leader of the enemy with his  
 army looms over us. Do you even now hesitate and doubt  
 what you are to do with foes seized within your walls? See  
 that you have compassion, I advise—they are but young  
 men, led astray by ambition—and send them away even  
 though armed! Truly, that clemency and pity of yours may  
 well land you in a sorry state, if they resort to war. No  
 doubt the situation is perilous, but you do not fear it. But  
 on the contrary, you very much fear it, though from sloth-  
 fulness and weakness of spirit you hesitate, waiting one for  
 the other, doubtless trusting to the immortal gods, who  
 have often saved this Republic in moments of extreme  
 danger. Not by vows nor womanish entreaties is the help  
 of the gods secured; by means of watchfulness, vigorous

bene consulundo prospera omnia cedunt. Ubi socordiae  
te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequiquam deos inplores;  
irati infestique sunt.

30 “Apud maiores nostros A. Manlius Torquatus bello  
Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem  
31 pugnaverat, necari iussit, atque ille egregius adulescens  
immoderate fortitudinis morte poenas dedit. Vos de cru-  
32 delissimis parricidis quid statuatis cunctamini? Videlicet  
cetera vita eorum huic sceleris obstat. Verum parcite digni-  
tati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dis aut  
33 hominibus umquam ullis pepercit. Ignoscite Cethegi adu-  
34 lescentiae, nisi iterum patriae bellum fecit. Nam quid ego  
de Gabinio, Statilio, Caepario loquar? Quibus si quicquam  
umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de re publica ha-  
buissent.

35 “Postremo, patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato  
locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam  
verba contemnit. Sed undique circumventi sumus. Cati-  
lina cum exercitu faucibus urget; alii intra moenia atque  
in sinu urbis sunt hostes; neque parari neque consuli quic-  
quam potest occulte; quo magis properandum est.

36 “Quare ego ita censeo: quom nefario consilio scelera-  
torum civium res publica in maxuma pericula venerit,

<sup>128</sup> Titus is the name given by all other authorities. Also, most other sources assign the incident to the Latin War in 340, not the Gallic War of 361 (the occasion on which Manlius, the father, earned the name Torquatus).

<sup>129</sup> As a participant in the so-called First conspiracy of 66/65 (ch. 18), or possibly an allusion to the allegation that Cethegus nearly murdered Metellus Pius (cos. 80) during the war against Sertorius in Spain a decade earlier (Cic. *Sull.* 70, the sole source).

action, and good counsel is success achieved in all things. When you surrender yourself to sloth and cowardice, it is vain to call upon the gods; they are offended and hostile.

“In the days of our forefathers Aulus<sup>128</sup> Manlius Torquatus, during the war with the Gauls, ordered the execution of his own son, because he had fought against the enemy contrary to orders, and that singular young man paid the death penalty for immoderate valor. Do you hesitate what punishment to inflict upon the most ruthless traitors? No doubt their past lives outweigh this crime! By all means, have regard for Lentulus’ rank, if he ever had regard for his own chastity, his own reputation, or any gods or men. Pardon the youth of Cethegus, if this is not the second time that he has made war upon his country.<sup>129</sup> And what shall I say concerning Gabinius, Statilius, and Caeparius, who would never have entertained such designs concerning the Republic if they had ever respected anything?

“Finally, Members of the Senate, if—as Hercules is my witness!—there were any room for error,<sup>130</sup> I would easily permit you to be set right by the outcome itself, since you scorn words of advice. But we are beleaguered on every side. Catiline with his army is at our throats; other foes are within the city walls and even in the very heart of the City; neither can any preparation nor deliberation be done in secret; therefore, there is the all more need of haste.

“Therefore, this is my recommendation: whereas our country has landed in the greatest peril as a result of the abominable plot of wicked citizens, and those men have

<sup>130</sup> I.e., if there was any possibility of acting to reverse the error once made.



eique indicio T. Volturci et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint caedem, incendia aliaque se foeda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse, de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more maiorum supplicium sumundum.”

53. Postquam Cato adsedit, consulares omnes itemque senatus magna pars sententiam eius laudant, virtutem animi ad caelum ferunt, alii alios increpantes timidos vocant. Cato clarus atque magnus habetur; senati decretum fit sicuti ille censuerat.

- 2 Sed mihi multa legenti multa audienti quae populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari atque terra, praeclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit adtendere quae res maxime  
3 tanta negotia sustinisset. Sciebam saepenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse; cognoveram parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus, ad hoc saepe fortunae violentiam toleravisse; facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa  
4 agitanti constabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse eoque factum uti divitias paupertas,  
5 multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus res publica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratum vitia sustentabat ac, sicuti effeta <vi><sup>65</sup> parentum, multis tempe-

<sup>65</sup> *suppl. Ritschl*: sicuti <stirpe> effeta parentum *Shackleton Bailey*

<sup>131</sup> Culprits caught in the act were not entitled to *provocatio* but could be killed on the spot, without legal process.

been proven guilty by the testimony of Titus Volturcius and the envoys of the Allobroges, and have confessed that they prepared murder, arson, and other detestable and cruel crimes against their fellow citizens and their native land, punishment after the manner of our forefathers ought to be inflicted on those who have confessed, just as though they had been caught red-handed in capital offenses.”<sup>131</sup>

53. As soon as Cato had taken his seat, all the ex-consuls, as well as a great part of the other senators, praised his proposal and extolled to the sky the strength of his courage; they criticized one another with the label “coward.” Cato was considered great and noble; a decree of the senate was passed just as he had proposed.

Now, for my own part, while reading and hearing of the many illustrious deeds of the Roman people at home and in war, on land and sea, a desire happened to stir in me to give thought to what factor in particular had made possible such great exploits. I knew that often with just a handful of men they had done battle with vast enemy legions; I was aware that with small resources they had waged wars with powerful kings; also that they had often endured the cruelty of Fortune; that the Romans had been surpassed by the Greeks in eloquence and by the Gauls in martial glory. After much pondering, I became convinced that it had all been accomplished by the eminent merit of a few citizens; that as a result of this, poverty had triumphed over riches, and small numbers over a multitude. But after the body of citizens had been ruined by extravagance and idleness, the nation in turn offset by its own greatness the shortcomings of its generals and magistrates, and, just as if the vigor of their ancestors were worn out with childbearing, in many

tatibus haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit.  
 6 Sed memoria mea ingenti virtute, divorsis moribus fuere  
 viri duo, M. Cato et C. Caesar; quos quoniam res obtule-  
 rat, silentio praeterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque  
 naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possum,<sup>66</sup> aperirem.

54. Igitur eis genus, aetas, eloquentia prope aequalia  
 2 fuere, magnitudo animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii. Caesar  
 beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integri-  
 tate vitae Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus  
 3 factus, huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Caesar dando,  
 sublevando, ignoscendo, Cato nihil largiundo gloriam  
 adeptus est. In altero miseris perfugium erat, in altero  
 malis pernicies. Illius facilitas, huius constantia laudaba-  
 4 tur. Postremo Caesar in animum induxerat laborare, vigi-  
 lare; negotiis amicorum intentus sua neglegere, nihil de-  
 negare quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium,  
 exercitum, bellum novom exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere  
 5 posset. At Catoni studium modestiae, decoris, sed maxume  
 6 severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite neque factione  
 cum factioso, sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pu-  
 dore, cum innocente, abstinentia certabat; esse quam vi-

<sup>66</sup> *PD*<sup>1</sup>: *possem rell.*

<sup>132</sup> Yet as plebeian tribune in 62 Cato persuaded the senate to extend the grain dole to many more recipients in order to dampen the smoldering discontent from the collapse of Catiline's revolutionary schemes (Plut. *Caes.* 8.4; *Cat. Min.* 26.1). He also coun-  
 tenanced bribery in 60 to gain the consulship for his son-in-law  
 Bibulus as a counterweight to Caesar, who was trying to buy the  
 election and threatening to push thought radical reform measures  
 as consul (Suet. *Iul.* 19. 1).

periods no one at all in Rome was outstanding for his merit. But within my own memory there were two men of towering merit, though of opposite character, Marcus Cato and Gaius Caesar. With respect to these men, since the subject matter has introduced them, it is not my intention to pass them by in silence, without describing, to the utmost of my ability the disposition and character of each.

54. Well then, in ancestry, age and eloquence, they were almost equal; on a par was their greatness of soul, likewise their renown, but each of a different sort. Caesar was considered great because of his benefactions and lavish generosity, Cato for the uprightness of his life. The former became famous for his gentleness and compassion; to the latter sternness had imparted prestige. Caesar gained renown by giving, by relieving difficulties, by forgiving; Cato by no conferral of lavish gifts.<sup>132</sup> In the one was refuge for the unfortunate, in the other destruction for the wicked. The former's easygoing nature was praised, the latter's steadfastness. Finally, Caesar had made up his mind to work hard, to be alert; he devoted himself to the affairs of his friends at the neglect of his own; he refused nothing that was worthy of being given; he craved a major command, an army, a fresh<sup>133</sup> war in which his merit might be able to shine forth. Cato, on the contrary, cultivated self-control, propriety, but above all sternness. He did not vie in riches with the rich, nor in intrigue with intriguers, but with the energetic in merit, with the self-restrained in moderation, with the blameless in integrity. He preferred

<sup>133</sup> In contrast with such wars as Pompey had taken over from prior commanders and brought to a conclusion.

deri bonus malebat; ita quo minus petebat gloriam, eo magis illum sequebatur.

55. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optimum factu ratus noctem quae instabat antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, triumviro quae [ad]<sup>67</sup> supplicium postulabat parare iubet. Ipse praesidiis dispositis Lentulum in carcerem deducit; idem fit ceteris per praetores.

3 Est in carcere locus, quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum ascenderis<sup>68</sup> ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes  
4 humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes atque  
5 insuper camera lapideis fornicibus iuncta: sed incultu,  
6 tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis eius facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium, quibus praeceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius ex gente clarissima Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum mori-

<sup>67</sup> *eras. BK: del. Jordan*

<sup>68</sup> *descenderis s*

<sup>134</sup> This phrase recalls Aeschylus' description of Amphiarus (*Sept.* 592), one of the seven Greek heroes who fought in the doomed expedition against Thebes.

<sup>135</sup> Taking us back to 53.1, after the digression formed by the syncrisis of Caesar and Cato.

<sup>136</sup> The *tresviri capitales* were minor magistrates who had charge of prisons and executions and performed certain police duties.

<sup>137</sup> This statement is best understood as referring to the entrance to the Carcer as a whole (the so-called Mamertine Prison), to which access was gained by proceeding up the clivus Argentarius and then turning left to enter through the north wall. The

to be, rather than merely to seem, virtuous;<sup>134</sup> hence the less he sought renown, the more it overtook him.

55. But, as I stated,<sup>135</sup> after the senate had adopted the recommendation of Cato, the consul, thinking it best to take action in advance of the approaching nightfall so that no new disturbance might occur after dark, ordered the triumvirs<sup>136</sup> to make the preparations demanded by the execution. After stationing guards, he personally escorted Lentulus into the prison, while the praetors did the same for the others.

In the prison, when you have gone up a little way toward the left,<sup>137</sup> there is a place called the Tullianum,<sup>138</sup> about twelve feet below the surface of the ground. It is enclosed on all sides by walls, and overhead is a vaulted ceiling formed by stone arches; but neglect, darkness, and stench give it a hideous and terrifying appearance. After Lentulus had been let down into this place, the executioners,<sup>139</sup> who had been charged with the task, strangled him with a loop of rope. Thus that patrician, of the very illustrious stock of the Corneli, who had held consular authority

building comprised an upper and a lower chamber (the Tullianum: see next n.) and was situated at the foot of the Capitoline, at the northwest corner of the Forum, between the Temple of Concord and the senate house.

<sup>138</sup> The Tullianum came to be associated with Rome's sixth king, Servius Tullius (conventionally 578–535 BC): Varr. *Ling.* 5.151; Fest. 490L. However, a more likely derivation of the name is from *tull(i)us*, a word meaning rivulet or spring (Fest. 483L), traces of which are to be found in the floor of the structure.

<sup>139</sup> Probably the public executioners (*carifices*), servants of the *tresviri*, rather than the latter officials themselves (see Cic. *de Leg.* 3.3.6).

bus factisque suis exitium vitae<sup>69</sup> invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Caepario, eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

2 56. Dum ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat duas legiones instituit, cohortis pro numero militum complet; deinde, ut quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, aequaliter distribuerat, ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat, quom initio non amplius duobus milibus

3 habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militarium armis instructa, ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii praeacutas sudis portabant.

4 Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere, modo ad urbem modo Galliam<sup>70</sup> versus castra movere, hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare; sperabat propediem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, quouis initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrerant, opibus coniurationis fretus, simul alienum suis rationibus existumans videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

<sup>69</sup> exitium vitae  $\omega$ : exitum vitae  $F^2$ s: exitum [vitae] *em. Zimmermann, approb. Reynolds*

<sup>70</sup> XHD: in galliam  $\delta$ , *Prisc. GL 3.514.23*: ad galliam  $F$

<sup>140</sup> In 71. <sup>141</sup> Catiline formed two legions because that was the normal complement of a consular army. At first, each of the ten cohorts per legion would have contained only one hundred men, roughly four hundred short of the usual number.

<sup>142</sup> The *gladius* (sword), *pilum* (javelin), *scutum* (shield), *lorica* (corselet), *cassis* (helmet), and *ocreae* (greaves).

at Rome,<sup>140</sup> found a termination of his life befitting his character and deeds. Punishment was exacted from Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Caeparius in the same way.

56. While this was taking place in Rome, Catiline formed two legions out of the whole force which he had brought with him and Manlius already had; he filled up the cohorts in proportion to the number of soldiers on hand; then whenever a volunteer or any of his confederates came to the camp, he distributed them equally, and within a brief span he had filled up the legions with a full complement of men, although in the beginning he had had no more than two thousand soldiers.<sup>141</sup> But only about a fourth part of the entire force was equipped with regular arms;<sup>142</sup> the others, just as chance had armed them, carried hunting spears or lances, or in some cases sharpened stakes.

Now after Antonius began to draw near with his army, Catiline marched through the mountains, moved his camp now toward the City and now in the direction of Gaul; he did not give the enemy an opportunity for battle; he was hoping shortly to have a large force, if his confederates in Rome accomplished their undertakings. Meanwhile he turned away slaves (a great abundance of whom was flocking to him at first) because he had confidence in the strength of the conspiracy, and at the same time because he thought it harmful to his interests to appear to have linked a citizens' cause with runaway slaves.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>143</sup> The recent slave revolt of Spartacus (73–71) had filled Italy with terror and bloodshed. Among the leaders of the conspiracy, only Lentulus appears to have been willing to put at risk sympathy for the aims of the revolution by welcoming recruits from the servile class (44.6).

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

58. "Conpertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere, neque ex ignavo strenuom neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta quousque animo audacia natura aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet. Quem neque gloria neque pericula

<sup>144</sup> A town of Etruria ca. twenty miles northwest of Faesulae, lying in a plain.

57. But after news reached the camp that the plot had been exposed at Rome, that Lentulus, Cethegus, and the others whom I mentioned above had been executed, a great many who had been enticed to war by hope for pillage or eagerness for revolution deserted; the remainder Catiline led away by forced marches over rugged mountains into the district around Pistoria,<sup>144</sup> with the intention of escaping secretly by footpaths into Transalpine Gaul. Yet Quintus Metellus Celer was on guard in the Picene district with three legions, concluding from the difficulty of the enemy's position that Catiline was taking the very course of action I just mentioned. Accordingly, when he learned of Catiline's route from deserters, he quickly moved his camp and took up a position at the very foot of the mountains where Catiline would have to descend in his haste to reach Gaul. Even so, Antonius also was not far distant, considering the fact that with a large army he was pursuing, over more level ground, unencumbered men in flight. Now, after Catiline saw that he was shut in by the mountains and the forces of his enemies, that in the City circumstances were against him, that there was no hope for either escape or reinforcements, thinking the best course of action in such a crisis was to try the fortune of war, he decided to engage Antonius as soon as possible. Accordingly he summoned his troops to an assembly and delivered a speech of the following sort:

58. "I am well aware, soldiers, that words do not impart valor, and that a spiritless army is not made vigorous, or a timid one brave, by a speech from its commander. Only that degree of daring which is in each man's heart as a result of disposition or habit, is customarily visible in battle. It is vain to exhort one who is roused neither by glory

- 3 excitant, nequiquam hortere; timor animi auribus officit. Sed ego vos quo pauca monerem advocavi, simul uti causam mei consili aperirem.
- 4 “Scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque cladem adtulerit quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc vero quo loco res nostrae sint, iuxta mecum omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe alter a Gallia obstant. Diutius in his locis esse, si maxime animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter apერიundum est. Quapropter vos moneo uti forti atque parato animo sitis et, quom proelium inibitis, memineritis vos divitias, decus, gloriam, praeterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris vestris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt: conmeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniae patebunt. Si metu cesserimus, eadem illa adversa fient: neque locus neque amicus quisquam teget quem arma non texerint.
- 11 “Praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet; nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus; illis supervacuaneum est pro potentia paucorum pugnare. Quo audacius adgredimini,<sup>71</sup> memores pristinae virtutis. Licuit vobis<sup>72</sup> cum summa turpitudine in exsilio aetatem agere, potuistis nonnulli Romae, amissis bonis, alienas opes expectare. Quia illa foeda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, haec sequi decrevistis. Si haec relinquare

<sup>71</sup> V: adgrediamini ω

<sup>72</sup> VP<sup>2</sup>BC<sup>2</sup>HD<sup>1</sup>: nobis *rell.*

nor by dangers; the fear in his heart obstructs his ears. I have, however, called you together to offer a few words of advice, and at the same time to reveal the motive for my decision.

“Indeed you know, soldiers, how much disaster the folly and inaction of Lentulus brought upon himself and us, and how, while I was waiting for reinforcements from the City, I could not set out for Gaul. Now, moreover, you all understand as well as I do in what a position our affairs stand. Two hostile armies, one in the direction of the City, the other in the direction of Gaul, block the way. Lack of grain and of other necessities prevents us from remaining any longer in this locale, even if we were most inclined to do so. Wherever we decide to go, we must hew a path with steel. Therefore I advise you to be brave and ready in spirit, and, when you enter the battle, to remember that you carry in your own right hands riches, honor, glory, and on top of that, freedom and your native land. If we win, complete security will be ours; supplies will abound, towns and colonies will open their gates. If we yield out of fear, those same circumstances will be against us: no place and no friend will protect the man whom arms have not protected.

“Moreover, soldiers, we and our opponents are not subject to the same constraint; we are contending for our native land, for freedom, for our very lives; theirs is a pointless exercise, to fight on behalf of the power of a few men. Attack, therefore, more boldly, mindful of your former valor. You had the option of spending your life in exile, under a cloud of utter infamy; some of you could have looked to others for aid in Rome after losing your possessions. Because those options seemed base and intolerable to true men, you resolved to pursue this course.

voltis, audacia opus est; nemo nisi victor pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, quom arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hostibus avorteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in proelio eis maxumum est periculum qui maxume timent; audacia pro muro habetur.

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18 "Quom vos considero, milites, et quom facta vostra aestumo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. Animus, aetas, virtus  
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59. Haec ubi dixit, paululum conmoratus signa canere iubet atque instructos ordines in locum aequom deducit. Dein, remotis omnium equis quo militibus exaequato periculo animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montis et ab dextra rupem asperam,<sup>73</sup> octo cohortis in fronte constituit, relicuarum signa in subsidio artius conlocat. Ab eis centuriones lectos et omnis<sup>74</sup> evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque arma-

<sup>73</sup> rupem asperam s: rupe aspera ω <sup>74</sup> transp. Vretska: omnis lectos (lectos del. Nitzschner, approb. Reynolds) et evocatos ω: omnes evocatos et centuriones Serv. Aen. 2.157

<sup>145</sup> Lit. "the standards of the remaining cohorts," twelve in number since Catiline had two legions, each comprising ten cohorts.

If you want to forsake it, there is need for boldness; no one, except the victor, exchanges war for peace. For to hope for safety in flight when you have turned away from the enemy the arms which protect your body, such conduct is surely madness. In battle the greatest danger always threatens those who show the greatest fear; boldness serves as a rampart.

"When I contemplate you, soldiers, and when I weigh your deeds, I have great hope for victory. Your spirit, youth, and valor encourage me, not to mention necessity, which makes even the timid brave. For the narrowness of this place prevents the throng of our enemies from being able to surround us. But if Fortune frowns upon your bravery, take care not to lose your lives unavenged, nor to be captured and slaughtered like cattle rather than leaving the enemy a bloody and mournful victory by fighting like heroes."

59. When he had thus spoken, after a brief pause he ordered the trumpet calls to sound and led the formed-up ranks down into the plain. Then, after sending away all the horses in order to increase the soldiers' courage as a consequence of the equalized danger, on foot he personally drew up his army in keeping with the locale and his forces. For, as there was a plain between the mountains on the left and a rugged precipice on the right, he posted eight cohorts in front and stationed the remaining cohorts<sup>145</sup> more closely together in reserve. From those he drew off into the front line select centurions and all reenlisted veterans,<sup>146</sup> as well as the best armed of the ordinary soldiers.

<sup>146</sup> If the paradosis is adopted, "all select men and reenlisted veterans" stands in apposition with "centurions."

tum, in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextra, Faesulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare iubet. Ipse cum libertis et colonis<sup>75</sup> propter aquilam adstitit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur.

4 At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus aeger, quod  
 5 proelio adesse nequibat M. Petreio legato exercitum per-  
 mittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas tumulti<sup>76</sup> causa con-  
 scripserat, in fronte, post eas ceterum exercitum in subsi-  
 diis locat. Ipse equo circumiens unum quemque nominans  
 appellat, hortatur, rogat ut meminerint se contra latrones  
 inermis<sup>77</sup> pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focus suis  
 6 certare. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tri-  
 bunus aut praefectus aut legatus aut praetor cum magna  
 gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum  
 fortia noverat; ea commemorando militum animos adcen-  
 debat.

60. Sed ubi, omnibus rebus exploratis, Petreius tuba  
 signum dat, cohortis paulatim incedere iubet; idem facit  
 2 hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum est unde a<sup>78</sup> fe-

<sup>75</sup> C<sup>2</sup>γ: coloniis, A<sup>2</sup>βK: colonibus aN: calonibus *Putschius*

<sup>76</sup> Non. 489M.35: tumultus ω <sup>77</sup> inermis P

<sup>78</sup> A<sup>2</sup>δHD<sup>2</sup>F, Non. 554M.27: om. XD<sup>1</sup>

<sup>147</sup> Possibly P. Furius (cf. 50.4), who is identified by Cicero (*Cat.* 3.14) as one of the Sullan colonists settled at Faesulae.

<sup>148</sup> Lit. "colonists," i.e., presumably ex-soldiers of Sulla settled in Etruria (cf. 28.4). The emendation *calonibus* (servants or attendants of a soldier), an easy correction of the corruption *coloni- bus* in some MSS, produces the same derogatory term that is used elsewhere in Sallust to belittle the paltry forces at the disposal of the rebel M. Lepidus in 78/77 (*Hist.* 1.77M.7).

He ordered Gaius Manlius to take charge on the right wing, and a certain man from Faesulae<sup>147</sup> on the left. He himself with freedmen and discharged veterans<sup>148</sup> took his place beside the eagle, which Gaius Marius was said to have had in his army of during the Cimbric war.<sup>149</sup>

But on the other side Gaius Antonius, being lame,<sup>150</sup> because he was unable to be present at the battle, entrusted his army to Marcus Petreius, his deputy commander. Petreius placed in the front line the veteran cohorts which he had enrolled because of the uprising; behind them, the rest of his army in reserve. He himself, riding about on his horse, calling each man by name, addressed, encouraged, and asked them to remember that they were fighting against unarmed<sup>151</sup> bandits in defense of their native land, their children, their altars, and hearths. Being an experienced military man, because he had served in the army with high distinction for more than thirty years as a military tribune or prefect or deputy commander or governor of a province, he knew a great many of his soldiers personally and their brave deeds; by mentioning these, he fired the spirits of his soldiers.

60. Now when Petreius, after a thorough reconnaissance, gave the signal with the trumpet, he ordered his cohorts to advance gradually; the army of the enemy did the same. After they had reached the point from which

<sup>149</sup> The Cimbri were a Germanic tribe defeated by Marius and Q. Catulus (cos. 102) at Vercellae in Cisalpine Gaul in 101.

<sup>150</sup> Lit. "diseased in his feet," probably gout; Dio (37.39.4), asserts that Antonius feigned illness, so as not to have to confront on the battlefield his former political ally.

<sup>151</sup> I.e., without regular arms (cf. 56.3).



rentariis proelium committi posset,<sup>79</sup> maximo clamore cum infestis signis concurrunt; pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinae virtutis memores, comminus acriter instare; illi haud timidi resistunt: maxuma vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie vorsari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis accessere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem ferire; strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exquebatur.

Petreius ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem praetoriam in medios hostis inducit eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentis interficit. Deinde utrumque ex lateribus ceteros adgreditur. Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. <Catilina>,<sup>80</sup> postquam fusas copias seque cum paucis relictum videt, memor generis atque pristinae suae dignitatis in confertissimos hostis incurrit ibique pugnans confoditur.

61. Sed confecto proelio, tum vero cerneres quanta audacia quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. Nam fere quem quisque vivos pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos

<sup>79</sup> possit *P*<sup>1</sup>*AC*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>80</sup> *s: om. ω: super videt scr. A*<sup>2</sup>*C*<sup>2</sup>*K*<sup>2</sup>, post postquam *B*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>152</sup> The *ferentarii* were light-armed infantry stationed on the wings; they hurled their javelins and then retired behind the battle line.

<sup>153</sup> The praetorian cohort was the general's bodyguard, made up of picked infantry and cavalry.

battle could be joined by the skirmishers,<sup>152</sup> the opposing forces rushed upon each other with a huge outcry; they dispensed with their javelins and fought with their swords. The veterans, recalling their former valor, engaged fiercely in hand to hand combat; the enemy, not lacking in courage, stood their ground; there was a terrific struggle. Meanwhile, Catiline, was busy in the front line of battle with his light-armed troops, was aiding those who were hard pressed, was summoning fresh troops to replace the wounded, was keeping an eye on everything, was fighting hard himself, was often striking down the foe; thus he kept performing at one and the same time the duties of an active soldier and of a good general.

When, contrary to his expectation, Petreius saw Catiline putting up a strong fight, he led his praetorian cohort<sup>153</sup> against the enemy's center, and having broken their close order, he slew those who resisted in various parts of the field; then he attacked the rest on both sides at their flanks.<sup>154</sup> Manlius and the man from Faesulae fell fighting in the front ranks. When Catiline saw that his troops had been routed and that he had been left with a few comrades, mindful of his birth and his former standing, he plunged into the thickest of the enemy and while fighting there was run through.

61. Now when the battle was ended, truly then you might have beheld what boldness and resolution had been present in Catiline's army. For nearly every man covered with his body, when life was gone, the position he had taken while alive and fighting. On the other hand, a few

<sup>154</sup> I.e., from the shattered center of Catiline's army, Petreius' men attacked the now exposed flanks of the enemy.

4 medios cohors praetoria disiecerat, paulo divorsius sed  
 omnes tamen advorsis vulneribus considerant. Catilina  
 vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paul-  
 5 lulum etiam spirans ferociamque animi, quam habuerat  
 vivos, in voltu retinens. Postremo ex omni copia neque in  
 proelio neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus captus est;  
 6 ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae iuxta perpercerant.

7 Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut in-  
 cruentam victoriam adeptus erat. Nam strenuissimus  
 quisque aut occiderat in proelio aut graviter volueratus  
 8 discesserat. Multi autem, qui e castris visundi aut spo-  
 liandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera ami-  
 cum alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiebant; fuere  
 9 item qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem  
 exercitum laetitia, maeror, luctus atque gaudia agita-  
 bantur.

whom the praetorian cohort had scattered in the center, lay a little apart from the rest, but nevertheless all had fallen with wounds in front. Catiline, it is true, was found far from his men, amid the bodies of the foemen, still breathing slightly and showing on his face the fierceness of spirit that he had possessed when alive. Finally, out of the whole force, neither in the battle nor in flight, was a single freeborn citizen taken prisoner; thus had all been no less sparing of their own lives than their enemies'.

Nevertheless, the army of the Roman people had gained no joyful or bloodless victory. For all the most resolute had either fallen in the battle or come away with severe wounds. Many, too, who had gone out from the camp to have a look or to pillage, on turning over the bodies of the enemy found now a friend, now a guest or kinsman; some also recognized their personal enemies. Thus the whole army was variously affected with exultation and mourning, lamentation and gladness.

## THE WAR WITH JUGURTHA

## INTRODUCTION

SALLUST'S SOURCES FOR THE  
*JUGURTHA*

S. appears to have been the only historian to write a separate account of the Jugurthine War (111–105 BC) in Greek or Latin, and by the time he commenced work on this subject (ca. 41 BC), he obviously could not rely on the testimony of eyewitnesses (as he could for the events of 63 BC). Unfortunately, none of S.'s sources has been directly preserved, and so a reconstruction of the material upon which S. drew in composing the *Jugurtha* is of necessity much more speculative than it is for the *Catiline*, for which there is an abundance of primary material predating S.<sup>1</sup>

Of S.'s written sources, he names only one, "Punic books," attributed to the Numidian king Hiempsal II (ruled ca. 88–ca. 62), which S. claims were translated for him (17.7) and used to provide information for his brief ethnographic sketch of the peoples dwelling in the coastal regions of northern Africa (17–19). However, the etymologies, etiologies, and myths offered up in that section to explain the origins of peoples and places betray ultimately

<sup>1</sup> See Syme, *Sallust*, 152–56, and Paul, *Historical Commentary*, 2–4.

a Greek source, rather than a "Punic" (Carthaginian) one. A Greek historian, Posidonius (ca. 135–ca. 51 BC), may be suspected of lying behind some of S.'s ethnographic material, since ethnography is a subject that interested Posidonius. Furthermore, S. shares at least two striking topographical errors with the geographer Strabo, who is presumed to have drawn upon Posidonius.<sup>2</sup> However, Posidonius is unlikely to have been a major source for S.'s account of the war itself, since the Greek writer presumably adopted a much friendlier attitude toward the nobility than we find in S. It may be Posidonius (or Rutilius Rufus?: see below on his memoirs) who lies behind the less than flattering account of Marius' activities at the time of the fall of Vaga and trial of Turpilius in the winter 109–108 that we find in Plutarch (*Mar.* 8) but not in S. (*Jug.* 66–69).

It is probable that S. turned to Roman writers instead of Posidonius for large parts of his narrative. Several annalists, whose works could have been consulted by S., are known to have covered the period treated in S.'s *Jugurtha*, but their works survive only in fragments, too limited in number and content to permit any firm conclusions to be drawn. For instance, Sempronius Asellio, who had served as a military tribune in the Numantine campaign of Scipio Aemilianus (134 BC) and so was an eyewitness of events at the time of the Jugurthine war, began his account of

<sup>2</sup> Viz., (1) the mistaken notion that the Altars of the Philaeni lie approximately between the Syrtis Minor and Maior (19.3, cf. Strabo 3.5.5 p. 171) and (2) the misguided view that western Numidia is more fertile than the part bordering on Rome's province of Africa (16.5; cf. Strabo 17.3.12 p. 831).

Roman affairs perhaps in 146 (where Polybius left off)<sup>3</sup> and brought his history down to at least 91 (fr. 11P: *HRR* 1.CCXLII, 179–84). Q. Claudius Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias, both said to have been contemporaries of the Sullan historian Sisenna (Vell. 2.9.6), covered a broad swath of Roman history: Quadrigarius in twenty-three or more books, from the Gallic sack of Rome (trad. 390 BC) to at least 82 (fr. 84P: *HRR* 1.CCLXXXV, 205–37), and Antias in at least seventy-five books from the foundation of Rome down to at least 91 (fr. 64P: *HRR* 1.CCCV, 238–75).

From time to time, we encounter in the ancient sources details concerning the Jugurthine war that are nowhere to be found in S. and even contradict S.'s narrative, thereby revealing what must be a rival tradition that S. chose not to follow. For instance, Orosius' distinctively different description of the two battles fought with the combined forces of Jugurtha and Bocchus in the late autumn of 106, during Marius' march back to Cirta after the capture of the fortress in western Numidia (Oros. 5.15.10–18), bears no resemblance to S.'s account (*Jug.* 97–101). Orosius may well stretch back to Valerius Antias via Livy, who is known to have drawn upon Antias from time to time and to have served, in turn, as a chief source of Orosius. The huge casualty figure that Orosius (5.15.10) gives for the Numidians and Mauretanians in the second battle (90,000) is reminiscent of the vastly inflated numbers for which An-

<sup>3</sup> The programmatic statement in Asellio's preface (fr. 1–2), which announces the historian's intention to explore cause and effect and not just provide a mere bare-bones list of happenings, sounds Polybian.

tias is explicitly criticized elsewhere by Livy (e.g., 26.49.3, 33.10.8). In the very next chapter, Orosius (5.16.3) credits Valerius Antias by name for the number supposedly killed at the Battle of Arausio in 105 (80,000 Romans + 40,000 camp followers). S., by contrast, avoids sensational elements such as the inflated number of enemy killed and the miraculous downpour of rain that Orosius credits with saving the Roman troops from disaster in the first of the two battles. According to S., it is the plausible, timely intervention of Sulla, with his troop of cavalry, that saved the Romans from defeat in the second battle.

In at least two places, namely, in his detailed account of the battle in 109 near the river Muthul (48.3–53) and in his equally colorful and detailed account of the negotiations in 105 between Sulla and King Bocchus of Mauretania, resulting in the surrender of Jugurtha, S. almost certainly drew upon the memoirs of participants in those two affairs. In the first instance, S. will have consulted the account given by Metellus' legate P. Rutlius Rufus (cos. 105), who took an active role as one of the commanders in the battle near the river (50.1, 52.5, 6). For the later episode, S. will have drawn upon the eyewitness account of Sulla concerning his delicate and lengthy negotiations with Bocchus. In addition, Cicero (*Brut.* 112) attests in his day the existence of memoirs by the senior consular M. Aemilius Scaurus (cos. 115). Presumably S. could have, and may have, learned a great deal from consulting Scaurus' autobiographical account of his role in shaping the senate's response to Adherbal's personal appeal in 116 (15.4), of Scaurus' role as ambassador to Numidia in 112 when Jugurtha was besieging Adherbal in Cirta (25.4), of Scaurus' role as a staff officer advising the consul Bestia in

## SALLUST

111 (28.4) and serving as participant in the peace negotiations with Jugurtha in that same year (29.5), and finally of Scaurus' role as commissioner in the Mamilian inquiry of 109, which investigated those who had allegedly aided and abetted Jugurtha (40.4).

Lastly, S. may have consulted speeches (as he clearly appears to have done in his investigation of the Catilinarian affair). Speeches delivered by Metellus Numidicus, who triumphed over Jugurtha (*ORF* 211–13), and by C. Sulpicius Galba, one of the victims of the Mamilian Commission in 109 (*Cic. Brut.* 127), are known to have been in existence in S.'s day.

## CHRONOLOGY OF THE JUGURTHINE WAR

Events not strictly belonging to the narrative of the Jugurthine War but relevant for providing historical context are enclosed in square brackets. Major defeats in theaters of war outside Africa are marked with a single vertical stroke.

- ca. 155 BC** Birth of Jugurtha (illegitimate son of Mastanabal, son of Masinissa).
- 148** Death of Masinissa (5.6): for the date see Livy (*Oxy. Per.* 50). Division of kingdom made by Scipio Aemilianus (*ibid.*) among Masinissa's three sons: Micipsa, Mastanabal, and Gulussa (each holding title "king," Polyb. 38.7.2; Plin. *HN* 18.22, cf. 8.31).
- by 139** Micipsa becomes sole ruler of Numidia.
- 134–133** Jugurtha is sent to Spain by Micipsa to fight with Romans under Scipio Aemilianus in Numantine War (7.2).
- 133** Scipio Aemilianus sends *letter* to Micipsa, praising Jugurtha (9.2).

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- 120 Jugurtha adopted by Micipsa as joint heir with Adherbal and Hiempsal (9.3). Adoption took place within three years of Micipsa's death (11.6).
- 119 [\*Celts defeat and kill governor of Macedonia.]
- 118 Micipsa dies (11.2): for the date, see Livy (*Per.* 62).  
Numidia is divided between Micipsa's two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal (the youngest, 11.3), and Jugurtha.
- 117 Murder of Hiempsal (12.5): for the approx. date, see Livy (*Per.* 62).  
Jugurtha defeats Adherbal, who flees to Rome for help (13.4): for the approx. date, see Livy (*Per.* 62).  
Jugurtha sends envoys with bribes to Rome (13.5–9); *Speech of Adherbal to Senate* (14); M. Scaurus opposes interests of Jugurtha (15.4).
- 116 First Roman commission: ten senators headed by L. Opimius (cos. 121) divide the kingdom of Numidia between Jugurtha and Adherbal (16.5).
- 114 [Scordisci defeat consul in Macedonia, invade Greece as far as Delphi.]
- 113 [[Cimbri defeat cos. Cn. Carbo at Noreia north of Illyricum.]
- 112 Jugurtha invades kingdom of Adherbal (20): for the date, see Livy (*Per.* 64, first item under 112).

## THE WAR WITH JUGURTHA

- ca. April Jugurtha defeats Adherbal and traps him in Cirta (21): for the date, see 24.3n.  
Second Roman commission: three young senators (21.4); Jugurtha promises to send envoys to Rome (22.4); two envoys of Adherbal escape from Cirta and bring *letter of Adherbal* (24) to Rome (23.2).  
Third Roman commission: senior senators under M. Scaurus (25.4).  
Jugurtha summoned to appear in Roman province of Africa (25.10–11).
- ca. Oct. Cirta falls; Adherbal is put to death, and Jugurtha's troops massacre the Italian community in the city (26.3).  
Under pressure from C. Memmius tr. pl.-elect for 111 (27.2), senate makes Numidia consular for 111 (27.3).
- 111  
Jan.?  
War declared (Oros. 5.15.1; Val. Max. 7.5.2).
- ca. Feb. Jugurtha's son and two friends denied access to senate (28.1–3).
- Mar./Apr. The consul Calpurnius Bestia commences war (28.6–7); M. Scaurus (cos. 115) on Bestia's staff (28.4).  
Bestia negotiates peace treaty with Jugurtha (29.5–6).
- ca. Oct. Bestia returns to Rome to hold the elections (29.7).

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Nov./Dec.	Jugurtha is summoned to Rome by C. Memmius tr. pl. (32.1); Jugurtha arrives in mourning (33.1) and avoids giving evidence against his senatorial supporters by purchasing the veto of C. Baebius tr. pl. (34.1).
110	Jugurtha employs Bomilcar to murder Massiva—son of Gulussa, grandson of Masinissa—(35.5–7) and is expelled from Rome.
ca. April	War is renewed under the consul Spurius Albinus.
Oct./Nov.	Albinus returns to Rome to hold elections and leaves his brother Aulus in charge (36.4).
ca. Dec.?	Failed campaign of Aulus Albinus, capture of his army and surrender (37.3–38): incorrectly dated by S. to Jan. 109 (37.3).
109	
Jan.?	Senate rejects peace agreement with Jugurtha (39.3). Special court established by tribunician <i>lex Mamilia</i> to try senators suspected of aiding Jugurtha (40).
spring	The consul Q. Metellus assumes command of army (44.1, 44.3n). Garrison installed at Vaga (47).
summer	Battle at river Muthul (48.3–53).
Sept./Oct.	Expedition to Zama: unsuccessful siege (56–60).

## THE WAR WITH JUGURTHA

late109 early 108	[Metellus' consular colleague Silanus defeated by the Cimbri in southern Gaul (Liv. <i>Per.</i> 65).]
winter	Headquarters at Tisidium(?), in the province (62.8). Jugurtha surrenders, then renews war (61–62).
Dec.?	Vaga lost and retaken (66–69). Plot of Bomilcar against Jugurtha exposed (70–72).
108	
spring	Marius dismissed by Metellus (73). Pitched battle with Jugurtha (74).
summer?	Expedition to Thala, which is besieged and captured (75–76). Marius elected consul for 107 (73.7).
Nov.?	
107	
Jan.	Numidia reassigned from Metellus to Marius by plebiscite (73.7). Metellus declines to engage Jugurtha and Bocchus near Cirta (80–81). Marius arrives in Africa (86.4). Metellus returns to Rome (88.1)
spring	[Marius' consular colleague L. Cassius Longinus defeated and killed while fighting in Gaul.]
summer?	Defeat of Jugurtha near Cirta (88.3). Expedition to Capsa, which is besieged and destroyed (89.4–91).
May? Sept./Oct.?	Numidian towns brought under Roman control (92.3–4).
winter	



SALLUST

106

- Jan.?  
 spring  
 summer  
 Sept./Oct.  
 winter
- [Metellus celebrates a triumph over the Numidians and Jugurtha (Vell. 2.11.2; *Fast. Triumph.*)  
 Expedition to river Muluccha on border with Mauretania (march of 2–3 mos.).  
 Capture of fortress after lengthy siege (92.5–94).  
 Two battles with Jugurtha and Bocchus on march back to Cirta, the second near Cirta (97–101).  
 Winter quarters at Cirta: Marius leaves Sulla in charge and goes on expedition against Gaetulians (103.1).

105

- summer  
 Oct. 6  
 Oct./Nov.
- Sulla arranges surrender of Jugurtha by Bocchus (105–113).  
 [Battle of Arausio in Gaul: overwhelming defeat of Roman armies by Cimbri and Teutones (114.1).]  
 Marius elected to second consulship while still abroad and assigned Gaul to pursue the war against the Cimbri and Teutones (114.3).  
 Gauda, Jugurtha's half brother, installed on Numidian throne (*CIL* 2.3417).

104

- Jan. 1  
 ca. Jan. 7
- Marius celebrates triumph over Jugurtha (114.3).  
 Jugurtha put to death in Tullianum (*Plut. Mar.* 12.3–4).

OUTLINE OF THE *BELLUM JUGURTHINUM*

The outline below is designed to show the arrangement of the work as a whole. Digressions are marked with a double vertical stroke ||. Speeches and documents are set in italics.

PREFACE

- 1–4 Justification for writing history  
 5.1–3 Choice of topic and its importance

EVENTS LEADING UP TO WAR: PART 1

- 5.4–16 Rise of Jugurtha to the division of Numidia (116 BC)  
 9.2 *Letter of Scipio Aemilianus to King Micipsa* (133 BC)  
 10 *Deathbed Speech of King Micipsa* (118 BC)  
 14 *Speech of Adherbal to Senate* (116 BC)

17–19

|| *Excursus on Africa*

EVENTS LEADING UP TO WAR: PART 2

- 20–28.3 Division of Numidia (116 BC) to the massacre at Cirta (112 BC)

## SALLUST

24.2-10	<i>Letter of Adherbal</i>
WAR, PHASE 1	
28.4-40	Campaigns of 111 and 110 BC
28.4-35	Year One (111 BC)
28.4-29	Campaign of the consul L. Calpurnius Bestia
30-35	Reaction to peace treaty in Rome
31	<i>Speech of C. Memmius tr. pl.</i>
33-34	Jugurtha summoned to Rome
35	Jugurtha brings about murder of Massiva (early 110?)
36-39	Year Two (110 BC)
36	Campaign of the consul Sp. Postumius Albinus
37-38	Defeat and surrender of Albinus' brother (Dec.?)
39	Senate rejects treaty (Jan. 109?)
40	C. Mamilius tr. pl. sets up special investigation (109)
41-42	<b>   Excursus on Factionalism at Rome</b>
WAR, PHASE 2	
43-83	Campaigns of Q. Caecilius Metellus (Numidicus): 109-spr. 107 BC
43-45	Metellus restores discipline in the army
46-60	First Campaign (109 BC)
47	Garrison stationed at Vaga
48.3-53	Battle at the river Muthul

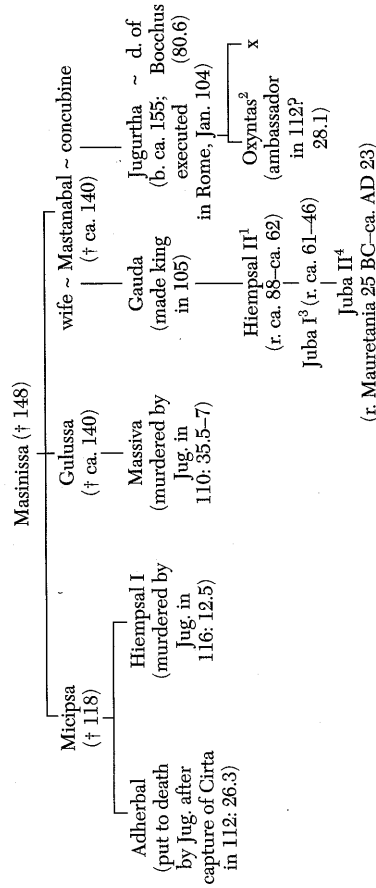
## THE WAR WITH JUGURTHA

54-60	Abortive siege of Zama
61-72	Winter of 109-108 BC: camp at Tisidium? (62.8)
61-62	Jugurtha surrenders, then resumes war
63-65	Rift between Metellus and Marius
66-69	Vaga lost and retaken
70-72	Plot of Bomilcar against Jugurtha exposed
73-78	Second Campaign (108 BC)
73-74	Pitched battle with Jugurtha
75-76	Siege and capture of Thala (late summer)
77-78	Leptis reinforced
79	<b>   Excursus on Philaeni brothers</b>
80-83	Winter of 108-107 BC
80-81	Jugurtha and Bocchus draw near to Cirta
82	News of Marius' appointment reaches Metellus
83	Lengthy, inconclusive negotiations with Bocchus
84-86	Marius elected consul (Nov.? 108 BC)
85	<i>Marius' Speech</i>
WAR, PHASE 3	
87-114	Campaigns of C. Marius: 107-105 BC
87-92.4	First Campaign (107 BC)
88.3	Defeat of Jugurtha near Cirta

89–91	Capture and destruction of Capsa (autumn)
92.5–101	Second Campaign (106 BC)
92.3–4	Reduction of Numidian towns after Capsa (winter 107–106 BC?)
92.5–94	Expedition to river Muluccha and capture of fortress
95–96	Arrival of L. Sulla (qu. 107 BC)
97–101	Two battles with Jugurtha and Bocchus
102–104	Winter of 106–105 BC
102.5–11	<i>Speech of Sulla to King Bocchus</i>
105–114	Third year of Marius' Command (105 BC)
105–113	Sulla persuades Bocchus to betray Jugurtha
110	<i>Speech of Bocchus to Sulla</i>
114	Marius elected to 2nd consulship (Oct./Nov.?) in reaction to Roman defeat at Arausio in Gaul (Oct. 6)

## SALLUST

## Genealogical Table of Numidian Royal Family



1. Possessor (author?) of Punic books on Africa mentioned at *Jug.* 17.7. Marius' son sought refuge with him in 88 (*Plut. Mar.* 40.5). Restored to his throne by Pompey in 81 (*S. Hist.* 1.53M). Bribed P. Rullus tr. pl. in 63 to protect his power (*Cic. Leg. agr.* 2.58). Last attested on throne in 62 (*Cic. Vat.* 12). 2. Freed from confinement at Venusia in 90 by C. Papius Mutilus, the Samnite leader in the uprising of Rome's Italian allies (*App. B Cit.* 1.42.188). 3. Physically assaulted in 62 by Caesar in the heat of a dispute involving the Numidian princeping Masintha, whom Caesar was defending against claims being pressed by Juba's father, King Hiempsal (*Suet. Jul.* 71). In 49–46 supported the Pompeians in the civil war in part because in 50, C. Curio tr. pl. and Caesar's political agent, had proposed annexing Numidia (*Caes. B Cit.* 2.25.4; *Dio* 41.41.3). 4. Displayed as a child in Caesar's African triumph in 46 (*Plut. Caes.* 55.3), he remained in Italy for his formative years and was granted Roman citizenship, eventually being made king of Mauretania by Augustus in 25. He married a daughter of Mark Antony and Cleopatra and distinguished himself as a writer of learned works in Greek.

## BELLUM IUGURTHINUM

1. Falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod  
inbecilla atque aevi brevis forte potius quam virtute regatur. Nam contra reputando neque maius aliud neque praestabilius invenias magisque naturae industriam hominum quam vim aut tempus deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitae mortalium animus est. Qui ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur, abunde pollens potensque et clarus est neque fortuna eget, quippe quae<sup>1</sup> probitatem, industriam, aliasque artis bonas neque dare neque eripere quoquam potest. Sin captus pravis cupidinibus ad inertiam et voluptates corporis pessum datus est, perniciose lubricitate paulisper usus, ubi per socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium diffluxere, naturae infirmitas accusatur; suam quisque culpam auctores<sup>2</sup> ad negotia transferunt.

5 Quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura multaue etiam periculosa <ac perniciose><sup>3</sup> petunt, neque regerentur magis quam regerent casus et eo magnitudinis procederent, ubi pro mortalibus gloria aeterni fierent.

<sup>1</sup> *om. PA<sup>2</sup>bK<sup>2</sup>H<sup>1</sup>F: qui A<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>2</sup> *BH<sup>1</sup>: actores rell.*

<sup>3</sup> *Aug. Ep. 153.22: om. ω*

## THE WAR WITH JUGURTHA

1. It is wrong for mankind to find fault with its nature on the ground that being weak and of short duration it is controlled more by chance than by virtue. On the contrary, one may discover, on reflection, that nothing is greater or more outstanding, and that it is diligence that human nature lacks rather than strength or longevity. But the leader and commander of mortals' life is the mind. And when it advances to glory by the path of virtue, it is abundantly powerful and potent, as well as illustrious; and it has no need for good luck, since luck can neither give to nor take away from any man honesty, diligence, and other good qualities. But if the mind has been captivated by depraved desires and has sunk to sloth and sensual pleasures—after it has enjoyed ruinous indulgence for a bit, when strength, time, and talents have wasted away through indolence—the weakness of human nature stands accused; each, though they brought it on themselves, shifts the blame to his troubles.

But if men had as much concern for honorable enterprises as they have eagerness for pursuing what is foreign to their interests and bound to be unprofitable and often even dangerous and destructive, they would control events rather than be controlled by them, and would advance to that degree of greatness where glory would make them eternal instead of mortal.

2. Nam uti genus hominum conpositum ex corpore et anima est, ita res cunctae studiaque omnia nostra corporis alia, alia animi naturam secuntur. Igitur praeclara facies, magna divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis et alia omnia huiusce modi brevi dilabuntur; at ingeni egregia facinora sicuti anima immortalia sunt.

3. Postremo corporis et fortunae bonorum ut initium sic finis est, omniaque orta occidunt et aucta senescunt; animus incorruptus, aeternus, rector humani generis agit atque habet cuncta neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui dediti corporis gaudiis per luxum et ignaviam aetatem agunt, ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu atque socordia torpescere sinunt, quom praesertim tam multae variaequae sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

3. Verum ex eis magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum minime mihi hac tempestate cupiunda videntur, quoniam neque virtuti honos datur, neque illi quibus per fraudem [ius]<sup>4</sup> fuit [uti]<sup>5</sup> tuti aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam aut parentis, quamquam et possis et delicta corrigas, tamen

<sup>4</sup> ius (vel uis) A<sup>2</sup>βγN<sup>2</sup>K<sup>2</sup>: iis P: his A<sup>1</sup>: is δ: del. Dietsch

<sup>5</sup> utique A<sup>2</sup>βγ: om. δ: del. Jordan

<sup>1</sup> Sallust was writing in the period made bloody and turbulent by the proscriptions carried out by the Triumvirs in 43–42 BC.

<sup>2</sup> Although the word *parentis* can mean “subjects” if it is construed as the participle of the verb *pareo* (to obey) and is so used at *Jug.* 102.7, here it is more likely to be the noun *parens* because

2. For just as mankind is made up of body and soul, so the sum total of our acts and all our pursuits take after the nature of the body in some cases, of the mind in others. Therefore, a distinguished appearance, great riches, as well as bodily strength and all other such endowments, soon pass away; but outstanding achievements of the intellect are, like the soul, deathless.

In short, positive aspects of the body and of fortune have an end as well as a beginning; and they all rise and then fall, increase and then age away. The mind, incorruptible, eternal, ruler of mankind, sets in motion and controls all things, and is not itself controlled. Consequently, one has to marvel all the more at the perversity of those who pass their life in luxury and idleness, given over to the pleasures of the body, but allow their intellect, which is better and greater than anything else in man’s nature, to grow dull from neglect and inaction, especially since there are so many and so varied intellectual pursuits by which very great distinction is to be acquired.

3. But of these pursuits, it seems to me that political offices and military commands, in short, all forms of public service are least desirable at the present time, since the honor of public office is not bestowed upon merit, while those who have gained it wrongfully are neither safe nor any more honorable on account of it.<sup>1</sup> For to control one’s native land or parents<sup>2</sup> by force, even if you should be able

of being linked with *patriam*, as it is also at *Cat.* 6.5, 52.3, *Jug.* 87.2, *Hist.* 4.69.17M, where the meaning “parents” is beyond dispute.

3 inportunum est, quom praesertim omnes rerum muta-  
 3 tiones caedem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant. Frustra  
 4 autem niti neque aliud se fatigando nisi odium quae-  
 4 rere, extremae dementiae est—nisi forte quem inhonesta  
 4 et perniciose lubido tenet potentiae paucorum decus atque  
 4 libertatem suam gratificari.

4 Ceterum ex aliis negotiis quae ingenio exercentur, in  
 2 primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum. Quoius  
 2 de virtute quia multi dixere, praetereundum puto, simul  
 2 ne per insolentiam quis existimet memet studium meum  
 3 laudando extollere. Atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi  
 3 procul a re publica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori  
 3 meo nomen inertiae inponant, certe quibus maxuma  
 4 industria videtur salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam  
 4 quaerere. Qui si reputaverint et quibus ego temporibus  
 4 magistratus adeptus sim, [et]<sup>6</sup> quales viri idem adsequi  
 4 nequiverint, et postea quae genera hominum in senatum  
 4 pervenerint, profecto existumabunt me magis merito

<sup>6</sup> *om. s., del. Elberling*

<sup>3</sup> Possibly an allusion to the reforms introduced by the dictator Caesar, or to the avowed aim of Octavian Caesar and his triumphal colleagues to avenge the murder of Caesar and honor his memory.

<sup>4</sup> Precisely the evils that were rampant at the time of writing, under the brutal and capricious tyranny of the Triumvirs, who were empowered by law to “set the nation in order” (*rei publicae constituendae*).

<sup>5</sup> The aside introduced by “unless by chance” identifies a third class of individuals who are willing to pursue a political career (in addition to the two previously defined: tyrants and fools): viz., people content to hold public office in name only, as mere tools of figures with real power (the Triumvirs).

to and were to correct abuses in the process,<sup>3</sup> is nevertheless misguided, especially since all upheaval holds out the prospect of bloodshed, exile, and other horrors of war.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, to struggle in vain and to gain nothing by wearisome exertion except hatred is the height of insanity—unless, by chance, one is possessed by a dishonorable and pernicious passion to put one’s honor and personal freedom at the service of a few powerful men.<sup>5</sup>

4. But among sundry intellectual pursuits, the recording of past deeds is especially serviceable. Yet I think I should keep silent because many have spoken of its merit, and also so that no one may suppose that out of arrogance I am inflating my own chosen pursuit with praise. I suppose, too, that since I have resolved to pass my life aloof from public affairs, there will be those who will apply to this arduous and useful employment of mine the term idleness, certainly those who think it is the height of industriousness to court the common people and curry favor by means of banquets. But if such men will recall in what times I gained public office,<sup>6</sup> what sort of men were unable to attain the same honor,<sup>7</sup> and what kinds of men have since come into the senate,<sup>8</sup> they will surely believe

<sup>6</sup> Sallust contrasts the time when he held office in the 50s with the chaos a decade later; see 3.In.

<sup>7</sup> Such as Marcus Cato, who was denied election to the praetorship of 55 by violence and corruption and failed to be elected consul for 51.

<sup>8</sup> Referring both to Gauls admitted by Julius Caesar (Suet. *Iul.* 80.2) and to disreputable sorts who were made senators by Mark Antony after Caesar’s death on the pretext that they had been named as entitled to the honor in Caesar’s papers (Suet. *Aug.* 35).

quam ignavia iudicium animi mei mutavisse maiusque commodum ex otio meo quam ex aliorum negotiis rei publicae venturum.

5 Nam saepe ego audivi Q. Maxumum, P. Scipionem, <alios><sup>7</sup> praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere, quom maiorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem adcendi. Scilicet non  
6 ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere neque prius sedari quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit.

7 At contra quis est omnium, his moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum maioribus suis contendat? Etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia et honores  
8 nituntur; proinde quasi praetura et consulatus atque alia omnia huiusce modi per se ipsa clara et magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur ut eorum qui ea sustinent virtus  
9 est. Verum ego liberius altiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget taedetque. Nunc ad inceptum redeo.

5. Bellum scripturus sum quod populus Romanus cum Iugurtha rege Numidarum gessit, primum quia magnum et atrox variaque victoria fuit, dehinc quia tunc primum

<sup>7</sup> *suppl. Halbertsma*

<sup>9</sup> A Roman had the right to display in the atrium of his house waxen masks (*imagines*) of his ancestors who had held high public office. These masks were worn at funerals of members of the family by actors who impersonated the dead (Polyb. 6.53) and were exhibited on other solemn occasions. <sup>10</sup> See *Cat.* 23.6n.

that it is from justifiable motives, rather than from indolence, that I have changed my opinion, and that greater profit will accrue to our country from my inactivity than from activities of others.

I have often heard that Quintus Maximus, Publius Scipio, and other eminent men of our country were accustomed to declare that their hearts were set mightily aflame for the pursuit of virtue whenever they gazed upon the representations<sup>9</sup> of their ancestors. It is evident that not the wax nor the effigy had any such intrinsic power, but rather it was from the memory of accomplishments that this flame swelled in the breast of exceptional men and could not be assuaged until their own prowess equaled the fame and glory of those models.

By contrast, given today's morality, who in the world is there who does not vie with his ancestors in riches and extravagance rather than in uprightness and exertion? Even "new men,"<sup>10</sup> who in former times always relied upon worth to outdo the nobles, now strive for power and distinction by relying on intrigue and open fraud rather than noble practices; just as if a praetorship, a consulship, and all else of the kind were distinguished and illustrious in and of itself and were not valued according to the merit of those who uphold the dignity of those offices. But in expressing my regret and displeasure over our community's morals, I have elaborated on the topic too freely and in too much detail. I now come round to my undertaking.

5. I am going to write an account of the war which the Roman people waged with Jugurtha, king of the Numidians: first of all, because it was a great and terrible conflict of varying fortune; secondly, because then for the first

- 2 superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est. Quae contentio di-  
vina et humana cuncta permiscuit eoque vecordiae pro-  
cessit ut studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae fi-  
nem faceret. Sed priusquam huiusce modi rei initium  
expedio, pauca supra repetam, quo ad cognoscendum  
omnia industria magis magisque in aperto sint.
- 4 Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginensium  
Hannibal post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiae  
in opes maxime adriverat, Masinissa rex Numidarum in  
amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, quoi postea Africano  
cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et praeclara rei militaris  
facinora fecerat. Ob quae victis Carthaginensibus et capto  
Syphace, quois in Africa magnum atque late imperium  
valuit, populus Romanus quascumque urbis et agros manu  
5 ceperat regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissae bona  
atque honesta nobis permansit ; sed imperi vitaeque eius  
6 finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit,  
7 Mastanabale et Gulussa fratribus morbo absumptis. Is  
Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit Iugurthamque  
filium Mastanabalis fratris, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex

<sup>11</sup> I.e., the revolt of Rome's Italian allies in the Social War (91–87 BC)—causing widespread devastation of Italy—followed by the civil wars between Sulla and the Marians (88–82 BC), Caesar and the Pompeians (49–46), and most recently the Triumvirs and the Liberators (42), put an end to mere political wrangling.

<sup>12</sup> A Numidian chieftain who revolted from the Carthaginians (ca. 214) and struck an alliance with the Scipios in Spain but later changed sides and was defeated and captured by the Romans with the aid of Masinissa in 203.

time opposition was offered to the insolence of the nobles. That struggle threw everything, human and divine, into confusion, and progressed to such a pitch of frenzy that finally war and the desolation of Italy put an end to civil contentions.<sup>11</sup> But before I set out the beginning of a topic of this sort, I shall back track a bit so that everything may be understood more clearly and be more out in the open.

In the second Punic war, when Hannibal, leader of the Carthaginians, had dealt Italy's power the heaviest blow since the name of Rome acquired greatness, Masinissa, king of Numidia, after being recognized as a friend by Publius Scipio (who was later surnamed Africanus because of his prowess), performed many illustrious deeds of war. In return for this, after the defeat of the Carthaginians and the capture of Syphax,<sup>12</sup> whose dominion in Africa was great and extensive, the Roman people made Masinissa a gift of whatever cities and territories had been taken in the conflict.<sup>13</sup> Consequently the friendship of Masinissa toward us remained continually true and loyal; and his power lasted until the end of his life.<sup>14</sup> His son Micipsa then held his kingdom all by himself, his brothers Mastanabal and Gulussa having died from illness. Micipsa sired Adherbal and Hiempsal, and brought up in the palace, in the same manner as his own children, a son of his brother Mastanabal called Jugurtha, whom Masinissa in

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Livy 30.44.12. The wording of the sentence does not make it clear whether the Roman people or Masinissa recovered the cities and territories from Syphax.

<sup>14</sup> Dying at the age of ninety (Poly. 36.16.2, 5), or more (Liv. *Per.* 48, 50; Val. Max. 5.2 ext. 4), in 148 (Liv. *Oxy. Per.* 50).



concubina erat, privatum dereliquerat, eodem cultu quo liberos suos domi habuit.

6. Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio validus, non se luxu<sup>8</sup> neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, iaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare, et quom omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire; plurimum facere et minimum ipse de se loqui.

2 Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existumans virtutem Iugurthae regno suo gloriae fore, tamen postquam hominem adulescentem exacta sua aetate et parvis liberis magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer eo negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo volebat. 3 Terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperi et praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem, praeterea oportunitas suae liberorumque aetatis, quae etiam mediocris viros spe praedae transvorsos agit; ad hoc studia Numidarum in Iugurtham adcensa, ex quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur anxius erat.

7. His difficultatibus circumventus ubi videt neque per vim neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus, quod erat Iugurtha manu promptus et adpe-

<sup>8</sup> A<sup>1</sup>Y, *Fro.* 98.2, *Diom.*, *GL* 1.341.6: luxui, *PA*<sup>2</sup>*BN*<sup>2</sup>*D*<sup>2</sup>*F*<sup>2</sup>: lux-  
urae, *Macrob.* *GL* 5.624.25

his will had allowed to remain a commoner because he was the child of a concubine.

6. As soon as Jugurtha grew up, endowed as he was with physical strength, a handsome appearance, but above all with a vigorous intellect, he did not allow himself to be spoiled by luxury or idleness, but following the custom of that nation, he rode horses, hurled the javelin, contended with those of his same age in footraces, and although he surpassed them all in renown, he nevertheless enjoyed the affection of all. Besides this, he devoted much time to hunting, was usually the first, or among the first, to strike down a lion and other wild beasts, performed numerous accomplishments, but spoke very little of his own exploits.

At first Micipsa was delighted with such conduct, believing that the prowess of Jugurtha would contribute to the glory of his kingdom. And yet, when he realized that the fellow was constantly growing in power and was a young man, while he himself was advanced in years and his children were small, he was seriously troubled by the situation and kept turning it over in his mind. He was frightened by human nature which is greedy for power and eager to gratify the heart's desire; besides, his own advanced years and the youthfulness of his sons presented an opening which could drive even average men from the straight and narrow out of hope for spoils; on top of this, there was the Numidians' passionate support for Jugurtha from which, he worried, some rebellion or war might erupt, if he killed such a man by treachery.

7. Beset by these difficulties, and seeing that one so well liked by his countrymen could not be put out of the way by violence or by stratagem, he resolved, inasmuch as Jugurtha was quick to act and eager for military glory, to

tens gloriae militaris, statuit eum obiectare periculis et eo modo fortunam temptare. Igitur bello Numantino Micipsa quom populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans vel ostentando virtutem vel hostium saevitia facile eum occasurum, praefecit Numidis quos in Hispaniam mittebat.

3, 4 Sed ea res longe aliter ac ratus erat evenit. Nam Iugurtha, ut erat inpigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator erat, et morem hostium cognovit, multo labore multaue cura, praeterea modestissime parendo et saepe obviam eundo periculis in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillimum in primis est, et proelio strenuos erat et bonus consilio, quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnis fere res asperas per Iugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque eum in dies amplecti, quippe quocius neque consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc adcedebat munificentia animi et ingeni sollertia, quis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiarium amicitia coniunxerat.

8. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi atque nobiles quibus divitiae bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam honesti, qui Iugurthae non mediocrem animum pollicitando adscendebant, si Micipsa rex occidisset,

<sup>15</sup> Rome's war against Numantia, a town in northeast Spain, ended in 133 after an eight-month siege conducted by the younger Scipio. Jugurtha joined Scipio's army in 134.

<sup>16</sup> See *Cat.* 23.6n.

expose him to dangers and thus put fortune to the test. Accordingly, when Micipsa sent cavalry and infantry to aid the Romans in their war with Numantia,<sup>15</sup> he put Jugurtha in command of the Numidians whom he sent to Spain, hoping that he would easily perish either in displaying his valor or from the savagery of the foe.

But the result was far different from what he had expected: Jugurtha was of an active and keen disposition, and after he had become acquainted with the character of Publius Scipio, the then commander of the Romans, and the ways of the enemy, he had shortly acquired (through hard work and studious application, and also by his strict obedience and by often courting dangers) such a glorious reputation that he was enormously popular with our soldiers and a source of great dread to the Numantines. In fact, he was both vigorous in battle and wise in counsel, a thing most difficult to achieve; of these two qualities the latter generally produces fear out of cautiousness, the former rashness out of recklessness. Therefore, Scipio relied upon Jugurtha for almost all difficult undertakings, treated him as a friend, and grew more and more attached to him daily, since he fell short neither in counsel nor in any undertaking. He had, besides, a generous spirit and a clever nature, qualities by which he had bound many Romans to him in close friendship.

8. At that time there were a great many in our army, both "new men"<sup>16</sup> and nobles, who cared more for riches than for virtue and integrity; they were intriguers at home, influential with our allies, notorious rather than respected. These men fired Jugurtha's not humble spirit by promising that if King Micipsa died, he would gain the sole power in

fore uti solus imperi Numidiae potiretur: in ipso maxumam virtutem, Romae omnia venalia esse.

- 2 Sed postquam Numantia deleta P. Scipio dimittere auxilia et ipse reverti domum decrevit, donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro contione Iugurtham in praetorium abduxit ibique secreto monuit ut potius publice quam privatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret neu quibus largiri insuesceret; periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset. Si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam et regnum venturum, sin properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia praecipitem casurum.

9. Sic locutus cum litteris eum, quas Micipsae redderet, dimisit. Earum sententia haec erat:

- 2 "Iugurthae tui bello Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit, quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse. Nobis ob merita sua carus est; ut idem senatui et populo Romano sit summa ope nitentur. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. En<sup>9</sup> habes virum dignum te atque avo suo Masinissa."

- 3 Igitur rex ubi ea quae fama acceperat ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, quom virtute tum gratia viri permotus flexit animum suum et Iugurtham beneficiis vincere adgressus est, statimque eum adoptavit et testamento

<sup>9</sup> *om. VPA<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>, Symm. Ep. 1.25*

<sup>17</sup> As compared with Hiempsal and Adherbal, the sons of Micipsa.

Numidia, thinking that he possessed the greatest prowess,<sup>17</sup> while at Rome everything was for sale.

Now when after the destruction of Numantia Publius Scipio decided to disband his auxiliary troops and return home himself, he presented Jugurtha with rewards and commended him highly before the assembled soldiers; then he took him aside into his headquarters tent. There in private he advised the young man to cultivate the friendship of the Roman people through official channels rather than through powerbrokers, and not to form the habit of bribery. It was dangerous, he said, to buy from a few what belonged to the many, that if Jugurtha was willing to remain true to his character, then fame and royal power would come to him unsought; but if he proceeded too hastily, he would bring about his own ruin by means of his own money.

9. After speaking in this way, Scipio sent the young man off with a letter to be delivered to Micipsa, the purport of which was this:

"The valor of your Jugurtha in the Numantine war was by far the most conspicuous, something which, I am sure, is a source of joy to you. To us he is dear because of his services, and we shall use our best efforts to make him the same in the eyes of the senate and people of Rome. In view of our friendship, I congratulate you; indeed, in him you have a hero worthy of yourself and of his grandfather Masinissa."

Accordingly, the king, upon learning from the general's letter that the reports he had received by hearsay were true, was influenced both by Jugurtha's merit, and by the goodwill he had won, to change his plans and set about winning over the young man by kindnesses. He adopted

4 pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos morbo atque aetate confectus quom sibi finem vitae adesse intellexeret, coram amicis et cognatis itemque Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis dicitur huiusce modi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse.

10. "Parvom ego, Jugurtha, te, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus in regnum meum accepi, existumans non minus me tibi quam [liberis]<sup>10</sup> si genuissem ob beneficia carum fore. Neque ea res falsum me habuit. Nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua omittam, novissime rediens Numantia meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti tuaque virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti; in Hispania nomen familiae renovatum est. Postremo, quod difficillimum inter mortalis est, gloria invidiam vicisti.

3 "Nunc, quoniam mihi natura finem vitae facit, per hanc dexteram, per regni fidem moneo obtestorque te uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas neu malis alienos adiungere quam sanguine  
4 coniunctos retinere. Non exercitus neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere

<sup>10</sup> *del. Palmer*

<sup>18</sup> "At once" (*statim*) appears to indicate that the adoption took place soon after Jugurtha returned from the Numantine war in 133, whereas according to 11.6, the adoption fell within the three years preceding Micipsa's death (in 118). The latter chronology is supported by the immediately following statement (9.4) that "a few years later," shortly before his death, Micipsa made the appeal to Jugurtha reported in ch. 10.

<sup>19</sup> In the Second Punic War, Masinissa had served with dis-

him at once<sup>18</sup> and in his will named him joint heir with his sons. But a few years later, enfeebled by age and illness, since he realized that the end of his life was near, in the presence of his friends and kinsfolk, including his sons Adherbal and Hiempsal, the king is said to have spoken with Jugurtha after this fashion:

10. "After the death of your father, when you were a small boy, Jugurtha, without prospects, without means, I took you into my royal household, thinking that because of my kindnesses I would be as dear to you as if I were your father. And the outcome did not prove me wrong; for, to say nothing of your other great and outstanding actions, upon returning quite recently from Numantia, you conferred honor on me and my realm by your glory, and by your prowess you made our friends the Romans still more friendly to us; in Spain the name of our family has been given new life.<sup>19</sup> Finally, by means of your glory you have vanquished envy,<sup>20</sup> a most difficult feat for mortals.

"Now, since nature is bringing my life to its close, I urge and call upon you by this right hand, by the loyalty due the crown, to hold dear these present before you who are your kinsmen by birth and through my favor are your brothers; and do not prefer forming connections with strangers to maintaining ties with those linked by blood. The bulwarks of a kingdom are neither armies nor treasuries but rather friends, whom you cannot collect by means of arms or obtain by means of cash; it is by devotion and

tinction in Spain, first on the side of the Carthaginians, later going over to the Romans (Liv. 28.35).

<sup>20</sup> I.e., Jugurtha's glory is so great that it makes impossible the sort of envy that normally attends great deeds.

5 neque auro parere queas; officio et fide pariuntur. Quis  
 6 autem amicior quam frater fratri, aut quem alienum fidum  
 invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego vobis regnum  
 trado firmum, si boni eritis, sin mali, inbecillum. Nam  
 concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maxumae dila-  
 buntur.

7 "Ceterum ante hos te, Iugurtha, qui aetate et sapientia  
 prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat providere decet. Nam in  
 8 omni certamine qui opulentior est, etiam si accipit iniu-  
 riam, tamen, quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem,  
 Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc vi-  
 rum, imitamini virtutem et enitimini ne ego meliores libe-  
 ros sumpsisse videar quam genuisse."

11. Ad ea Iugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum in-  
 tellegebat et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro  
 2 tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus  
 moritur. Postquam illi more regio iusta magnifice fecerant,  
 3 reguli in unum convenerunt, ut inter se de cunctis negotiis  
 disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minus ex illis erat,  
 natura ferox et iam antea ignobilitatem Iugurthae, quia  
 materno genere impar erat, despiciens, dextra Adherbalem  
 adsedit, ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori  
 4 ducitur, Iugurtha foret. Dein tamen ut aetati concederet  
 fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est.

5 Ibi quom multa de administrando imperio dissererent,

<sup>21</sup> In 118 (Liv. *Per.* 62).

loyalty that they are brought into being. Moreover, who is more bound by ties of friendship than brother to brother, or what stranger will you find loyal, if you become an enemy to your kindred? I deliver to you and my two sons a realm that will be strong if you three are virtuous, but if evil, then weak. For harmony makes small states great, while the mightiest are undone by discord.

"As for the rest, Jugurtha, you who are older and wiser than these sons of mine have the chief responsibility for seeing to it that nothing goes awry. For in every contest, the one who has the greater resources, even if he is the injured party, nonetheless is looked upon as the aggressor because of his superior power. As for you, Adherbal and Hiempsal, love and respect such a man as this; emulate his virtues, and exert yourselves so it may not appear that I adopted a better child than I produced."

11. Although Jugurtha knew that the king had spoken insincerely, and though he himself had far different designs in his heart, yet he returned a gracious answer, suited to the occasion. A few days later Micipsa died.<sup>21</sup> After the princes had conducted his funeral with regal splendor, they met together to reach a decision among themselves concerning the entire situation. Then Hiempsal, who was the youngest of the three (being by nature haughty and even before this contemptuous of Jugurtha's inferior birth because he was not his equal on the maternal side), sat down beside Adherbal on his right so that Jugurtha might not be the middle one of the three, a position that is regarded as an honor among the Numidians. Afterward, however, when pressured by his brother to yield to seniority, he reluctantly shifted to the other side.

At this meeting, in the course of a long discussion about

Iugurtha inter alias res iacit oportere quinquenni consulta et decreta omnia rescindi; nam per ea tempora confectum  
 6 annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse. Tum idem Hiempsal placere sibi respondit; nam ipsum illum tribus proximis  
 7 annis adoptione in regnum pervenisse. Quod verbum in pectus Iugurthae altius quam quisquam ratus erat  
 8 descendit. Itaque ex eo tempore ira et metu anxius moliri, parare atque ea modo cum animo habere quibus Hiempsal per  
 9 dolum caperetur. Quae ubi tardius procedunt neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

12. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros  
 2 finisque imperi singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam.  
 3 Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio concessere. Sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmida forte eius domo utebatur qui, proximus lictor Iugurthae, carus acceptusque ei semper fuerat. Quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat inpellitque uti tamquam  
 4 sua[m]<sup>11</sup> visens domum eat, portarum clavis adulterinas paret—nam verae ad Hiempsalem referebantur—ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi conficit, atque, uti doctus

<sup>11</sup> corr. Gruter: suam (om. D) ω

<sup>22</sup> See 9.3n.      <sup>23</sup> An otherwise unattested place name.

<sup>24</sup> *Lictor*, a term normally describing a magistrate's attendant, is apparently used here to describe a close follower of Jugurtha, possibly a bodyguard.

<sup>25</sup> I. e., after lockup each evening.

the government of the kingdom, Jugurtha suggested, among other things, that they ought to annul all resolutions and decrees passed within the past five years, on the ground that during that time Micipsa was far gone in years and hardly of sound mind. Thereupon Hiempsal replied that this proposal suited him, for it was within the last three years,<sup>22</sup> he said, that Jugurtha had been given a share in the kingdom through adoption. This remark sank more deeply into Jugurtha's breast than anyone had imagined. So, from that moment, troubled by anger and fear, he plotted, planned, and thought of nothing except how Hiempsal might be taken by some subterfuge. But when events progressed too slowly and his fierce spirit did not calm down, he decided to finish the project any way at all.

12. At the first meeting held by the princes (which I mentioned above), they had decided to divide the treasuries and partition the kingdom among the three because of their lack of unanimity. Therefore, a time was set for both actions, but the earlier of the two was for the division of the money. Meanwhile, the princes came each by a different route to places near the treasuries. Now in the town of Thirmida<sup>23</sup> Hiempsal happened to be making use of a house belonging to a man who was Jugurtha's chief attendant<sup>24</sup> and had always been his master's dear and trusted confidant. This man, whom chance presented as an agent, Jugurtha loaded with promises, and he induced him to go to his house, as though making an inspection of his property, and to have duplicate keys made for the doors (the originals were always being returned to Hiempsal).<sup>25</sup> As for the rest, when action was called for, he personally would come with a large band of men, Jugurtha promised. The Numidian promptly carried out his commission, and,

5 erat, noctu Iugurthae milites introducit. Qui postquam in  
 aedis irupere, divorsi regem quaerere, dormientis alios,  
 alios occursantis interficere, scrutari loca abdita, clausa  
 effringere, strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere; quom in-  
 6 terim Hiempsal reperitur occultans se tugurio mulieris  
 ancillae, quo initio pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Num-  
 midae caput eius, uti iussi erant, ad Iugurtham referunt.

13. Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam  
 brevi divulgatur. Adherbalem omnisque qui sub imperio  
 Micipsae fuerant metus invadit. In duas partis discedunt  
 Numidae; plures Adherbalem secuntur, sed illum alterum  
 2 bello meliores. Igitur Iugurtha quam maxumas potest  
 copias armat, urbis partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo  
 3 adiungit, omni Numidiae imperare parat. Adherbal ta-  
 metsi Romam legatos miserat qui senatum docerent de  
 caede fratris et fortunis suis, tamen fretus multitudine  
 4 militum parabat armis contendere. Sed ubi res ad certa-  
 men venit, victus ex proelio profugit in provinciam ac  
 deinde Romam contendit.

5 Tum Iugurtha patris consiliis, postquam omnis Nu-  
 midiae potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo repu-  
 tans timere populum Romanum neque advorsus iram eius  
 usquam nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua spem  
 6 habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo  
 Romam legatos mittit, quis praecipit<sup>12</sup> primum uti veteres  
 amicos muneribus expleant, deinde novos adquirant, post-

<sup>12</sup> A<sup>2</sup>βN: -cepit *rell.*

<sup>26</sup> The Roman province of Africa formed in 146 from territory  
 previously possessed by Carthage.

as directed, he brought in Jugurtha's soldiers by night. After they had burst into the house, they scattered in search of the king, killed some of the household in their sleep and others as they offered resistance, ransacked all hiding places, broke down barred doors, and filled the whole place with noise and confusion. Meanwhile, Hiempsal was found hiding in a maidservant's hut to which he had fled in his initial fright and unfamiliarity with the premises. The Numidians, as they had been ordered, brought back his head to Jugurtha.

13. Now, in a short time the news of such an awful crime spread over all Africa. Fear seized Adherbal and all the former subjects of Micipsa. The Numidians separated into two factions; the majority sided with Adherbal, but the better warriors with his rival. Jugurtha then armed the largest possible number of troops, brought some cities under his control by force, others by voluntary submission, and prepared to exercise rule over all Numidia. Although Adherbal had dispatched envoys to Rome to inform the senate of his brother's murder and his own situation, still he prepared to do battle, relying upon his large number of soldiers. But when he entered the contest and was defeated, he fled from the battle to our province<sup>26</sup> and next made his way to Rome.

Then Jugurtha, after he had carried out his plans and was in possession of all Numidia, upon thinking over his deed at leisure, began to fear the Roman people and to have no hope of countering their anger except through the avarice of the Roman nobles and his own cash. Accordingly, a few days later, he sent envoys to Rome with a great amount of gold and silver, directing them first to load his old friends with presents, then to win new ones—in short,

remo quaecumque possint largiundo parare ne cunctentur.

7 Sed ubi Romam legati venere et ex praecepto regis  
hospitibus aliisque quorum ea tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat magna munera misere, tanta conmutatio incessit ut ex maxuma invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Iugurtha veniret. Quorum pars spe, alii praemio  
8 inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiundo nitebantur ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur ubi legati satis confidunt,  
9 die constituto senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus:

14. "Patres conscripti, Micipsa pater meus moriens mihi praecepit ut regni Numidiae tantummodo procuratorem existumarem meam, ceterum ius et imperium eius penes vos esse; simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam maximo usui esse populo Romano, vos mihi cognatorum, vos adfinium loco<sup>13</sup> ducerem: si ea fecissem, in vostra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni me habiturum.

2 Quae quom praecepta parentis mei agitare, Iugurtha, homo omnium quos terra sustinet sceleratissimus, contempto imperio vostro, Masinissae me nepotem et iam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi Romani regno fortunisque omnibus expulit.

3 "Atque ego, patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem potius ob mea quam ob maiorum

<sup>13</sup> adfinium loco V: adfinium locum A<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>: in adf. loco D<sup>2</sup>F: in adf. locum *rell.*

<sup>27</sup> A view said to have been held by the speaker's grandfather Masinissa as well (cf. Liv. 45.13.15).

not to delay in producing whatever they could by means of bribery.

But when the envoys arrived in Rome, and, as the king had commanded, sent substantial presents to his close connections and to others whose influence in the senate was powerful at that time, such a change of sentiment ensued that instead of encountering extreme hostility, Jugurtha won the favor and support of the nobles. Induced in some cases by hope, in others by bribery, they canvassed individual members of the senate and urged them not to take overly severe measures against Jugurtha. And so, when the envoys felt sufficiently confident, an opportunity to address the senate was granted to both parties on an appointed day. We are told that Adherbal spoke on that occasion in this fashion:

14. "Members of the Senate, my father Micipsa admonished me on his deathbed to think that I had charge only of the administration of the kingdom of Numidia,<sup>27</sup> whereas the right and authority are in your control; at the same time, he admonished me to strive to be as helpful as possible to the Roman people in peace and in war and to regard you as my kindred and relatives. He declared that if I did this, I would have in your friendship an army, wealth, and a safeguard for my kingdom. While I was carrying out my father's instructions, Jugurtha, the most wicked of all men on the face of the earth, defying your power drove me, the grandson of Masinissa and hereditary friend and ally of the Roman people, from my kingdom and all my possessions.

"And for myself, Members of the Senate, since I was doomed to such a depth of wretchedness, I could wish that I might seek your help on the basis of my own services



meorum beneficia posse me<sup>14</sup> vobis auxilium petere, ac maxime deberi mihi beneficia a populo Romano quibus non egerem; secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est neque mihi in manu fuit Iugurtha qualis foret, ad vos confugi, patres conscripti, quibus, quod mihi miserrimum est, cogor prius oneri quam usui esse. Ceteri reges aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti sunt aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vostram adpetiverunt. Familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit, quo tempore magis fides eius quam fortuna petunda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, patres conscripti, nolite pati me nepotem Masinissae frustra a vobis auxilium petere.

7 "Si ad inpetrandum nihil causae haberem praeter miserandam fortunam, quod paulo ante rex genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus aerumnis, inops, alienas opes expecto, tamen erat maiestatis populi Romani prohibere iniuriam neque pati quouisquam regnum per scelus crescere. Verum ego eis finibus eiectus sum quos maioribus meis populus Romanus dedit, unde pater et avos meus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginiensis. Vos-  
8 tra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, patres conscripti, vos in  
9 mea iniuria despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! hucine, Micipsa pater, beneficia tua evasere ut, quem tu parem

<sup>14</sup> posse me a] possem ea N: possem a A<sup>1</sup>: posse a, V

<sup>28</sup> Rome and Masinissa entered into an alliance relatively late in the Second Punic War. The claim is that Rome's prospects ("their fortune") were not terribly bright at the time.

rather than those of my ancestors, and most of all that kindnesses were owed to me from the Roman people which I did not require; and as next best, that if kindnesses were needed I might accept them as my due. But since integrity affords too little protection on its own, and since it was not in my power to mold the character of Jugurtha, I have fled to you, Members of the Senate, to whom (and this is the greatest part of my wretchedness) I am compelled to be a burden before being an aid. Other kings have either been admitted to your friendship after having been vanquished in war, or have sought an alliance with you in their time of peril. Our family established friendly relations with the Roman people during the war with Carthage, at a time when the reliability of the Romans was more of an incentive to form such a bond than their fortune.<sup>28</sup> Therefore do not, Members of the Senate, suffer me, their descendant, the grandson of Masinissa, to seek your aid in vain.

"If I had no justification for making a successful appeal except my pitiable lot (the fact that despite being a short time ago a king, mighty in family, fame and fortune, I now look out for help from others, broken by woes and destitute), it would nevertheless be in keeping with the majesty of the Roman people to prevent an injustice and not to allow anyone's kingdom to grow great through crime. But I have been expelled from the territory that the people of Rome gave to my forefathers, from which my father and grandfather, together with you, drove Syphax and the Carthaginians. It is your gift, Members of the Senate, which has been snatched from me; in the wrong done to me, you have been scorned. Oh how wretched I am! Has this been the outcome of your kindness, father Micipsa, that the

cum liberis tuis regnique participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tuae extinator sit?

- 10 "Numquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? Semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga vorsabitur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, iure omnia saeva patiebamur: hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa pestis ex Africa eiecta est, laeti pacem agitabamus, quippe quis hostis nullus erat, nisi forte quem
- 11 vos iussissetis. Ecce autem ex improviso Iugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese<sup>15</sup> eferens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum eius sceleris sui praedam fecit; post, ubi me isdem dolis nequit<sup>16</sup> capere, nihil minus quam vim aut bellum expectantem in imperio vostro, sicut videtis extorem patria, domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis effecit ut ubivis tutius quam in meo regno essem.
- 12 "Ego sic existumabam, patres conscripti, uti praedicantem audiveram patrem meum, qui vostram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum ex omnibus maxime tutos esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit, praestitit uti in omnibus bellis adesset vobis; nos uti per otium tuti simus, in vostra manu est, patres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit, tertium Iugurtham beneficiis suis ratus est coniunctum nobis fore. Alter eorum necatus est, alterius ipse ego manus inpias vix effugi.

<sup>15</sup> se *VBC*<sup>2</sup>: *om. P*

<sup>16</sup> non quit *VP*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Those enemies, namely, which their alliance with Rome forced on them.      <sup>30</sup> Cf. 10.3.

man whom you put on an equal footing with your own children and made a partner in your kingdom, should of all men be the annihilator of your family line?

"Will my family then never find rest? Will it always be engaged in bloodshed, arms and exile? While the power of the Carthaginians remained intact, we quite naturally suffered all kinds of atrocities; the enemy were upon our flank; you, our friends, were far away; all hope lay in self-defense. After that scourge had been driven from Africa, we enjoyed the delights of peace, since we had no enemy, except, by chance, any you ordered us to have.<sup>29</sup> But see! Unexpectedly, puffing himself up with intolerable boldness, wickedness and arrogance, Jugurtha, after killing my brother, who was also his own kinsman, first made Hiempsal's realm the prize of his crime; then, when he had failed to get the better of me by means of the same deceits (although I was looking for anything but violence or war under your sovereignty), he made me, as you see, an exile from my native land and home, destitute and overwhelmed with wretchedness, so that it was safer for me to be anywhere than in my own kingdom.

"I always used to hold the view, Members of the Senate—as I had heard my father declare—that those who faithfully cultivated your friendship undertook considerable labor, yet were safe beyond all others. To the extent that it was in our family's power to do so, it did its best to be at your service in all your wars; our safety in time of peace, Members of the Senate, is in your power. My father left us two brothers as heirs; a third, Jugurtha, he hoped would be joined to us by his kindnesses.<sup>30</sup> One of these three has been slain; I myself have barely escaped the sacrilegious hands of the other. What am I to do? Or to

- 15 Quid agam? Aut quo potissimum infelix adcedam? Generis praesidia omnia extincta sunt. Pater, uti necesse erat, naturae concessit. Fratri, quem minime decuit, propinquos per scelus vitam eripuit. Adfinis, amicos, propinquos ceteros meos alium alia clades oppressit; capti ab Iugurtha pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis obiecti sunt, pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi in tenebris cum maerore et<sup>17</sup> luctu
- 16 morte graviorem vitam exigunt. Si omnia quae aut amici aut ex necessariis advorsa facta sunt incolumbia manerent, tamen, si quid ex inproviso mali accidisset, vos inplorarem, patres conscripti, quibus pro magnitudine imperi ius et iniurias omnis curae esse decet. Nunc vero exul patria,
- 17 domo, solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quo adcedam aut quos appellem? Nationesne an reges, qui omnes familiae nostrae ob vostram amicitiam infesti sunt? An quoquam mihi adire licet, ubi non maiorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima sint? Aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremo
- 18 Masinissa nos ita instituit, patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne<sup>18</sup> foedera nova acciperemus: abunde magna praesidia nobis in vostra amicitia fore; si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una occidendum nobis esse.
- 19 "Virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et opulenti, om-

17 atque V.      18 neu V.

<sup>31</sup> Here and at 14.22 the *minime decuit* clause is open to two interpretations: it may, as translated, describe the murderer (Jugurtha), understanding *is* as antecedent, with which *propinquos* stands in apposition, or it may describe the victim (Hiempsal)—"My brother, who least deserved such treatment."

what place am I above all to draw near in my troubles? All defenses afforded by family have been wiped out. My father, as was inevitable, has yielded to the law of nature. My brother has had his life wickedly taken from him by a man who should have been to last person to commit such a crime,<sup>31</sup> his kinsman. Relatives, friends, and others who are close to me have fallen by one blow or another; of those seized by Jugurtha, some have been crucified, others thrown to wild beasts; a few, whose lives were spared, drag out an existence worse than death in gloomy dungeons, amid sorrow and lamentation. But even if all that I have lost or that has been turned from affection to hostility were to remain intact, nevertheless, if any unexpected misfortune had befallen me, I would be making an appeal to you, Members of the Senate, who in keeping with the greatness of your dominion appropriately feel concern for all matters of right and injury. But as it is, an exile from my native land, my home, alone and bereft of all that is appropriate to my rank, where am I to draw near, or to whom am I to appeal? To tribes or kings, all of whom are hostile to our family on account of our friendship with you? To what place can I draw near where there do not exist many memorials of my ancestors' acts of hostility? Or can anyone who was ever your enemy feel compassion for us? Lastly, Members of the Senate, Masinissa conditioned us to court no one except the Roman people, to contract no new alliances or bonds; he taught that in your friendship we would have an abundance of great protection, that, if the fortune of this empire of yours should change, we must fall with it.

"As a result of valor and the favor of the gods, you are mighty and powerful, all things are favorable and yield

- nia secunda et oboedientia sunt; quo facilius sociorum iniurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Iugurthae parum cognita transvorsos agat. Quos ego audio maxuma ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos ne quid de absente incognita causa statuatis: fingere me verba et fugam simulare, quoi licuerit in regno manere.
- 21 Quod utinam illum, quoius inpio facinore in has miserias proiectus sum, eadem haec simulantem videam et aliquando aut apud vos aut apud deos immortalis rerum humanarum cura oriatur; ne ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatu impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis mearumque miseriarum gravis poenas reddat.
- 22 "Iam iam frater, animo meo carissime, quamquam tibi inmaturato et unde minime decuit vita erepta est, tamen
- 23 laetandum magis quam dolendum puto casum tuom. Non enim regnum sed fugam, exsilium, egestatem et omnis has quae me premunt aerumnas, cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala praecipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam, tuasne iniurias persequar ipse auxili egens an regno consulam, quoius vitae necisque potestas ex opibus alienis
- 24 pendet. Utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset,

<sup>32</sup> Or "and from one least deserving such treatment," see 14.15n.

<sup>33</sup> I.e., the Romans.

obedience to you; hence, the more easily you may have concern for the wrongs done to your allies. My only fear is that some may be led astray by your private friendship with Jugurtha, not sufficiently realizing what a sham it is. For I hear that people are striving with all their might, are going about and entreating you individually not to pass any judgment upon him in his absence, without a hearing of his case; they claim that I am making up falsehoods and putting on a show of flight, though I could have remained in my own kingdom. But I only wish that that I may yet see that man, through whose impious crime I have been subjected to these woes, making this same pretense, and would that either you or the immortal gods may at last begin to feel concern for human affairs! Most assuredly then would that fellow who now exalts and glories in his crimes be tortured by every ill and pay a heavy penalty for his lack of dutifulness to our father, for the murder of my brother, and for my wretchedness.

"Now indeed, brother, you who are dearest to my heart, although life has been snatched from you before your time, and at the hands of a person least suitable to commit such a crime,<sup>32</sup> nevertheless, I think your fate ought to be a cause more for joy than sorrow. For you lost together with your life not just your throne but flight, exile, destitution and all these woes which weigh me down. But I, unfortunate that I am, driven headlong from my father's throne into such evils, present a display of human fate, being at a loss as to what course to pursue, whether to try to avenge your wrongs, being myself in need of aid, or to take thought for my throne, though my power over life and death hangs upon the resources of outsiders.<sup>33</sup> Would that death were an honorable means of escape for one in my

neu iure<sup>19</sup> contemptus viderer si defessus malis iniuriae concessissem. Nunc neque vivere lubet neque mori licet sine dedecore.

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

15. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Iugurthae, largitione magis quam causa freti, paucis respondent: Hiempsalem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum, Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri quod iniuriam facere nequivisset; Iugurtham ab senatu petere ne se alium putarent ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent.

2 Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur. Fautores legatorum, praeterea senatus magna pars gratia depravata Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Iugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria,  
3 nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequum divitiis carius erat, subveniendum Adherbali et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant; sed ex omnibus  
4

<sup>19</sup> neu iure *VAL*, *P*<sup>1</sup> *ut vid.*: ne iure *B*<sup>1</sup>: ne vivere *rell.*

position, and would that I might not seem rightly despicable if, worn out by affliction, I submitted to wrong without a fight! As it is, neither does life give me pleasure, nor is death permissible without shame.

"Members of the Senate—I implore you in your own name, by your children and parents, by the majesty of the Roman people—aid me in my distress, proceed against injustice; do not permit the kingdom of Numidia, which is yours, to waste away through crime and the shedding of our family's blood."

15. After the king had finished speaking, the envoys of Jugurtha, relying more upon bribery than upon the merits of their case, replied briefly. They declared that Hiempsal had been slain by the Numidians because of his ruthlessness; that Adherbal, who initiated war without provocation, after he had suffered defeat, was complaining because he had been unable to inflict injury; that Jugurtha begged the senate not to think him other than he had shown himself at Numantia, or to give more weight to the words of his enemy than to his own deeds.

Then both parties left the meeting chamber, and the matter was at once laid before the senate. The partisans of the envoys, in addition to a large number of other senators who had been corrupted by their influence, scorned Adherbal's words, heaped praise on Jugurtha's prowess; by means of their influence, their eloquence, in short in every possible way, they strove in defense of the shameful crime of a foreigner as though for the sake of glory. But a few, on the other hand, to whom goodness and justice were more dear than riches, advised that aid ought to be given to Adherbal and that the death of Hiempsal ought to be severely punished; conspicuous among these was Ae-

maxume Aemilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, inpiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum, ceterum vitia  
 5 sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt regis largitionem famosam inpudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta<sup>20</sup> licentia invidiam adcenderet, animum a consuetu lubidine continuit.

16. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa quae vero pretium  
 2 aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit uti decem legati regnum, quod Micipsa optinuerat, inter Iugurtham et Adherbalem dividerent. Quoius legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens, quia consul C. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis acerrume victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Iugurtha  
 3 tametsi Romae in inimicis<sup>21</sup> habuerat, tamen adcuratissime recepit, dando et pollicendo multa perfecit uti fama, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferet. Reliquos legatos eadem via adgressus plerosque  
 4 capit, paucis carior fides quam pecunia fuit. In divisione  
 5 quae pars Numidiae Mauretanium adtingit, agro virisque

<sup>20</sup> provoluta *Shackleton Bailey*: an prompta, prolata, *vel. sim.*

<sup>21</sup> *corr. Beroaldus*: amicis *ω*

<sup>34</sup> In place of *polluta* (tainted), a word meaning "blatant" seems better suited to the context (see textual n.).

<sup>35</sup> The date is either 117 or early in 116 (*Liv. Per.* 62).

<sup>36</sup> In 121, the consul Opimius led the attack against the Aventine, where Gaius Gracchus and his followers had taken refuge. In that assault and in the purge that followed, some three thousand are said to have been put to death by Opimius without due process (*Plut. C. Gracch.* 18.1).

milius Scaurus, a noble full of energy, a partisan, greedy for power, distinction and riches, but clever in concealing his faults. As soon as this man saw the king's notorious and brazen bribery, fearing that which usually results in such cases, namely, that the tainted<sup>34</sup> exercise of unrestrained power would rouse popular resentment, he curbed his usual wantonness.

16. In spite of all, there prevailed that faction of the senate which rated money and influence higher than integrity. A decree was passed that ten commissioners should divide Micipsa's former kingdom between Jugurtha and Adherbal.<sup>35</sup> The chief of this commission was Lucius Opimius, a distinguished person, who was influential in the senate at that time because as consul, after Gaius Gracchus and Marcus Fulvius Flaccus had been killed, he had made use of the victory of the nobles against the commons with great severity.<sup>36</sup> Although at Rome Opimius had been one of Jugurtha's opponents, the king nevertheless received him with the greatest propriety, and by means of many gifts and promises he succeeded in having him place the king's advantage ahead of his own repute, good faith, in short, ahead of all personal considerations.<sup>37</sup> Then, by the same path Jugurtha approached the other envoys and won over the majority; only a few held their honor dearer than money. In dividing the kingdom, the part of Numidia bordering on Mauritania, which was richer in territory and population, was assigned to

<sup>37</sup> It was on the ground of having received bribes from Jugurtha that Opimius was later convicted by the Mamilian Commission in 109 and forced into exile at Dyrrachium for the remainder of his life (*Plut. C. Gracch.* 18.1; *Cic. Sest.* 140).

opulentior, Iugurthae traditur, illam alteram specie quam usu potiohem, quae portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

17. Res postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere et eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, adtingere. Sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem aut asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de eis haud facile conpertum narraverim. Cetera quam paucissimis absolvam.

3 In divisione orbis terrae plerique in parte tertia Africam posuere, pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse, 4 sed Africam in Europa. Ea finis habet ab occidente fretum nostri maris et Oceani, ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem, 5 quem locum Catabathmon incolae appellant. Mare saevom, inportuosum; ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori<sup>22</sup> infecundus; caelo terraque penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum. Plerosque<sup>23</sup> senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere; nam morbus haud saepe quemquam superat. Ad hoc malefici generis pluruma animalia.

7 Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea adcesserint, aut quo modo inter se permixti sint, quamquam ab ea fama quae plerosque optinet divorsum est, tamen uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dice-

<sup>22</sup> arbori  $\omega$ , *Fro.* 98.24: arbore *Arus.* *GL* 7.473.19

<sup>23</sup> ac plerosque *Fro.* 98.25

<sup>38</sup> The Mediterranean.

<sup>39</sup> Lit. "the Descent," a sandy plateau that slopes down toward the Nile valley and forms a natural boundary between Cyrenaica (roughly mod. eastern Libya) and Egypt, the latter being re-

Jugurtha; Adherbal took possession of the other part, preferable in appearance rather than in practicality, being provided with more harbors and more buildings.

17. My subject appears to require that I set out a brief account of Africa's geography and touch upon those nations with which we Romans have had wars and alliances. However, as to regions and tribes that are less frequented because of the heat or rough terrain, as well as deserts, concerning them I would not easily relate any factual information. The rest I shall cover as briefly as possible.

In marking off the earth's surface, most have placed Africa in a third division, while a few assert that there is only Asia and Europe but that Africa is part of Europe. It has as its boundary on the west the strait between our sea<sup>38</sup> and the Ocean; on the east, a broad sloping track, a district called Catabathmos<sup>39</sup> by the inhabitants. The sea is rough, lacking harbors; the soil fertile in grain, good for herding but unproductive of trees; there is a lack of water from rainfall and the ground. The race of men here are physically fit, fleet of foot, and capable of strenuous exertion. They commonly pass away from old age, except for those who have perished from weapons or wild beasts; disease seldom gets the better of any of them. In addition, there are a great many animals of a harmful sort.

Now what mortals originally inhabited Africa, and who came later, or how the races mingled, I shall give an account as briefly as possible, although it diverges from the tradition which generally prevails; still I shall relate it just as it was expounded to me from Punic books, which ac-

garded by Sallust (19.3) and some others as a part of Asia rather than of Africa.

bantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores eius terrae putant, quam paucissimis dicam. Ceterum fides eius rei penes auctores erit.

18. Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi incultique, quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum uti pecoribus. Ei neque moribus neque lege aut imperio quouisquam regebantur; vagi, palantes, quas nox coegerat sedes habebant.
- 2
- 3 Sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit, exercitus eius, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium pentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persae et
- 4 Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari locos occupavere, sed Persae intra Oceanum magis;
- 5 eique alveos navium invorsos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris neque ab Hispanis emundi aut
- 6 mutandi copia erat; mare magnum et ignara lingua commercio prohibebant. Ei paulatim per conubia Gaetulos
- 7 secum miscuere, et, quia saepe temptantes agros alia,

<sup>40</sup> The Latin is ambiguous as to whether the books merely belonged to Hiempsal or were written by him. This Hiempsal is not Adberhal's brother, who was murdered by Jugurtha (12.5), but King Hiempsal II (ca. 88–ca. 62 BC), the son of Gauda, who was installed by the Romans as Jugurtha's successor. He was the father of Pompey's ally Juba I. <sup>41</sup> The reference here and at 89.4 is most likely to the Phoenician god Melqart, who was identified with Hercules (Herod. 2.44), both because his followers are from Asia, and because, according to Greek tradition, the hero Hercules ended his mortal existence not in Spain but on Mt. Oeta in Greece. Hercules/Melqart was worshipped in north Africa and Spain, where the Phoenicians founded colonies.

cording to tradition were King Hiempsal's,<sup>40</sup> and just as the dwellers in that land believe the circumstances to be. But the responsibility for its reliability will rest with my authorities.

18. Africa was at first inhabited by Gaetulians and Libyans, rough and uncivilized folk, whose food was the flesh of wild animals and fodder of the ground, like cattle's. They were governed neither by institutions nor laws nor by anyone's authority; aimless drifters, they had as their stopping points whatever spot night forced upon them.

After Hercules died in Spain,<sup>41</sup> as the Africans believe, his army (now that their leader was gone) soon dispersed, made up as it was of diverse nationalities, and many were contending, each against the others, to succeed him. Of those who made up the army, the Medes, Persians and Armenians crossed by ships into Africa and took possession of the regions nearest to our sea, the Persians more surrounded by the Ocean;<sup>42</sup> and these employed as huts the inverted hulls of their ships because neither was there any timber in the land nor was there any means of purchasing it or trading for it with the Spaniards; the wide expanse of sea and the unknown language barred them from intercourse. Through intermarriage the Persians were gradually merged with the Gaetulians, and because they often sought out now this place and now that one in

<sup>42</sup> I.e., occupying the northwest region of the African continent, which lies outside the Strait of Gibraltar; it is pictured as a slight bulge jutting out into the Atlantic, with ocean above to the north and below to the south.



8 deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Nomadas<sup>24</sup> appellare. Ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinae sunt.

9 Medis autem et Armeniis adcessere Libyes—nam ei propius mare Africum agitabant, Gaetuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus—eique mature oppida habuerunt; nam freto divisi ab Hispania mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paulatim Libyes corrumpere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis appellantes.

11 Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit, ac postea nomine Numidae, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possidere ea loca quae proxima<sup>25</sup> Carthaginem<sup>26</sup> Numidia appellatur. Deinde utrique alteris freti finitimos armis aut metu sub imperium suum coegere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere, magis ei qui ad nostrum mare processerant, quia Libyes quam Gaetuli minus bellicosi. Denique Africae pars inferior praeque ab Numidis possessa est, victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

<sup>24</sup> *a.*: numidas *P<sup>2</sup>A<sup>2</sup> rell.*

<sup>25</sup> *proxima Arus. GL 7.498.17, Diom. GL 1.410.9–10: -ime ω*

<sup>26</sup> *Carthagine Arus. l.c., -ini Diom. l.c.*

<sup>43</sup> Most likely the Greeks living in Sicily, rather than the native population itself, described the inhabitants of north Africa as “nomades” (Greek meaning “wanderers”), from which the Latin *Numidae* (Numidians) is derived.

<sup>44</sup> The Mediterranean to the south of Sardinia, which adjoins the region that later became the Roman province of Africa (mod. Tunisia). <sup>45</sup> I.e., the Torrid Zone.

<sup>46</sup> The Medes, Armenians, and Libyans.

<sup>47</sup> I.e., between the Medes and Armenians on one side of the Strait and the Spaniards on the other.

making trial of the soil, they called themselves Nomads.<sup>43</sup> Still, even to the present day, the dwellings of the rustic Numidians, which they call *mapalia*, are oblong shelters with curved sides, like the hulls of ships.

But the Medes and the Armenians were joined by the Libyans—for that people lived closer to the African sea,<sup>44</sup> whereas the Gaetulians were more under the sun, not far from the regions of heat<sup>45</sup>—and those peoples<sup>46</sup> soon had towns; this was because, being separated from Spain by only the Strait, they had established the practice of exchanging wares among themselves.<sup>47</sup> The Libyans gradually modified the name of the Medes, calling them and their foreign tongue *Mauri* (Moors).<sup>48</sup>

Now the Persian state<sup>49</sup> soon increased, and later, under the name of Numidians, they parted company from their elders because of the teeming population and took possession of the region that is next to Carthage and called Numidia. Then both peoples,<sup>50</sup> relying upon each other's support, brought their neighbors under their rule by arms or by fear; and they gained for themselves recognition and glory, especially those who had advanced to our sea, because the Libyans are less warlike than the Gaetulians. Finally, the greater part of lower-lying Africa<sup>51</sup> fell into the hands of the Numidians, and all the vanquished were merged into the nation and name of their rulers.

<sup>48</sup> The derivation of *Mauri* from *Medi* is, of course, impossible. The Moors seem to have been of Ethiopian origin.

<sup>49</sup> That is, the Persians and the Gaetulians.

<sup>50</sup> The older Numidians (Persians) and Gaetulians near the ocean, on the one hand, and those who had settled near Carthage, on the other.

<sup>51</sup> I.e., the coastal region of north Africa.

19. Postea Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuenda gratia, pars imperi cupidine, sollicitata plebe et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim aliasque urbis in ora maritima condidere, eaeque brevi multum auctae, pars originibus suis praesidio, aliae decori fuere. Nam de Carthagine silere melius puto quam parum dicere, quoniam alio properare tempus monet.

2 Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari prima Cyrene est, colonia Theraeon, ac deinceps duae Syrtes interque eas Leptis; deinde Philaenon arae, quem locum Aegyptum versus finem imperi habuere Carthaginenses; post aliae Punicae urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Mauretanium Numidae tenent, proximi<sup>27</sup>

3 Hispaniam<sup>28</sup> Mauri sunt. Super Numidiam Gaetulos accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare, post eos Aethiops esse, dehinc loca exusta solis ardoribus.

4 Igitur bello Iugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida et

<sup>27</sup> proximi *Pl. Arus. GL 7.498.18: -ime rell.*

<sup>28</sup> Hispanias *Pl. Hispania Arus. l.c.: Hispaniam rell.*

<sup>52</sup> Probably Hippo Diarrhytus, near Utica, rather than Hippo Regius, which was farther to the west.

<sup>53</sup> Leptis Minor is meant.

<sup>54</sup> Sallust surprisingly fails to mention Utica, which, by tradition, was the oldest Phoenician settlement in north Africa (Vell. 1.2.3; Plin. *NH* 16.216). It was made the capital of the new Roman province of Africa after the destruction of Carthage in 146.

<sup>55</sup> To the west, setting out from the Catabathmos.

<sup>56</sup> Leptis Magna is referred to here, as opposed to Leptis Minor at 19.1.

<sup>57</sup> Sallust's brevity makes him unclear. The order from east to

19. Later, the Phoenicians, some for the sake of reducing the large population at home, others out of a desire for power, having roused the commons and others who were eager for radical change to join them, founded Hippo,<sup>52</sup> Hadrumetum, Leptis,<sup>53</sup> and other cities on the seacoast.<sup>54</sup> These soon became greatly enlarged and were in some cases a defense and in others a glory to the mother cities. As to Carthage, I think it better to be silent rather than to say too little, since time warns me to hasten on to other topics.

In the neighborhood, then, of the Catabathmos, the region which separates Egypt from Africa, the first city down the coast<sup>55</sup> is Cyrene, a colony of the people of Thera, and then come the two Syrtes with Leptis<sup>56</sup> between them. Next is a site called the Altars of the Philaeni, the point which the Carthaginians regarded as marking the boundary of their empire in the direction of Egypt;<sup>57</sup> then other Punic cities.<sup>58</sup> The rest of the region as far as Mauritania is held by the Numidians, while the people nearest Spain are the Moors. South of Numidia, so we are told, are the Gaetulians, some of whom live in huts, while others lead a less civilized, nomadic life. Still farther to the south are the Ethiopians; then the regions scorched by the sun's heat.

Now at the time of the war with Jugurtha, the Roman people were governing through their officials most of the

west is Greater Syrtis (the larger of the two gulfs bearing this name), where the Altars of the Philaeni lie slightly inland at the eastern end; Leptis Magna; and finally, Lesser Syrtis.

<sup>58</sup> I.e., towns founded, in turn, by settlers sent out from Carthage.

finis Carthaginiensium, quos novissime habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat; Gaetolorum magna pars et Numidae usque ad flumen Muluccham sub Iugurtha erant; Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, praeter nomen cetera ignarus populi Romani itemque nobis neque bello neque pace antea cognitus.

8 De Africa et eius incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

20. Postquam diviso regno legati Africa decessere et Iugurtha contra timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum sese videt, certum esse ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus adensus quos paulo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit.

2 Ipse acer, bellicosus, at is quem petebat quietus, inbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus iniuriae, metuens magis  
3 quam metuendus. Igitur ex inprovisto finis eius cum magna manu invadit, multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia  
4 praeda capit, aedificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu adcedit; deinde cum omni multitudine in  
5 regnum suum convortit, existumans Adherbalem dolore permotum iniurias suas manu vindicaturum eamque rem belli causam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numi-

<sup>59</sup> The province of Africa, corresponding roughly to the northern portion of modern Tunisia. <sup>60</sup> In 117 or early 116, as described at 16.5, before the digression on the geography of Africa (17-19). <sup>61</sup> See 8.1. <sup>62</sup> The date is most likely the spring of 112, since Jugurtha's attack on Adherbal is the first notice in Livy, *Per.* 64, coming immediately after the Thracian campaign of Livius Drusus cos. 112 (*Per.* 63).

Punic towns, as well as the territory which until very recently had belonged to the Carthaginians.<sup>59</sup> A large number of the Gaetulians, and the Numidians as far as the river Muluccham, were subject to Jugurtha. All the Moors were under the control of King Bocchus, who knew nothing of the Romans, except for their name, and was likewise a man unknown to us before that time either in peace or in war.

Enough has now been said about Africa and its inhabitants for the needs of this work.

20. After the commissioners departed from Africa upon completing their division of the kingdom,<sup>60</sup> and Jugurtha saw that contrary to the fear in his heart he had gained a reward for his crime, he felt convinced of the truth of what he had heard from his friends at Numantia, that everything at Rome was for sale,<sup>61</sup> and at the same time he was inflamed by the promises of those whom he had shortly before loaded with his presents. Accordingly, he set his sights on Adherbal's kingdom. He himself was fierce and aggressive, but his intended victim was quiet, nonaggressive, of a tranquil disposition, open to attack and more given to fear than inspiring it. Therefore, Jugurtha unexpectedly invaded Adherbal's territory with a large force,<sup>62</sup> took many mortals captive along with their livestock, as well as other plunder, set fire to buildings and raided a great number of places with his cavalry. He then withdrew into his own kingdom with his entire host, supposing that Adherbal moved by resentment would forcefully avenge the wrongs done him and that this act would furnish a pretext for war. Adherbal, however, because he realized that in arms he was no match for his rival, and because he relied more on the friendship of the Roman

dis fretus erat, legatos ad Iugurtham de iniuriis questum misit. Qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta rettulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit quam bellum sumere, quia temptatum antea secus cesserat. Neque eo magis cupido Iugurthae minuebatur, quippe qui totum eius regnum animo iam invaserat. Itaque non uti antea cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato bellum gerere coepit et aperte totius Numidiae imperium petere. Ceterum qua pergebat urbis, agros vastare, praedas agere, suis animum hostibus terrorem augere.

21. Adherbal ubi intellegit eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat et Iugurthae obvius procedit. Interim haud longe a mari prope Cirtam oppidum utriusque exercitus consedit, et quia diei extremum erat proelium non inceptum. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam lumine, milites Iugurthini signo dato castra hostium invadunt, semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentis fugant funduntque. Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentis moenibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur Iugurtha

<sup>63</sup> This town (mod. Constantine in Algeria) in the interior of Numidia (ca. forty miles from the coast) was situated on a height made difficult to access (except on the southwest) by a deep gorge through which the Ampsaga River flows. It had been the capital of Syphax (see 5.4n.) and later Masinissa and had been well fortified by Micipsa (Strabo 17.3.13 p. 832).

<sup>64</sup> The word *togatorum* (lit. "clad in a toga") might suggest that these were Roman citizens, and yet at 26.1 and 26.3 they are described as *Italici* and *negotiatores*, respectively.

people than on the Numidians, sent envoys to Jugurtha to complain about the outrages; and although they brought back an insulting answer, he resolved to endure everything sooner than resort to war because when he had tried it on the former occasion, it turned out contrary to his expectations. This, however, did not in any way diminish the lust of Jugurtha, who in his mind's eye had already overrun the whole of Adherbal's kingdom. Accordingly, he began to wage war, not as previously with a predatory band but with a great army which he had got together, and openly to aim at the rule of the whole of Numidia. Moreover, wherever he proceeded, he laid waste cities and fields, drove off booty; he inspired his followers with confidence, his enemies with fear.

21. When Adherbal realized that matters had gone so far that he must either give up his kingdom or retain it by force of arms, he mustered an army out of necessity and went out to confront Jugurtha. Meanwhile, the two armies encamped not far from the sea, near the town of Cirta,<sup>63</sup> but because it was the end of the day, the battle was not begun. Then, when most of the night had passed, but daylight was still faint, Jugurtha's soldiers, on a given signal, attacked the enemy's camp, put them to flight either half asleep or just taking up arms, and scattered them. Adherbal with a few horsemen fled to Cirta, and if it had not been for a throng of Italian nationals,<sup>64</sup> who held off the pursuing Numidians from the walls, the war between the two kings would have been begun and finished on a single day. Jugurtha thereupon invested the town and set

oppidum circumscedit, vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare adgreditur, maxime festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos ante proelium factum ab Adherbale Romam missos audiverat.

4 Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adulescentes in Africam legantur qui ambos reges adeant, senatus populi que Romani verbis nuntient velle et censere eos ab armis discedere, <de controversiis suis iure potius quam bello disceptare>;<sup>29</sup> ita seque illisque dignum esse.

22. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis quod Romae, dum proficisci parant, de proelio facto et oppugnatione Cirtae audiebatur; sed is rumor clemens erat. Quorum Iugurtha accepta oratione respondit sibi neque maius quicquam neque carius auctoritate senatus esse; ab adulescentia ita se enisum ut ab optumo quoque probaretur; virtute, non malitia P. Scipioni summo viro placuisse; ob easdem artis a Micipsa, non penuria liberorum in regnum adoptatum esse. Ceterum quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum iniuriam minus tolerare. Adherbalem dolis vitae suae insidiatum; quod ubi conperisset, scelere eius obviam isse. Populum Roma-

<sup>29</sup> s: om. ω

<sup>65</sup> Movable sheds with sloping roofs used as a shelter for soldiers working the artillery or trying to undermine the wall.

<sup>66</sup> All three were presumably senators, but their identity is unknown. Their comparative youth, in contrast with the composition of the later, second embassy (25.4) and the earlier one (16.2), shielded more senior members of the senate from meeting with a rebuff at the hands of Jugurtha. (Possibly Jugurtha's influence behind the scenes caused the senate to act in this less than forceful manner?)

about storming it by mantlets,<sup>65</sup> towers and engines of all kinds, making all haste to take action in advance of the time needed by the envoys, who, as he had heard, had been sent to Rome by Adherbal before the battle had occurred.

Now after the senate received news of the war, it sent as envoys to Africa three young men,<sup>66</sup> who were to approach both kings and announce in the name of the senate and the Roman people that it was their desire and decision that the combatants should lay down their arms and settle their disagreement by right rather than by war; that this was fitting both with respect to the Romans and to those men.

22. The envoys made haste to arrive in Africa, all the more so because, while they were preparing to set out, people in Rome heard about the occurrence of the battle and the siege of Cirta; but this rumor was tame in comparison with the facts. When Jugurtha heard their message, he replied that nothing was more important or more dear to his heart than the will of the senate; that from youth up, he had striven to win the approval of all the best men; that it was by merit, and not by wickedness that he had found favor with the great Publius Scipio; that it was for the same qualities that Micipsa had made him an heir to a part of his kingdom, not because the king lacked children. But, he said, the more numerous his acts of virtue and courage had been, the less his spirit was tolerant of injury. Adherbal, he said, had treacherously plotted against his life, and upon discovering this, he had taken steps to counter Adherbal's wicked act. The people of Rome, he

num neque recte neque pro bono facturum, si ab iure  
gentium sese prohibuerit. Postremo de omnibus rebus  
5 legatos Romam brevi missurum. Ita utrique digrediuntur.  
Adherbalis appellandi copia non fuit.

23. Iugurtha ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque  
propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo  
atque fossa moenia circumdat, turris extruit easque prae-  
sidiis firmat, praeterea dies noctisque aut per vim aut  
dolis temptare, defensoribus moenium praemia modo,  
modo formidinem ostentare, suos hortando ad virtutem  
adrigere,<sup>30</sup> prorsus intentus cuncta parare.

2 Adherbal ubi intellegit omnis suas fortunas in extremo  
sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum  
necessariarum bellum trahi non posse, ex eis qui una Cir-  
tam profugerant duos maxime inpigros delegit. Eos multa  
pollicendo ac miserando casum suum confirmat uti per  
hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Ro-  
mam pergerent.

24. Numidae paucis diebus iussa efficiunt. Litterae  
Adherbalis in senatu recitatae, quarum sententia haec fuit:

2 "Non mea culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, patres  
conscripti, sed vis Iugurthae subigit, quem tanta libido  
extinguendi me invasit ut neque vos neque deos immorta-  
lis in animo habeat, sanguinem meum quam omnia malit.

3 Itaque quantum iam mensem socius et amicus populi

<sup>30</sup> arrigere X: erigere Y

<sup>67</sup> I.e., Jugurtha blocked access to Adherbal, who was under  
siege in Cirta.

said, would be acting neither justly nor rightly, if they  
denied him the privilege of the law of nations. In conclu-  
sion, he said that he would soon send envoys to Rome to  
explain the whole affair. Thereupon both parties separ-  
ated; there was no opportunity to address Adherbal.<sup>67</sup>

23. When Jugurtha deemed that the envoys had left  
Africa and found himself unable to take Cirta by storm  
because of the nature of the place, he surrounded its  
wall with a rampart and a ditch; he erected towers and  
strengthened them with guards. In addition, he made at-  
tempts day and night either by force or by stratagems, now  
offering bribes to the defenders of the walls, now threats,  
rousing his own men to courage by exhortations. In a  
word, he attentively saw to all preparations.

When Adherbal realized that all his fortunes were in  
jeopardy, that his enemy was implacable, that there was no  
hope of aid, and that owing to the lack of vital necessities  
the war could not be prolonged, he selected the two most  
intrepid of the men who had fled with him to Cirta. These  
he emboldened by many promises and by bemoaning his  
own desperate plight, to make their way through the en-  
emy's lines by night to the nearest seacoast, and from there  
to Rome.

24. Within a few days, the Numidians had carried out  
Adherbal's instructions, and a letter of his was read in the  
senate, of which the substance was as follows:

"Through no fault of my own, Members of the Senate,  
do I often send envoys to make an appeal to you, but I am  
compelled to do so by the violence of Jugurtha, who has  
been seized by such a desire to destroy me that he keeps  
in mind neither you nor the immortal gods, but above ev-  
erything thirsts for my blood. Hence, though I am an ally

Romani armis obsessus teneor, neque mihi Micipsae patris mei beneficia neque vostra decreta auxiliantur; ferro an fame acrius urgear incertus sum.

- 4 "Plura de Iugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna  
 5 mea, et iam antea expertus sum parum fidei miseris esse;  
 6 nisi tamen intellego illum supra quam ego sum petere  
 neque simul amicitiam vestram et regnum meum sperare.  
 7 Utrum gravius existimet nemini occultum est. Nam initio  
 occidit Hiempsalem fratrem meum, deinde patrio regno  
 me expulit. Quae sane fuerint nostrae iniuriae, nihil ad  
 8, 9 vos. Verum nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet; me, quem  
 vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum  
 verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant.  
 10 Quid est relicuom, nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? Nam  
 ego quidem vellem et haec quae scribo et illa quae antea  
 in senatu questus sum vana forent potius quam miseria  
 mea fidem verbis faceret.
- "Sed quoniam eo natus sum, ut Iugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non iam mortem neque aerumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiae, quod vestrum est, uti lubet consulite; me manibus impiis eripite, per maiestatem imperi, per

<sup>68</sup> The siege appears to have commenced in April 112, since news of the fall of Cirta did not reach Rome until *after* the tribunician elections about midyear (27.2) and *before* the election of consuls late in the year (27.4).

<sup>69</sup> See 21.4–22.

<sup>70</sup> See 14.

and friend of the Roman people, I am now being held in a state of siege for the fifth month,<sup>68</sup> and neither the kindnesses of my father Micipsa nor your decrees avail me; it is hard to tell whether sword or famine presses harder on me.

"My plight discourages me from writing more about Jugurtha (and I have some time ago experienced that too little confidence is bestowed upon those in wretched circumstances); still, I perceive that that man is aiming at a higher mark than myself, and that he does not hope at the same time for your friendship and my kingdom. Which of these two he thinks of greater weight is hidden from no one; for he first killed Hiempsal, my brother, and then drove me from my father's kingdom. These acts, granted that they were certainly personal injuries to me, have nothing to do with you. But now he holds *your* realm by force of arms; he is blockading and besieging me, whom you set up as commander over the Numidians. How much regard he has for the words of your envoys<sup>69</sup> is shown by my perilous state. What is there left by which he can be influenced except your might? For as for myself, I could indeed wish that these words which I am now writing, and the complaints which I have already made in the senate,<sup>70</sup> were false, rather than that confidence in my words be produced by my wretchedness.

"But since I was born merely to serve as an advertisement of Jugurtha's crimes, I no longer pray to be spared death or sorrows, but only that I may escape the domination of an enemy and bodily torment. Consult, just as you please, the interests of the kingdom of Numidia, which is yours; but snatch me from impious hands, I implore you by the majesty of your dominion and by the trust placed

amicitiae fidem, si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissae.”

25. His litteris recitatis fuere qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent et quam primum Adherbali subveniendum; de Iugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam legatis non paruisset. Sed ab isdem illis regis fautoribus summa ope enisum est ne tale decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam maiores natu nobiles, amplis honoribus usu. In quis fuit M. Scaurus de quo supra memoravimus, consularis et tum senatus princeps.

Ei, quod res in invidia erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navem ascendere. Dein brevi Uticam adpulsi litteras ad Iugurtham mittunt: quam ocissime ad provinciam adcedat seque ad eum ab senatu missos. Ille ubi accepit homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae polere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse, primo comotus metu atque lubidine divorsus agitabatur. Timebat iram senatus, ni paruisset legatis; porro animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum scelus rapiebatur. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravom consilium. Igitur exercitu circumdato summa vi Cirtam inrumpere nititur, maxume sperans deducta<sup>31</sup> manu hostium aut vi aut dolis sese casum victoriae

<sup>31</sup> *N*<sup>1</sup>*e*: deducta *H*: ducta *X*

<sup>71</sup> See 15.2.      <sup>72</sup> In contrast with the three young commissioners sent previously (21.4).      <sup>73</sup> See 15.4.

<sup>74</sup> I.e., the senator whose name was put first in the list drawn up by the censors and who was called upon first to state his views in a consultation of the senate.

<sup>75</sup> The provincial capital.

in your friendship, if you retain any memory at all of my grandfather Masinissa.”

25. After this letter had been read aloud in the senate, some were in favor of sending an army to Africa and rendering aid to Adherbal as soon as possible, recommending that in the meantime the senate take up the question of Jugurtha's failure to obey the envoys. But those same partisans of the king<sup>71</sup> did their best to prevent the passing of such a decree. Thus, as generally happens in a great many affairs, the public good was then trumped by private influence. Nevertheless, elder nobles<sup>72</sup> who had held the highest offices of state were sent as commissioners to Africa; among them was Marcus Scaurus, of whom I spoke above,<sup>73</sup> an ex-consul and at the time the chief member of the senate.<sup>74</sup>

These men, influenced by the public outrage and also by the entreaties of the Numidians, embarked two days later. Landing shortly afterward at Utica,<sup>75</sup> they sent a letter to Jugurtha, directing him to come as speedily as possible to the Roman province, and letting him know that they had been sent by the senate. When Jugurtha learned that men of distinction, whose influence he had heard was powerful at Rome, had come to oppose his undertaking, he was at first greatly disturbed and began to be torn between fear and his greed. He dreaded the senate's wrath in case he disobeyed the envoys; then again, his spirit, blinded by cupidity, was irresistibly drawn to the crime he had undertaken. But in his greedy nature, wicked counsel prevailed. Accordingly, he surrounded Cirta with his army and made a supreme effort to force his way in, hoping very much that by causing the enemy's line of defense to be drawn thin he might find a chance for victory either by



- 10 inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit neque quod inten-  
derat efficere potest, ut prius quam legatos conveniret  
Adherbalis potiretur, ne amplius morando Scaurum,  
quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equi-  
11 tibus in provinciam venit. Ac tametsi senati verbis graves  
minae nuntiabantur, quod ab oppugnatione non desiste-  
ret, multa tamen oratione consumpta legati frustra disces-  
sere.

26. Ea postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum  
virtute moenia defensabantur, confisi deditione facta  
propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese  
fore, Adherbali suadent uti seque et oppidum Iugurthae  
tradat, tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur; de ceteris senatui  
2 curae fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Iugurthae  
rebatur, tamen quia penes eosdem, si advorsaretur, co-  
gundi potestas erat, ita uti censuerant Italici deditionem  
3 facit. Iugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat,  
deinde omnis puberes Numidas atque negotiatores pro-  
miscue, uti quisque armatus<sup>32</sup> obvius fuerat, interficit.

27. Quod postquam Romae cognitum est et res in se-  
natu agitari coepta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando  
ac saepe gratia, interdum iurgiis trahundo tempus, atroci-  
2 tatem facti leniebant. Ac ni C. Memmius tribunus plebis

<sup>32</sup> PA<sup>2</sup>β: armatis A<sup>1</sup>Y

<sup>76</sup> See 21.2n. <sup>77</sup> The surrender must have taken place  
in the autumn of 112 (see 24.3n.). <sup>78</sup> The reading adopted,  
*armatus* (referring to the residents of Cirta), as opposed to *arma-  
tis* (referring to Jugurtha's men), suggests that those who surren-  
dered picked up their arms again when they saw the treacherous  
murder of Adherbal, in violation of the terms of the surrender.

force or by stratagem. But when things did not go his  
way, and he could not accomplish his aim of getting Ad-  
herbal into his power before meeting the envoys, he came  
into our province with a few horsemen so as not to pro-  
voke Scaurus by further delay. But even though serious  
threats were relayed in language formulated by the sen-  
ate because he was not abandoning the siege, the envoys  
departed without accomplishing anything after wasting  
much talk.

26. After word of these developments reached Cirta,  
since the Italians,<sup>76</sup> by whose valor the walls were being  
protected felt confident that in the event of a surrender  
they would escape injury because of the prestige of Rome,  
they urged Adherbal to hand over himself and the town to  
Jugurtha, to negotiate only a guarantee of his life. The  
senate, they assured him, would look after the rest. Ad-  
herbal thought that anything was preferable to putting  
trust in Jugurtha, but because the Italians had the power  
to use compulsion if he resisted, he surrendered on the  
terms which they had advised.<sup>77</sup> Thereupon, Jugurtha first  
tortured Adherbal to death and then made an indiscrimi-  
nate massacre of all adult Numidians and businessmen  
just as each was encountered with weapons in his hands.<sup>78</sup>

27. When this became known at Rome and the matter  
came under discussion in the senate, those same accom-  
plices of the king, by interrupting the discussions and of-  
ten by personal influence—occasionally by dragging out  
the time with wrangling—tried to mitigate the atrocity of  
the deed. And had not the plebeian tribune-elect Gaius

designatus, vir acer et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset id agi ut per paucos factiosos Iugurthae scelus condonaretur, profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa foret; tanta vis gratiae  
 3 atque pecuniae regis erat. Sed ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, lege Sempronia provinciae futuris  
 4 consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretae; consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica, L. Calpurnius Bestia;<sup>33</sup> Calpurnio  
 5 Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit. Deinde exercitus qui in Africam portaretur scribitur, stipendium aliaque quae bello usui forent decernuntur.

28. At Iugurtha, contra spem nuntio accepto, quippe quoi Romae omnia venire<sup>34</sup> in animo haeserat, filium et cum eo duos familiaris ad senatum legatos mittit eisque, uti illis quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, praecipit omnis mortalis pecunia adgrediantur. Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus est placeretne legatos Iugurthae recipi moenibus, eique decrevere, nisi regnum ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus proxumis decem Italia decederent. Consul Numidis ex senatus

<sup>33</sup> ND<sup>2</sup>: L. bestia calpurnius C<sup>2</sup>HF: L. bestia C. B: L. bestia calpurnius L. bestiae A<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>: L. bestia calpurnius L. bestia C. A<sup>2</sup>: L. bestia PD<sup>1</sup>

<sup>34</sup> aN<sup>1</sup>F<sup>1</sup>D: venum ire A<sup>2</sup>βH: venalia N<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Elected in 112 for the year 111. <sup>80</sup> The *lex Sempronia* of 123 required the senate to designate the two consular provinces (their spheres of duty) in advance of the consular elections.

<sup>81</sup> The consuls of 111. <sup>82</sup> There is great confusion in the MSS in giving Bestia's name; "Calpurnius" appears to have been an interlinear (or marginal?) correction in ω.

Memmius,<sup>79</sup> an energetic man hostile to the power of the nobles, informed the Roman people that a few intriguers were making it their aim to have Jugurtha pardoned for his crime, undoubtedly all indignation would have faded with the protracted deliberations: so powerful was the king's influence and money. But when the senate from a consciousness of its misdeed began to fear the people, it decreed, in keeping with the Sempronian law,<sup>80</sup> that the incoming consuls<sup>81</sup> would have Numidia and Italy as their provinces. The consuls chosen were Publius Scipio Nasica and Lucius Calpurnius Bestia;<sup>82</sup> Numidia fell to Calpurnius, Italy to Scipio.<sup>83</sup> An army was then enrolled to be transported to Africa; the soldiers' pay and other provisions for war were voted.

28. When Jugurtha heard this unexpected news (for he had clung to the conviction that everything at Rome was for sale) he sent his son together with two close friends as envoys to the senate, and he gave to them the same directions as he had to those whom he had sent after murdering Hiempsal,<sup>84</sup> namely, to go on the offensive with money against every mortal. As this deputation was drawing near the city, Bestia asked of the senate whether they would consent to receive Jugurtha's envoys within the walls; and they decreed that unless the envoys had come to surrender the kingdom and Jugurtha himself, they must leave Italy within the next ten days. The consul ordered the Numidians to be given notice in accord with the senate's

<sup>83</sup> The division was decided either by a drawing of lots or by a mutual agreement reached by the consuls-elect.

<sup>84</sup> Five years earlier, in 117 (13.6).

decreto nuntiari iubet; ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt.

- 4 Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat sibi homines nobilis, factiosos, quorum auctoritate quae deliquisset munita fore sperabat. In quis fuit Scaurus, quouis de natura et habitu supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro
- 5 multae bonaeque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnis avaritia praepediebat; patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula et invidias.<sup>85</sup> Sed legiones per Italiam Regium atque inde
- 6 Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvectae. Igitur Calpurnius initio, paratis conmeatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est, multosque mortalis et urbis aliquot pugnando cepit.

29. Sed ubi Iugurtha per legatos pecunia temptare bellicae quod administrabat asperitatem ostendere coepit, animus aeger avaritia facile convorsus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus, qui tametsi a principio, plerisque ex factione eius corruptis, acerrime regem impugnaverat, tamen magnitudine
- 3 pecuniae a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Iugurtha primum tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existumans sese aliquid interim Romae pretio aut gratia effecturum. Postea vero quam participem negotii Scaurum

<sup>35</sup> *aN*, *Fro.* 99.8: *insidias A<sup>2</sup> rell.*

<sup>85</sup> See 15.4.

<sup>86</sup> The introductory "for" (*nam*) signifies that the immediately preceding comment on Scaurus is virtually parenthetical.

<sup>87</sup> Or "ambushes," if we read *insidias*. See textual note.

decree; they therefore departed for home without fulfilling their mission.

Meanwhile Calpurnius, after levying his army, chose as his staff officers men of the nobility with strong partisan sympathies, by whose influence he hoped that any misdeeds on his part would be shielded. (Among these was Scaurus, whose nature and conduct I mentioned above.)<sup>85</sup> For<sup>86</sup> there existed in our consul many good qualities of mind and body, which, however, were all spoiled by avarice. He had the ability to endure toil, a keen intellect, sufficient foresight, a reasonable acquaintance with war, and a stout heart in the face of dangers and ill will.<sup>87</sup> The legions were transported through Italy to Rhegium and from there to Sicily; then from Sicily to Africa. And so Calpurnius, after providing himself with supplies, made a vigorous invasion of Numidia, and in the fighting he captured many mortals and some cities.

29. But when Jugurtha through his emissaries began to tempt him with money and to point out the difficulty of the war he was conducting, the consul's mind, diseased as it was by avarice, was easily turned from its purpose. Moreover, as his associate and administrator of all his designs Calpurnius recruited Scaurus. Although initially Scaurus had vigorously opposed the king (even after many of his own party had been seduced), nevertheless the vastness of the money deflected him from the right and proper course to crookedness. At first, however, Jugurtha tried merely to purchase a delay in hostilities, thinking that he could meanwhile accomplish something at Rome by bribery or by personal influence. But after he learned that Scaurus was playing a role in the dealings, he conceived a

accepit, in maxumam spem adductus recuperandae pacis, statuit cum eis de omnibus pactionibus praesens agere.

- 4 Ceterum interea fidei causa mittitur a consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum Iugurthae Vagam. Quoius rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat quoniam deditionis mora indutiae agitabatur.
- 5 Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit, ac pauca praesenti consilio locutus de invidia facti sui atque uti in deditionem acciperetur, relicua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit. Dein postero die, quasi per saturam sententiis exquiritis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephantum triginta, pecus atque equi multi cum parvo argenti pondere quaestori traduntur.
- 6 Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

30. Postquam res in Africa gestas quoque modo actae forent fama divulgavit, Romae per omnis locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari. Apud plebem gravis invidia, patres solliciti erant: probarentne tantum flagitium an decretum consulis subverterent parum constabat. Ac
- 2 maxime eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bes-

<sup>88</sup> Calpurnius and Scaurus.

<sup>89</sup> A Numidian town in a district rich in grain: hence a good choice for the ostensible object of this mission.

<sup>90</sup> An advisory body to the consul, convened to consider the terms of surrender. Such a council commonly consisted of the general's legates, the military tribunes, chief centurions, and any senators who were in the camp (cf. 62.4).

<sup>91</sup> The expression *per satura* alludes to the frowned-upon practice of calling for a vote on a combination of two or more discrete items or proposals (cf. Festus p. 416L). In this case, the

strong hope of reestablishing peace, and decided to discuss in person all the conditions with them.<sup>88</sup>

Meanwhile, as a token of good faith, the consul sent his quaestor Sextius to Vaga,<sup>89</sup> a town of Jugurtha's. (The pretext for this mission was the receipt of grain which Calpurnius had publicly demanded of Jugurtha's envoys since a truce was being observed in view of the delay in the surrender.) Thereupon the king, as he had agreed, came into the Roman camp; and after he had spoken a few words in the presence of the council<sup>90</sup> concerning the ill will aroused by his conduct and that he should be received in surrender, he conducted the rest of the negotiations privately with Bestia and Scaurus. Then on the next day, after Calpurnius solicited an advisory vote on a virtual medley of terms,<sup>91</sup> the surrender was accepted. As had been ordered in the presence of the council, thirty elephants, cattle and many horses, with a small amount of silver, were handed over to the quaestor. Calpurnius went to Rome to conduct the elections.<sup>92</sup> In Numidia and in our army peace was observed.

30. After word spread of how affairs had been settled at in Africa, the consul's conduct was discussed in Rome everywhere and in every gathering. The commons were highly indignant, while the senators were in turmoil; there was no consensus on whether they were to condone such an outrage or overturn the consul's decision. In particular the power of Scaurus, who was reported to be the instigator and accomplice of Bestia, deterred them from what

terms for surrender were apparently presented en bloc, rather than one at a time.

<sup>92</sup> His colleague Scipio Nasica died while in office.

3 tiae ferebatur, a vero bonoque inpediebat. At C. Mem-  
 mius, quouis de libertate ingeni et odio potentiae nobili-  
 tatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senatus  
 contionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari, monere ne  
 rem publicam,<sup>36</sup> ne libertatem suam desererent, multa  
 4 intentus omni modo plebis animum incendebat. Sed quoniam  
 ea tempestate Romae Memmi facundia clara pol-  
 lensque fuit, decere existumavi unam ex tam multis orati-  
 onem eius perscribere, ac potissimum ea<sup>37</sup> dicam, quae<sup>38</sup>  
 in contione post reditum Bestiae huiusce modi verbis  
 disseruit.

31. "Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium  
 rei publicae omnia superet: opes factionis, vostra  
 2 patientia, ius nullum, ac maxume quod innocentiae plus  
 periculi quam honoris est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere,  
 his annis quindecim<sup>39</sup> quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae  
 paucorum, quam foede quamque inulti perierint vestri  
 3 defensores, ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque socordia cor-  
 ruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxii inimicis, exsurgitis  
 atque etiam nunc timetis eos quibus decet terrori esse.  
 4 Sed quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis

<sup>36</sup> ne rem p. N<sup>1</sup>: rem p̄. A<sup>1</sup>: P. R. (*vel p̄. romanum vel. sim.*)  
 PA<sup>2</sup>β: populum r. ne rem p. N<sup>2</sup>γ      <sup>37</sup> A<sup>1</sup>Y: eam PA<sup>2</sup>β  
<sup>38</sup> quam A<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup>C      <sup>39</sup> xx s

<sup>93</sup> See 27.2.      <sup>94</sup> Cicero (*Brut.*, 136) characterizes Memmius and his brother as "speakers of moderate talent" but "fierce and savage prosecutors."  
<sup>95</sup> I.e., the *nobiles*.

<sup>96</sup> An easy correction from "fifteen" (XV) to "twenty" (XX: the reading of some late MSS) would make Memmius (speaking in

was right and proper. But in the midst of the senate's delay and hesitation, Gaius Memmius, of whose independent disposition and hatred of the power of the nobles I have already spoken,<sup>93</sup> urged the people in public meetings to take vengeance; he warned them not to forsake the nation and their own liberty; he pointed out the many arrogant and cruel deeds of the nobles: in short, he earnestly tried in every way to inflame the minds of the commons. And since the eloquence of Memmius was famous and potent in Rome at that time,<sup>94</sup> I have thought it fitting to reproduce one of his numerous speeches, and I shall relate as a prime example the arguments he offered at a public meeting after Bestia's return.

31. "Many considerations discourage me—or would discourage me—Citizens, from taking up your cause, were it not that my devotion to the state overrules them all: namely, the resources of a clique,<sup>95</sup> your submissive spirit, the absence of justice, and especially because more danger than honor awaits integrity. For it grieves me to state certain facts: how during the past fifteen years<sup>96</sup> you have been the plaything of a few men's insolence; how shamefully and without being avenged your defenders<sup>97</sup> have perished; how your spirit has been corrupted as a consequence of cowardice and indolence; even now you take no action, when your enemies are at your mercy, and even now you fear those in whom you should be inspiring fear. But although conditions are such, yet my spirit prompts

111) allude, in a rounded number, to the period ushered in by the murder of Tiberius Gracchus in 133, to which he explicitly refers in 31.7.

<sup>97</sup> Especially the two Gracchi brothers (see 31.7).

5 potentiae animus subigit. Certe ego libertatem, quae mihi  
 a parente meo tradita est, experiar. Verum id frustra an ob  
 6 rem faciam, in vostra manu situm est, Quirites. Neque ego  
 vos hortor, quod saepe maiores vestri fecere, uti contra  
 iniurias armati eatis; nihil vi, nihil secessione opus est.  
 7 Necessae est suomet ipsi more praecipites eant. Occiso Ti.  
 Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam  
 quaestiones habitae sunt. Post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvi  
 caedem item vestri ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati  
 sunt. Utriusque cladis non lex verum libido eorum finem  
 fecit.

8 "Sed sane fuerit regni paratio plebi sua restituere.  
 Quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, iure factum  
 sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini aerarium expilari,  
 9 reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere,  
 penes eosdem et summam gloriam et maxumas divitias esse.  
 Tamen haec talia facinora inpune suscepisse parum habuere;  
 itaque postremo leges, maiestas vestra, divina et humana  
 10 omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui ea fecere, pudet  
 aut paenitet, sed incedunt per ora vestra magnifici, sacerdotia  
 et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes; proinde quasi  
 ea honori non praedae habeant.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. *Cat.* 33.3n. <sup>99</sup> By standing, contrary to custom, for reelection to the tribune in 133.

<sup>100</sup> Before a special tribunal formed to try the supporters of Tiberius Gracchus for treason and presided over by the consuls of 132.

<sup>101</sup> In 121 (see 16.2n.). On the "prison house" (*carcer*), see *Cat.* 55.2–3nn. <sup>102</sup> I.e., the only resistance possible was either a bloody riot or a civil war.

<sup>103</sup> In the form of gifts and bribes given to power brokers.

me to brave the power of this clique. Certainly I shall be putting to the test freedom which is my inheritance from my father; but whether I shall do so in vain or to good purpose lies in your hands, Citizens. I do not urge you to resort to arms in response to the injuries done you, as your ancestors often did; there is no need for violence, none for secession.<sup>98</sup> What is necessary is for those culprits to go to ruin each in his own way. After the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, whom they accused of trying to make himself king,<sup>99</sup> trials were instituted against the Roman commons.<sup>100</sup> After the slaughter of Gaius Gracchus and Marcus Fulvius, many mortals of your order were put to death in the prison house.<sup>101</sup> In both cases bloodshed was ended, not by law but at the pleasure of the victors.

"But let's assume that restoring to the commons their entitlements was the same thing as aspiring to kingship. Suppose that whatever cannot be avenged without shedding the blood of citizens<sup>102</sup> was justly done. In former years you were silently indignant that the treasury was being pillaged, that kings and free peoples paid tribute<sup>103</sup> to a few nobles, that those nobles possessed supreme glory and vast wealth. Still, they were not satisfied with having committed with impunity such crimes as these; and so at last the laws, your sovereignty, and all things human and divine have been handed over to our foreign enemies.<sup>104</sup> And they who have done these things are neither ashamed nor sorry, but they strut in grandeur before your eyes, flaunting their priesthoods and consulships, some their triumphs, just as if they possessed these as marks of honor and not as plunder.

<sup>104</sup> To foreign potentates such as Jugurtha, who purchased through bribery whatever he wished.

- 11 "Servi aere parati iniusta imperia dominorum non per-  
 12 ferunt; vos, Quirites, in imperio nati, aequo animo servi-  
 13 tatem toleratis? At qui sunt ei, qui rem publicam occupa-  
 14 vere? Homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani  
 15 avaritia, nocentissimi et eidem superbissimi, quibus  
 16 fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta  
 17 omnia quaestui sunt. Pars eorum occidisse tribunos ple-  
 18 bis, alii quaestiones iniustas, plerique caedem in vos fe-  
 19 cisse pro munimento habent. Ita quam quisque pessume  
 fecit, tam maxime tutus est. Metum ab scelere suo ad  
 ignaviam vostram transtulere, quos omnis eadem cupere,  
 eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coegit. Sed haec  
 inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est. Quod si tam  
 vos libertatis curam haberetis quam illi ad dominationem  
 adcensi sunt, profecto neque res publica, sicuti nunc, vas-  
 taretur et beneficia vostra penes optimos, non audacissu-  
 mos forent. Maiores vestri parandi iuris et maiestatis  
 constituendae gratia bis per secessionem armati Aventi-  
 num occupavere. Vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepis-  
 tis, nonne summa ope nitemini—atque eo vehementius,  
 quo maius dedecus est parta amittere quam omnino non  
 paravisse? "
- 18 "Dicet aliquis 'Quid igitur censes?' Vindicandum in eos  
 qui hosti prodidere rem publicam, non manu neque vi,  
 quod magis vos fecisse quam illis adcidisse indignum est,  
 19 verum quaestionibus et indicio ipsius Iugurthae. Qui si

<sup>105</sup> I.e., the fear they ought to feel because of their crimes is felt instead by you because of your cowardice.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. *Cat.* 20.4.

<sup>107</sup> I.e., public offices.

<sup>108</sup> See *Cat.* 33.3n.

"Slaves bought for cash do not put up with the unjust power of their masters; do you, Citizens, born to power, endure slavery with resignation? But who are these persons who have taken possession of our country? Wicked men, with gory hands, of monstrous greed, guilty, and at the same time arrogant, who have made good faith, reputation, a sense of duty, in short everything honorable and dishonorable, a source of gain. As a safeguard of their position some of them can point to the killing of tribunes of the plebs, others to unjust inquisitions, many to the shedding of your blood. Thus the more atrocious a man's conduct is, the greater his safety. They have shifted fear from their crimes to your cowardice,<sup>105</sup> united as they are by the same desires, the same hatred, the same fears. Such shared feelings among good men constitute friendship;<sup>106</sup> among the wicked it is factiousness. But if your concern for freedom were as great as those men's thirst for tyranny, surely our country would not be ravaged as it now is, and your favors<sup>107</sup> would be bestowed on the most virtuous, not the most reckless. Your forefathers, for the sake of gaining legal rights and establishing their sovereignty, twice seceded and took armed possession of the Aventine;<sup>108</sup> will you not do everything in your power in defense of the liberty which they bequeathed to you—and all the more ardently, seeing that it is a greater disgrace to lose what has been won than never to have acquired it?

"Someone will say, 'What then do you advise?' My view is that those who have betrayed their country to the enemy must be punished, yet not by might and not by violence (which it is a less becoming act for you to perform than for them to suffer) but rather by the courts and by Jugurtha's own testimony. If he has truly surrendered himself, he will

- dediticus est, profecto iussis vestris oboediens erit; sin ea contemnit, scilicet existumabitis qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Iugurtham scelorum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumae divitiae, ad rem publicam damnata atque
- 20 dedecora pervenerint. Nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet et illa quam haec tempora magis placent, quom regna, provinciae, leges, iura, iudicia, bella atque paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere; nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum recusare audebat?
- 21 “Atque ego, tametsi viro<sup>40</sup> flagitiosissimum existumo impune iniuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo paterer, ni misericordia in perniciem casura esset. Nam et illis—quantum inopportunitatis habent—parum est impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciendi licentia eripitur, et vobis aeterna<sup>41</sup> sollicitudo remanebit, quom intellegitis aut serviundum esse aut per manus libertatem retinendam.
- 22
- 23 “Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes est? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi iniurias, vos prohibere; postremo sociis nostris veluti hostibus, hostibus<sup>42</sup> pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam divorsis mentibus
- 24

<sup>40</sup> VP: viros A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>F<sup>2</sup>: virum *rell.*

<sup>41</sup> A<sup>1</sup>NHF: alterna *rell.*

<sup>42</sup> hostibus, hostibus] VP<sup>1</sup>C: hostibus *rell.*

<sup>109</sup> “Present circumstances” refer to the vulnerability of the corrupt nobles to punishment, whereas in “the past,” the people were too cowed by fear to defend their rights.

surely be obedient to your commands; but if he flouts them, you will, of course, judge for yourselves what kind of peace or surrender that one is from which there accrues to Jugurtha impunity for his crimes, to a few powerful men immense wealth, and to our country damage and disgrace. Unless, by chance, you do not even yet feel sated with their domination, and present circumstances<sup>109</sup> are less to your liking than the past when kingdoms, provinces, statutes, laws, courts, war and peace, in short all things human and divine, were in the hands of a few; when, furthermore, you, that is to say the Roman people, unconquered by your enemies, rulers of all nations, were content to retain the mere breath of life. For which of you dared to refuse slavery?

“For my own part, although I consider it most shameful for a true man to suffer wrong without taking vengeance, nevertheless I could calmly allow you to pardon those most criminal of men, inasmuch as they are your fellow citizens, if that mercy would not result in ruin. For—so outrageous are they—they are not satisfied to have done evil with impunity, unless they extort complete freedom for future action; and you will be left in eternal anxiety, when you realize that you must either submit to slavery or use force to maintain your freedom.

“Indeed, what hope is there for good faith or harmony? Those men wish to be tyrants, you to be free; they want to inflict injury, you to prevent it; in short, they treat our allies like foreign enemies and our foreign enemies like allies. Can peace and friendship exist in minds adopting such



25 pax aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque vos ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non peculatus aerari factus est neque per vim socii ereptae pecuniae, quae quamquam gravia sunt, tamen consuetudine iam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrimo prodita senatus auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum est; domi militiaeque res publica

26 venalis fuit. Quae nisi quaesita erunt, nisi vindicatum in noxios, quid erit relicuum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obediētes vivamus? Nam impune quae lubet facere, id est

27 regem esse. Neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor ut malitis civis vestros perperam quam recte fecisse, sed ne ignoscendo malis bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc in re publica multo praestat benefici quam malefici inmemorem esse. Bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi negligas, at malus

28 improbius. Ad hoc si iniuriae non sint, haud saepe auxiliis egeas.”

32. Haec atque alia huiusce modi saepe dicendo<sup>43</sup> Memmius populo persuadet uti L. Cassius, qui tum praetor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur eumque interposita fide publica Romam duceret, quo facilius indicio regis Scauri et relicuorum, quos pecuniae captae arcessebat, delicta patefierent.

<sup>43</sup> s: indicendo ω

<sup>110</sup> Cf. *Cat.* 52.6 (in the mouth of M. Cato, a tribune-elect in 63). <sup>111</sup> I.e., by a special tribunal and the testimony of Jugurtha, as recommended at 31.18. <sup>112</sup> I.e., perversely wanting criminal behavior so that vengeance can be taken.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. *Cat.* 52.12. <sup>114</sup> If *auxilium* (assistance) refers, in a technical sense (*OLD* s.v. 2), to the power of a plebeian tribune to intervene on a citizen's behalf to protect him from unlawful coercion by a magistrate, then the meaning appears to be that the

contradictory attitudes? So I warn and urge you not to let such wickedness go unpunished. It is not embezzlement of the treasury, nor has money been extorted from our allies—serious crimes, to be sure, yet as a result of their frequency they are regarded as of no consequence.<sup>110</sup> Rather, the senate's dignity has been sold out for the benefit of a ruthless enemy, as has your sovereignty; the interests of your country have been offered for sale at home and abroad. Unless these actions are investigated by a tribunal,<sup>111</sup> unless the guilty are punished, what will remain except to pass our lives in submission to those who commit these acts? For to do with impunity whatever one pleases is to be a king. I am not urging, Citizens, that you prefer your fellow citizens to have acted amiss rather than uprightly,<sup>112</sup> but that you not set about destroying the good by pardoning the wicked.<sup>113</sup> On top of this, in a republic it is far better to forget a kindness than an injury. The good man merely becomes less inclined to action if you pay no attention to him, but the bad man grows more wicked. On top of this, if in the future there should be no wrongs, you would not often be in need of assistance.”<sup>114</sup>

32. By repeatedly expressing these and similar sentiments Memmius induced the people to send Lucius Cassius, who was praetor at the time, to Jugurtha, and to have Cassius bring the king to Rome under pledge of public protection so that through his testimony the offenses of Scaurus and the rest whom Memmius was accusing of taking bribes might the more readily be disclosed.

taking of a firm stand against corrupt officials in the present instance will lessen the need for protection against corrupt magistrates in the future.

2 Dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relictī a  
 3 Bestia exercitui praeerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui,  
 4 plurima et flagitiosissima facinora fecere. Fuere qui auro  
 5 corrupti elephantos Iugurthae traderent; alii perfugas  
 vendere;<sup>44</sup> pars ex pacatis praedas agebant: tanta vis avaritiae in animos eorum veluti tabes invaserat. At Cassius praetor, perlata rogatione a C. Memmio ac percussa omni nobilitate, ad Iugurtham proficiscitur eique timido et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis persuadet, quoniam se populo Romano dedisset, ne vim quam misericordiam eius experiri mallet. Privatim praeterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris quam publicam ducebat; talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

33. Igitur Iugurtha contra decus regium cultu quam  
 2 maxime miserabili cum Cassio Romam venit. Ac tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quae supra diximus, C. Baebium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, quous inprudencia contra ius et iniurias omnis munus foret. At C. Memmius advocata contione, quamquam regi infesta plebes erat et pars in vincula duci iubebat, pars, nisi socios sceleris sui aperiret, more maiorum de hoste supplicium sumi, dignitati quam irae magis con-

<sup>44</sup> *corr. Cortius: venderent ω*

<sup>115</sup> Possibly Bestia's quaestor Sextius (29.4) and various legates.

<sup>116</sup> Numidians living in territory subdued by Bestia.

<sup>117</sup> That he be put to death (cf. *Cat.* 52.36).

While this was going on at Rome, those who had been left by Bestia in command of the army in Numidia,<sup>115</sup> following their general's example, committed many shameless misdeeds. Some were induced by bribes to return to Jugurtha his elephants; others sold him deserters; others took plunder from pacified districts:<sup>116</sup> greed of such intensity had attacked their minds like a disease. But after Gaius Memmius had enacted his proposal and all the nobility was demoralized, the praetor Cassius set out on his mission to Jugurtha, and he persuaded the king, who was fearful and despairing of his prospects because of his guilty conscience, that since he had surrendered to the Roman people, he should choose to put their mercy to the test rather than their compulsion. He also gave Jugurtha his personal pledge of safety, which the king rated no less highly than that of the state; such was Cassius' reputation at that time.

33. Accordingly, Jugurtha, contrary to his royal dignity, came to Rome with Cassius in the most pitiable garb possible. And, although he possessed great self assurance, bolstered in his resolve by all those through whose power or guilt he had committed the numerous crimes I mentioned above, he won over the plebeian tribune Gaius Baebius with a hefty bribe, so that he might be shielded from due process and all damage by the man's shameless intervention. But when Gaius Memmius called a public meeting and the commons were hostile to the king (some demanding his imprisonment, others that he be punished as an enemy of the state after the usage of our forefathers,<sup>117</sup> if he did not reveal the accomplices in his crime), Memmius, consulting the interests of propriety rather than anger, quieted their excitement and soothed their

4 sulens sedare motus et animos eorum mollire, postremo confirmare, fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium coepit, producto Iugurtha verba facit, Romae Numidiaque facinora eius memorat, scelera in patrem fratresque ostendit. Quibus iuvantibus quibusque ministris ea egerit quamquam intellegat populus Romanus, tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere. Si verum aperiatur, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam, sin reticeat, non sociis salutem fore sed se suasque spes corrupturum.

34. Deinde ubi Memmius dicendi finem fecit et Iugurtha respondere iussus est, C. Baebius tribunus plebis quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere iubet; ac tametsi multitudo quae in contione aderat vehementer adensa terrebat eum clamore, voltu, saepe impetu atque aliis omnibus quae ira fieri amat, vicit tamen in prudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex contione discedit, Iugurthae Bestiaeque et ceteris quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi aurescunt.

35. Erat ea tempestate Romae Numida quidam nomine Massiva, Gulussae filius, Masinissae nepos, qui quia in dissensione regum Iugurthae adversus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto profugus ex patria abierat. 2 Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex

<sup>118</sup> Late 111, but the narrative now moves to events in the following year, when Albinus was consul (35.2).

<sup>119</sup> In 110. The praenomen of the consul Minucius Rufus was, in fact, Marcus, not Quintus. Quintus was the consul's brother and served as his legate in Macedonia and Thrace (*MRR* 1.544).

spirits; finally he declared that the pledge of public protection would not be broken so far as it lay within his power. Afterward, when silence prevailed and Jugurtha had been brought before the assembly, Memmius made an address, recalling the king's actions at Rome and in Numidia, and pointing out his crimes against his father and brothers. He stated that although the Roman people knew by whose aid and by whose complicity the king had done these things, they nevertheless wanted to have a clearer picture from his testimony; that if he revealed the truth, he had much to hope for from the good faith and mercy of the Roman people, but if he kept silence, he would not save his accomplices but would ruin himself and his hopes.

34. Then, when Memmius had finished and Jugurtha was ordered to reply, Gaius Baebius, the plebeian tribune, who, as I just said, had been bribed, ordered the king to remain silent. And although the crowd attending the public meeting was greatly inflamed and tried to intimidate the tribune by shouting, by angry looks, often by a surge and by all other means which anger tends to produce, yet his impudence triumphed. Hence the people left the assembly after being treated with contempt, while Jugurtha, Bestia, and the others who were being made anxious by that investigation began to feel more confident.

35. There was in Rome at that period<sup>118</sup> a certain Numidian named Massiva, a son of Gulussa and grandson of Masinissa, who, because he had opposed Jugurtha in the kings' quarrel, had fled from his native land after the capture of Cirta and the death of Adherbal. This man was persuaded by Spurius Albinus, who held the consulship with Quintus Minucius Rufus<sup>119</sup> in the year after Bestia, to ask the senate for the throne of Numidia, since he was

3 stirpe Masinissae sit Iugurthamque ob scelera invidia cum  
 4 metu urgeat, regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. Avidus  
 consul belli gerundi movere quam senescere omnia male-  
 bat. Ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evene-  
 rat. Quae postquam Massiva agitare coepit neque Iugur-  
 thae in amicis satis praesidi est, quod eorum alium  
 conscientia, alium mala fama et timor impediabat, Bomil-  
 cari proximo ac maxime fido sibi imperat, pretio, sicuti  
 multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivae paret ac maxime  
 occulte, sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam  
 interficiat.

5 Bomilcar mature regis mandata exequitur et per ho-  
 mines talis negoti artifices itinerà egressusque eius, post-  
 remo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat. Deinde, ubi res  
 6 postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero qui  
 ad caedem parati erant paulo inconsultius Massivam ad-  
 greditur; illum obruncat, sed ipse deprehensus, multis  
 hortantibus et in primis Albino consule, indicium profite-  
 7 tur. Fit reus magis ex aequo bonoque quam ex iure gen-  
 tium Bomilcar, comes eius qui Romam fide publica vene-  
 rat.

8 At Iugurtha manifestus tanti sceleris non prius omisit  
 contra verum niti, quam animadvortit supra gratiam atque  
 9 pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur quamquam

<sup>120</sup> Typically the incoming consuls drew lots for the two provinces designated in advance by the senate (see 27.3n.).

<sup>121</sup> Where for the past four years Rome had been involved in campaigns against the Scordisci, who threatened the northwest border of the province (Liv. *Per.* 65; Flor. 1.39.5).

<sup>122</sup> Possibly before the praetor peregrinus (*TLRR* no. 50).

descended from Masinissa and since Jugurtha was an object of ill will combined with fear on account of his crimes. The consul, out of his eagerness to wage war, preferred to stir things up rather than have everything die down. Numidia had fallen to him as his province,<sup>120</sup> and Macedonia<sup>121</sup> to Minucius. After Massiva began to take action and Jugurtha found insufficient support in his friends because some were hampered by a guilty conscience, others by talk of scandal and fear, Jugurtha ordered Bomilcar, his closest and most trusted attendant, to arrange assassins to murder Massiva for a price (his method in the past for accomplishing a great deal) and to kill the Numidian preferably in secret, but if that proved unsuccessful, in any way at all.

Bomilcar hastened to carry out the king's orders, and through men who were adept at such business he kept track of Massiva's comings and goings, in short, his whereabouts at all times. Finally, when circumstances called for it, he set his trap. Thereupon, one of those who had been recruited to commit the murder was rather careless in confronting Massiva; he did kill him, but was himself apprehended; and at the urging of many, especially the consul Albinus, he turned informer. Bomilcar, a companion of one who had come to Rome under pledge of public protection, was brought to trial<sup>122</sup> more in keeping with the concept of what was right and fair than the protection afforded by international law.

Jugurtha, however, although he was clearly responsible for so heinous a crime, did not cease to struggle against the truth until he realized that indignation at the deed was too strong even for his influence and his money. There-

in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat, regno magis quam vadibus consulens clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumptum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus eodem profectus est, iussus a  
 10 senatu Italia decedere. Sed postquam Roma egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse, “Ur-  
 bem<sup>45</sup> venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem inveni-  
 rit!”

36. Interim Albinus renovato bello conmeatum, stipendium aliaque, quae militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis aut deditione aut  
 2 quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Iugurtha trahere omnia et alias, deinde alias morae causas facere, polliceri deditionem ac deinde metum simulare, cedere instanti et paulo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare; ita belli modo, modo pacis mora consulem ludificare.

3 Ac fuere qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consili regis

<sup>45</sup> o urbem *AH<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup>*, *Liv. Per.* 64, *Aug. Ep.* 138.16, *Oros. Hist.* 5.15.5

<sup>123</sup> This expression (*priore actione*) appears to stand loosely for the first appearance of the defendant before the magistrate since there is no evidence for multiple “pleadings” (*actiones*) in any court other than the extortion court, first introduced by the *lex Servilia* (Glaucia) of ca. 104–100 (*Cic. 2 Verr.* 1.26).

<sup>124</sup> These fifty persons (a surprisingly large number, especially given the statement about Jugurtha’s waning influence, 35.4) pledged a sum of money that was forfeited if the defendant Bomilcar failed to appear.

fore, although in the earlier pleading<sup>123</sup> he had put up a bond secured by fifty of his friends,<sup>124</sup> yet having an eye rather to his throne than to the bond, he sent Bomilcar secretly to Numidia, being apprehensive that the rest of his adherents would become fearful to obey his orders, if Bomilcar was punished. A few days, later he himself set out for the same destination, having been ordered by the senate to leave Italy. After he had gone forth from Rome, it is said that he often looked back at it in silence and finally said, “A city for sale and soon to perish, if it finds a buyer!”

36. Meanwhile, Albinus, now that the war had been renewed, hastened to transport to Africa provisions, money for paying his troops, and other materiel that would be of service to the soldiers. He himself set out at once so that by means of arms, or surrender, or in any way at all he might bring the war to an end before the elections, the date of which was not far off.<sup>125</sup> Jugurtha, by contrast, dragged everything out, inventing one pretext after another for delay. He promised surrender and then made a pretense of apprehension; he gave way to the consul’s attack, and then a little later went on the offensive so that his followers might not lose courage. Thus he toyed with the consul, now by the delays of war, now by those of peace.

There were those who thought that Albinus was at that time by no means unaware of the king’s design. They be-

<sup>125</sup> Typically held in this period, ca. November. Contrary to the impression given by Sallust, Albinus may well have arrived in Africa early in the campaign season (late spring).

existumarent, neque ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum socordia magis quam dolo crederent. Sed postquam dilapso tempore comitorum dies adventabat, Albinus Aulo fratre in castris pro praetore relicto Roman decessit.

37. Ea tempestate Romae seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter res publica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius tribuni plebis resistentibus conlegis continuare magistratum nitebantur, quae dissensio totius anni comitia impediabat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro praetore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiundi belli aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniae capiundae, milites mense Ianuario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat, magnisque itineribus hieme aspera pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam et saevitia temporis et opportunitate loci neque capi neque obsideri poterat—nam circum murum situm in praerupti montis

<sup>126</sup> The date is October/November 110. "Pro praetore" here and at 103.4 designates an officer (*legatus*) who is placed in charge during the commander's absence. <sup>127</sup> Both otherwise unknown. <sup>128</sup> Since the strife is said to have resulted in the postponement of elections in 110 (except, presumably, the tribunician elections, because they were not subject to a tribune's veto and so must have been held at the usual time in midsummer), quite possibly Lucullus and Annius were seeking not a second term as tribunes but rather a quaestorship or aedileship with a view to gaining immunity from prosecution. <sup>129</sup> Not quite the whole year since at 43.1 the consuls of 109 are described as "consuls-designate." They were presumably elected soon after a new college of ten tribunes, for 109, entered office on December 10, 110 (see preceding note). <sup>130</sup> In 109. This is the only date given by month in the course of the war, and ironically it does not stand up to

lied that after such haste, it was more as a result of underhandedness than negligence that the war was being so easily dragged out. Now after time had slipped away and the day of the elections drew near, Albinus departed for Rome, leaving behind his brother near Aulus as commander in his place.<sup>126</sup>

37. In Rome at that time the nation was being fiercely disturbed by dissensions among the tribunes. The plebeian tribunes Publius Lucullus and Lucius Annius,<sup>127</sup> were striving to prolong their term of office in spite of the opposition of their colleagues,<sup>128</sup> and this wrangling blocked the elections of the whole year.<sup>129</sup> Because of the delay, Aulus, who, as I stated above, had been left as commander in the camp in place of the consul, came to hope for either finishing the war or obtaining a bribe from the king because of the fear the army inspired in him. He, therefore, called up his soldiers in the month of January<sup>130</sup> from their winter quarters for active duty in the field, and by forced marches, in spite of the severity of the winter, reached the town of Suthul,<sup>131</sup> where the king's treasury was located. And although that town was not able to be captured or besieged on account of the weather's inclemency and the strength of its position—around the walls, which were

scrutiny. Possibly it is a scribal notation that made its way into the text. The campaign must actually have taken place before the end of 110, in November or December, since Metellus and Silanus are described as "consuls-designate" after Aulus' defeat (43.1), while Aulus' brother, who is referred to as "consul" (39.2, 4), acts as such by consulting the senate and taking steps to meet the emergency precipitated by his brother's defeat at the hands of Jugurtha.

<sup>131</sup> Location unknown.

extremo planities limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat—tamen aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem iacere, aliaque quae incepto usui forent properare.

38. At Jugurtha, cognita vanitate atque inperitia legati, subdole eius augere amentiam, missitare supplicantis legatos, ipse quasi vitabundus per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti relicto Suthule in abditas regiones sese veluti cedentem insequeretur [ita delicta occultiora fuere].<sup>46</sup>

3 Interea per homines callidos diu<sup>47</sup> noctuque exercitum temptabat, centuriones ducesque turmarum partim<sup>48</sup> uti transfugerent corrumpere, alii signo dato locum uti desererent.

4 Quae postquam ex sententia instruit, intempesta nocte de inproviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, percussi tumultu insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare, trepidare omnibus locis. Vis magna hostium, caelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum, periculum anceps: postremo fugere an manere tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paulo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una

<sup>46</sup> *secl. Dietsch*

<sup>47</sup> *diu PA<sup>2</sup>N: die rell.*

<sup>48</sup> *partim K<sup>2</sup>D<sup>2</sup>F: partium rell.*

<sup>132</sup> The words that immediately follow, "thus their misconduct was less obvious," appear to be some reader's marginal notation that has crept into the text.

built along the perimeter of a sheer cliff, a muddy plain had formed a marsh thanks to the winter rains—nevertheless, either just as a ploy to frighten the king, or blinded by a desire to possess the town for the sake of its treasure, Aulus brought up mantlets, constructed a mound, and hastily made other preparations that would be useful in his undertaking.

38. Jugurtha, however, well aware of the folly and incapacity of the acting commander, craftily added to his folly and constantly sent him suppliant envoys, while he himself, as if trying to avoid an encounter, led his army through wooded places and by-ways. Finally, by holding out hope of an agreement, he induced Aulus to leave Suthul and follow after him, as though retreating, into out-of-the-way regions.<sup>132</sup> Meanwhile, through cunning men he worked upon the Roman army day and night, bribing the centurions and commanders of cavalry squadrons<sup>133</sup> either to desert or to abandon their posts at a given signal.

After he had arranged these matters to his satisfaction, in the dead of night he unexpectedly surrounded Aulus' camp with a throng of Numidians. The Roman soldiers were alarmed by the unusual disturbance; some seized their arms, others hid, a number encouraged the fearful; there was alarm everywhere. There was a large hostile force, a sky darkened by night and clouds, danger on all sides: in short, whether it would be safer to flee or to remain in place was uncertain. Then from the number of those who, as I just said, had been bribed, one cohort of

<sup>133</sup> Drawn chiefly from Rome's allies. Those who deserted were Thracians (38.6).

Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum et paucis gregariis militibus transiere ad regem, et centurio primi pili tertiae legionis per munitionem, quam uti defenderet acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit, eaque Numidae cuncti inrupere. Nostri foeda fuga, plerique abiectis armis, proximum collem occupaverunt. Nox atque praeda castrorum hostis quominus victoria uterentur remorata sunt. Deinde Iugurtha postero die cum Aulo in conloquio verba facit: tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame et ferro clausum ten<er>et,<sup>49</sup> tamen se memorem humanarum rerum, si secum foedus faceret, incolumis omnis sub iugum missurum. Praeterea uti diebus decem Numidia decederet. Quae quamquam gravia et flagiti plena erant, tamen quia mortis metu mutabantur, sicuti regi lubuerat pax convenit. 39. Sed ubi ea Romae conperta sunt, metus atque mae-ror civitatem invasere. Pars dolere pro gloria imperi, pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati, Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxume qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant,<sup>50</sup> quod armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus, ex delicto fratris invidiam ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de foedere consu-

<sup>49</sup>  $\varsigma$ : tenet  $\omega$

<sup>50</sup>  $BN^2K^2HF$ : fuerint  $aC\delta D$

<sup>134</sup> The Ligurians were among the Roman auxiliaries; they lived along the Mediterranean coast of Cisalpine Gaul, adjoining what is today the French Riviera.

<sup>135</sup> From this it follows that at least three consular legions had been levied, but there were not necessarily three legions serving in Numidia, since Albinus' colleague Minucius was fighting in Macedonia (35.3).

<sup>136</sup> I.e., of their vicissitudes.

Ligurians<sup>134</sup> with two squadrons of Thracians and a few common soldiers went over to the king, while the chief centurion of the Third legion<sup>135</sup> gave the enemy a place of entry through the fortification he had been appointed to guard, and via that opening all the Numidians burst in. Our men in shameful flight, in most cases throwing away their arms, took up a position on a neighboring hill. Night and plunder of the camp delayed the enemy from following up their victory. Then on the following day, Jugurtha held a conference with Aulus, stating that although he had Aulus and his army at the mercy of starvation and the sword, nevertheless, since he was mindful of the human condition,<sup>136</sup> he would, if Aulus would make a treaty with him, let them all go unharmed after passing under a yoke of surrender.<sup>137</sup> Moreover, he stipulated that Aulus was to leave Numidia within ten days. Although the terms were grievous and disgraceful, yet because they were being traded for the dread of death, peace was agreed to on the king's terms.

39. Now, when news of this reached Rome, fear and grief seized the community. Some felt sorrow for the glory of the empire; others, being unaccustomed to matters of war, feared for their freedom. All, especially those who had often gained renown in war, were incensed at Aulus, because with arms in his hands he had sought safety by disgrace rather than by action. Accordingly, the consul Albinus, fearing odium and consequent danger as the result of his brother's misconduct, laid the question of the proposed treaty before the senate; but in the meantime,

<sup>137</sup> Typically formed by planting two spears in the ground and lashing a third to them to form a cross-member (Liv. 3.28.11).



lebat; et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere, ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcessere, denique omnibus modis festinare.

3 Senatus, ita uti par fuerat, decernit suo atque populi  
4 iniussu nullum potuisse foedus fieri. Consul, impeditus a  
tribunis plebis ne quas paraverat copias secum portaret,  
paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur; nam omnis exerci-  
tus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus in provincia hiema-  
5 bat. Postquam eo venit, quamquam persequi Iugurtham  
et mederi fraternae invidiae animo ardebat, cognitis mili-  
tibus, quos praeter fugam soluto imperio licentia atque  
lascivia corruperat, ex copia rerum statuit sibi nihil agitan-  
dum.

40. Interim Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus  
plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat, uti quaereretur  
in eos quorum consilio Iugurtha senati decreta neglegis-  
set,<sup>51</sup> quique ab eo in legationibus aut imperiis pecunias  
accepissent, qui elephantos quique perfugas tradidissent,  
item qui de pace aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fe-  
2 cissent. Huic rogationi partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium  
invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non  
poterant quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, oc-

<sup>51</sup> β: *neglexisset rell.* (cf. *Cat.* 51.24)

<sup>138</sup> I.e., allied communities possessing the private, but not the public, rights of Roman citizenship. Persons enjoying the "Latin right" could enter into a marriage or business contract recognized under Roman law, but they could not vote or hold public office in Rome. <sup>139</sup> Those of 109, who entered office on December 10, 110.

<sup>140</sup> See 38.9.

<sup>141</sup> Tribune in 109.

he enrolled reinforcements for the army, summoned aid from the allies and those of Latin status;<sup>138</sup> in short, he made haste in every way.

The senate, precisely as was fitting, decided that no treaty could be made without the authorization of itself and the people. The consul, having been prevented by the plebeian tribunes<sup>139</sup> from taking with him the forces which he had raised, set out within a few days for Africa; for the whole army had been withdrawn from Numidia according to the agreement<sup>140</sup> and was wintering in the province. After he arrived there, although he burned in his heart to pursue Jugurtha and heal the ill will caused by his brother, yet because he knew the soldiers had been demoralized not only by their rout but by the license and debauchery consequent upon lax discipline, he decided that he ought to take no action, given his circumstances.

40. Meanwhile, at Rome, the plebeian tribune Gaius Mamilius Limetanus<sup>141</sup> proposed to the people a bill authorizing legal proceedings against those who had counseled Jugurtha to disregard decrees of the senate and those who had accepted money from him while serving as envoys or commanders, those who had handed back elephants and deserters, likewise those who had colluded with the enemy concerning peace or war. Preparations for obstructing the bill were made in part by those who were conscious of guilt and also by others who feared dangers arising from factional hostility;<sup>142</sup> but since they could not openly oppose it without confessing their approval of those acts and others like them, they did so secretly

<sup>142</sup> I.e., wanting to forestall political vendettas carried out through prosecutions.

- 3 culte per amicos ac maxume per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos inpedimenta parabant. Sed plebes incredibile memoratu est quam intenta fuerit quantaque vi rogationem iusserit, magis odio nobilitatis, quoi mala illa parabantur, quam cura rei publicae; tanta lubido in partibus erat.
- 4 Igitur, ceteris metu percussis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae fuisse supra docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis et suorum fugam, trepida etiam tum civitate, quom ex Mamilia rogatione tres quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat
- 5 uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed quaestio exercita asperere violenterque ex rumore et lubidine plebis. Uti saepe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

- 2 41. Ceterum mos partium [popularium]<sup>52</sup> et [senatores] factionum<sup>53</sup> ac deinde omnium malarum artium paucis ante annis Romae ortus est otio atque abundantia earum rerum quae prima mortales ducunt. Nam ante Car-

<sup>52</sup> partium *D*<sup>2</sup>: partium popularium  $\omega$

<sup>53</sup> factionum *ND*<sup>2</sup>: senatores f.  $\alpha K^1 \gamma$ : senatus f.  $A^2 \beta K^2$

<sup>143</sup> Since the Latini and Italian allied communities had no vote in the Roman assembly, their only means of offering opposition to Mamilius' bill was through demonstrations or disruptions at Mamilius' public meetings. Possibly their hostility to Mamilius grew out of his legislation on boundaries, which threatened their title to land (*MRR* 1.546 and n. 2).

<sup>144</sup> In 111 (28.4). Late in that same year, the tribune Memmius alleged that Scaurus was guilty of receiving bribes (32.1), making Scaurus' election as a commissioner under the Mamilian law in 109 all the more surprising (see *MRR* 3.10).

through their friends, and especially through men possessing Latin status and the Italian allies.<sup>143</sup> But it is amazing to relate how engaged the commons were and with what vehemence they passed the bill, more from hatred of the nobles, for whom those troubles were being made ready, than from concern for the country: so high did factional passion run.

Thereupon, while the rest were panic stricken, Marcus Scaurus, who, as I indicated above, had been a deputy commander of Bestia,<sup>144</sup> in the midst of the exultation of the commons and the rout of his own political allies, took advantage of the political turmoil to have himself chosen as one of the three investigators authorized by Mamilius' bill. Nevertheless, the investigation was conducted with harshness and violence, on hearsay evidence and at the whim of the commons;<sup>145</sup> for just as had often happened in the case of the nobles, so the commons had been made insolent at that time by success.

41. Furthermore, the institution of political groups and factions, and afterward of all evil practices, originated at Rome a few years before this<sup>146</sup> as the result of peacetime and of an abundance of those things that mortals prize most highly. For before the destruction of Carthage, the

<sup>145</sup> Among those condemned were L. Opimius (cos. 121), who had been chief of the legation of ten that divided Numidia between Jugurtha and Adherbal in 116 (16.2), and the two consular commanders, L. Bestia (cos. 111) and Sp. Albinus (cos. 110): Cic. *Brut.* 128.

<sup>146</sup> Roughly thirty-five years prior to the year 110, in 146, when Carthage was destroyed.

thagine deletam populus et senatus Romanus placide  
 modesteque inter se rem publicam tractabant, neque glo-  
 3 riae neque dominationis certamen inter civis erat; metus  
 formido mentibus decessit, scilicet ea quae res secundae  
 4 amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Ita quod in ad-  
 vorsis rebus optaverant otium, postquam adepti sunt,  
 5 asperius acerbisque fuit. Namque coepere nobilitas dig-  
 nitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vortere, sibi  
 quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partis  
 abstracta sunt, res publica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata.  
 6 Ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat, plebis vis  
 7 soluta atque dispersa in multitudine minus poterat. Pau-  
 corum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur, penes eosdem  
 aerarium, provinciae, magistratus, gloriae triumphique  
 8 erant; populus militia atque inopia urgebatur, praedas bel-  
 licas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes  
 9 aut parvi liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori confinis  
 erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia sine  
 modo modestiaque invadere, polluere et vastare omnia,  
 nihil pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa<sup>54</sup> praeci-  
 10 pitavit. Nam ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt qui  
 veram gloriam iniustae potentiae anteponerent, moveri  
 civitas et dissensio civilis quasi permixtio terrae oriri coe-  
 pit.

<sup>54</sup> ipsa AN<sup>1</sup>, Arus. GL 7.505.2: ipsam *rell.*

people and senate of Rome together managed political  
 affairs between them peacefully and with moderation.  
 There was no strife among the citizens either for glory or  
 for mastery; fear of the enemy abroad kept the state within  
 the bounds of good morals. But when that dread departed  
 from the minds of the people, there arose, of course, those  
 vices which tend to be fostered by prosperity: promiscuity  
 and arrogance. Thus the peacetime for which they had  
 longed in time of adversity, after they had gained it, proved  
 to be more cruel and bitter than adversity itself. For the  
 nobles began to abuse their standing and the people their  
 liberty, and every man took, pillaged, and plundered for  
 himself. Thus the community was split into two rival  
 groups, and the state, which had formerly been shared,  
 was torn to pieces.

Still, the nobles had greater dominance thanks to their  
 faction, while the strength of the commons was less pow-  
 erful because it was incompact and divided among many.  
 Affairs at home and in war were managed according to the  
 will of a few, in whose same hands were the treasury, the  
 provinces, public offices, opportunities for winning glory  
 and triumphs. The people were burdened with military  
 service and poverty. The generals divided the spoils of war  
 with a few friends. Meanwhile, the soldiers' parents or  
 little children, just as each happened to be a neighbor of a  
 more powerful individual, were driven from their abodes.  
 Thus, along with power, unlimited and unrestrained greed  
 arose; it violated and devastated everything, respected  
 nothing, and held nothing sacred until it finally brought  
 about its own downfall. For as soon as there were discov-  
 ered among the nobility those who preferred true glory to  
 unjust power, the state began to be disturbed and civil  
 dissension to arise, like an upheaval of the earth.

42. Nam postquam Ti. et C. Gracchus, quorum maiores Punico atque aliis bellis multum rei publicae addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem et paucorum scelera patefacere coepere, nobilitas noxia atque eo percussa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat; et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Gaium, tribunum alterum, alterum<sup>55</sup> triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum  
 2 M. Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverat. Et sane Gracchis cupidine victoriae haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed bono  
 3 vinci satius est quam malo more iniuriam vincere.

4 Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubricitate sua usa multos mortalis ferro aut fuga exstinxit plusque in relicuom sibi timoris quam potentiae addidit. Quae res plerumque magnas civitatis pessum dedit, dum alteri alteros vincere  
 5 quovis modo et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed de studiis partium et omnis civitatis moribus si singillatim aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus quam res maturius me deseret. Quam ob rem ad inceptum redeo.

<sup>55</sup> alterum, alterum] s: alterum ω

<sup>147</sup> The Gracchi were grandsons on their mother's side of the elder Scipio Africanus; their father had served with distinction in Spain and Sardinia.

<sup>148</sup> The agrarian legislation of the Gracchi threatened the interest of the allies and Latini (cf. 39.2n.) by taking from them public land to form plots for Roman citizens: hence the allies and Latini were potential allies of the opponents of the Gracchi.

<sup>149</sup> It is not clear whether this is a comment on the Gracchi or on those who used violence to defeat them.

42. For example, after Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, whose forefathers had added greatly to the power of the nation in the Punic and other wars,<sup>147</sup> began to assert the freedom of the commons and expose the crimes of the oligarchs, the nobility—guilty and for that reason panic-stricken—opposed the activities of the Gracchi, now through the allies and those having Latin status,<sup>148</sup> at times through the Roman Knights, who had been estranged from the commons by the hope of an alliance with the senate. And first Tiberius, then a few years later Gaius, who was following in his brother's footsteps—the one a tribune, the other a member of the Board of Three for founding colonies—were cut down with the sword along with Marcus Fulvius Flaccus. And the Gracchi, to be sure, lacked sufficient restraint in their eagerness for victory; but it is preferable for a good man to be defeated than to triumph over a wrong in a wicked manner.<sup>149</sup>

And so, the nobles abused their victory to gratify their passions; they put many mortals out of the way by the sword or by banishment; and for the future they gained for themselves a greater measure of intimidation than of power. It is this spirit which has commonly sent great nations crashing down, when one party desires to triumph over another by any means at all and to take vengeance on the vanquished with excessive cruelty. But if I should be prepared to discuss in detail, or according to the importance of the theme, the partisan spirit of the political factions and the character of the state as a whole, I shall sooner run out of time than material. Therefore I return to my subject.

43. Post Auli foedus exercitusque nostri foedam fugam Metellus et Silanus, consules designati, provincias inter se partiverant, Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro et, quamquam advorso populi partium, fama tamen aequabili et inviolata. Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum conlega ratus, ad bellum quod gesturus erat animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui milites scribere,<sup>56</sup> praesidia undique arcessere, arma, tela, equos et cetera instrumenta militiae parare, ad hoc conmeatum adfatim, denique omnia, quae in bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent. Ceterum ad ea patrandam senatus auctoritate, socii nomenque Latinum et reges ultro auxilia mittundo, postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnibebatur. Itaque ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, quom propter artis bonas tum maxime quod advorsum divitiarum invictum animum gerebat; et avaritia magistratum ante id tempus in Numidia nostrae opes contusae hostiumque auctae erant.

44. Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur a Sp. Albino proconsule iners, inbellis, neque periculi neque

<sup>56</sup> scribere *N*: eligere *D*: eligere scribere *XKH*: scr. elig. *F*

<sup>150</sup> There is a wordplay on *foedus* (treaty) and *foeda fuga* (foul flight) in this sentence. <sup>151</sup> For 109.

<sup>152</sup> The word *praesidium* normally means "a garrison" or "military guard" but here undoubtedly refers to allied contingents which augmented the citizen levy: lit. "help, aid" (*OLD* 2a).

<sup>153</sup> Allied kings presumably in the Middle East, but none can be identified as having contributed forces to this campaign.

<sup>154</sup> Lit. "against riches," possibly alluding to Metellus' recent

43. After the treaty of Aulus and the foul flight<sup>150</sup> of our army, the consuls-elect,<sup>151</sup> Metellus and Silanus, had made a division of the provinces between them; Numidia had fallen to Metellus, an energetic man and, though an opponent of the popular party, nevertheless possessing a solid and unblemished reputation. As soon as he entered office, looking upon all else as falling to himself and his colleague, he devoted his attention to the war he was going to conduct. Accordingly, being distrustful of the old army, he enrolled soldiers, summoned supporting forces<sup>152</sup> from all over, made ready arms, weapons, horses, and other equipment of war, as well as a sufficiency of supplies; in short, he provided everything that commonly proves useful in a war of varied character and demanding many resources. Furthermore, in accomplishing these tasks he was supported by the authority of the senate, by the voluntary contribution of auxiliaries on the part of allies, communities having Latin status and kings,<sup>153</sup> in short, by the greatest enthusiasm on the part of the whole community. Therefore, after everything was prepared and arranged to his satisfaction, Metellus left for Numidia, bearing with him the high hopes of the citizens not only on account of his good qualities but especially because he displayed a disposition proof against the corrupting power of money.<sup>154</sup> Prior to that time, it had been as a result of the magistrates' avarice that our strength had been shattered in Numidia and that of the enemy increased.

44. But when Metellus reached Africa, the proconsul Spurius Albinus handed over to him an army that was idle,

acquittal in a prosecution for extortion (*TLRR* no. 51), if that case preceded his consulship

laboris patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, praedator  
 ex sociis et ipse praeda hostium, sine imperio et modestia  
 2 habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollici-  
 tudinis quam ex copia militum auxili aut spei bonae adce-  
 3 debat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et aestivorum  
 tempus comitiorum mora inminuerat et expectatione  
 eventus civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum  
 adtingere quam maiorum disciplina milites laborare coe-  
 4 gisset. Nam Albinus Auli fratris exercitusque clade percul-  
 sus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum  
 temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites  
 stativis castris habebat, nisi quom odor aut pabuli egestas  
 5 locum mutare subegerat. Sed <neque muniebantur ea><sup>57</sup>  
 neque more militari vigiliae deducebantur; uti quoique  
 lubebat ab signis aberat. Lixae permixti cum militibus diu  
 noctuque vagabantur et palantes agros vastare, villas ex-  
 pugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere  
 eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectione et aliis  
 talibus; praeterea frumentum publice datum vendere,  
 panem in dies mercari: postremo quaecumque dici aut

<sup>57</sup> s: neque muniebantur *Fro.* 99.17-18: *om. ω*

<sup>155</sup> The consular elections in 110 had most likely been postponed until the latter half of December (see 37.2n.). Consequently, the raising of new forces and other preparations described in 43.3-4, and their transport to Africa, must have delayed Metellus' arrival until very late in the spring, or early summer of 109.

<sup>156</sup> The allowance was three *modii* (= ca. three-quarters of a bushel) of wheat per month, the cost of which was deducted from their pay (Polyb. 6.39.12-15).

unfit for war, and incapable of facing either danger or hardship, readier of tongue than of hand, a plunderer of our allies and itself a prey to the enemy, maintained without discipline and restraint. Hence their new commander derived more anxiety from the bad habits of the soldiers than he did assistance or hope for success from their numbers. Although the delay of the elections had shortened the time for military action,<sup>155</sup> and Metellus thought that the minds of his fellow citizens were aroused by their expectation of the outcome of the conflict, he resolved, nevertheless, not to engage in war until he had forced the soldiers to exert themselves in keeping with ancestral discipline. For Albinus, utterly shaken by the defeat of the army under his brother Aulus, decided not to leave the province, and during that part of the season for military action which fell during his command, he had kept the soldiers for the most part in a permanent camp, except when the stench or the need for fodder had compelled him to change his position. But his camps were not fortified, nor were sentinels sent out in military fashion; men absented themselves from their units just as anyone pleased. Camp followers mingled with soldiers, and together they ranged about day and night, and in their wanderings laid waste the fields, stormed farmhouses, vied with one another in carrying off booty in the form of cattle and slaves, and bartered their plunder with traders for imported wine and other such goods. They even sold the grain allotted them by the state<sup>156</sup> and purchased bread daily. In short, whatever disgraceful acts arising from idle-

finji queunt ignaviae luxuriaequae probra, <ea><sup>58</sup> in illo exercitu cuncta fuere et alia amplius.

45. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus quam in rebus hostilibus magnum et sapientem virum fuisse conperior; tanta temperantia inter ambitionem saevitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto primum adiumenta ignaviae sustulisse: ne quisquam in castris panem aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet, ne lixae exercitum sequerentur, ne miles <hastatus aut><sup>59</sup> gregarius in castris neve in agmine servom aut iumentum haberet; ceteris arte modum statuisse. Praeterea transvorsis itineribus cotidie castra movere, iuxta ac si hostes adessent vallo atque fossa munire, vigiliis crebras ponere et eas ipse cum legatis circumire; item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quispiam ordine egrederetur, ut cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis quam vindicando exercitum brevi confirmavit.

46. Interea Iugurtha, ubi quae Metellus agebat ex nuntiis accepit, simul de innocentia eius certior Roma<sup>60</sup> factus, diffidere suis rebus ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum supplicibus mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello iam antea

<sup>58</sup> Fro. 99.24: om. ω      <sup>59</sup> Fro. 100.5: om. ω

<sup>60</sup> Non. 325M.33: Romae ω

<sup>157</sup> Presumably through written communication; but if we adopt the paradosis of the MSS *Romae*, then Jugurtha himself made this discovery during his visit to Rome in late 111 (chs. 33–35).

ness and extravagance can be mentioned or imagined, they were all to be found in that army and others besides.

45. But I find that in dealing with this difficult situation Metellus was no less a great and prudent man than he was in waging war (with such moderation did he steer a course between currying favor and harshness); and that in the first place he removed incentives to idleness by an edict that no one at all was to sell bread or any other cooked food within the camp, that camp followers were not to accompany the army, that no frontline or common soldier was to have a slave or a pack animal in camp or on the march; and he set a strict limit on other such practices. Moreover he moved camp every day by zigzag marches, fortified it with a palisade and trench just as if the enemy were nearby, and placed sentinels at short intervals and inspected them in person in the company of his deputy commanders. On the march, too, he was now with those in the van, now in the rear, often in the middle of the line, to see that no one at all broke rank, that they advanced in a compact body with their standards, and that the soldiers carried food and arms. In this way, he soon strengthened his army more by keeping them from doing wrong than by punishing them.

46. Meanwhile, when Jugurtha learned through messengers of Metellus' activities, and at the same time having been informed from Rome<sup>157</sup> concerning his incorruptibility, he began to lose confidence in his cause and for the first time attempted to arrange a genuine surrender. Therefore, he sent envoys to the consul with humble entreaties, to ask only that his own life be spared as well as his children's, and to leave all else to the discretion of the Roman people. But Metellus had already learned from

4 experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse. Itaque legatos alium ab alio divorsos adgreditur ac paulatim temptando, postquam opportunos sibi cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet uti Iugurtham maxime vivom, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent. Ceterum palam quae ex voluntate forent regi nuntiari<sup>61</sup> iubet.

5 Deinde ipse paucis diebus intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit, ubi contra belli faciem tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant. Ex oppidis et mapalibus praefecti regis obvii procedebant parati frumentum dare, conmeatum portare, postremo  
6 omnia quae imperarentur facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere et insidiis locum temptari. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat; in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat, in utrumque latus auxilios equites tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium dispertiverat, ut cum eis permixti velites, quocumque  
7 adcederent equitatus hostium, propulsarent. Nam in Iugurtha tantus dolus tantaque peritia locorum et militiae

<sup>61</sup> nuntiare *Py*

<sup>158</sup> The presence of farmers in the fields (46.5) suggests harvest time. If so, Metellus' incursion began in roughly June 109.

<sup>159</sup> See 18.8. <sup>160</sup> Lit. "prefects of the cohorts"; typically six prefects commanded the allied cavalry stationed on either wing of the battle line.

experience that the Numidians were a treacherous race, of fickle disposition, and eager for revolt. Accordingly, he approached the envoys one after the other, separately, and by gradually sounding them out—after he found them suitable to his purposes—he tried to induce them by lavish promises to deliver Jugurtha into his hands, preferably alive, but if that proved unsuccessful, then dead. Still, publicly he ordered a reply to be made to the king that would be to his liking.

A few days later,<sup>158</sup> the consul with his army alert and ready for battle entered Numidia, where, in place of an overt appearance of war, there were native huts full of men, cattle and farmers in the fields. From the towns and *mapalia*<sup>159</sup> the king's overseers came out to meet him, offering to furnish grain, to transport provisions—in short, to do everything that they were ordered. Metellus did not for that reason advance with his line of march any less protected but proceeded just as if the enemy were close at hand; he reconnoitered the country far and wide; he believed that those indications of submission were a pretense and that a favorable place for an ambush was being investigated. Accordingly, he himself was at the head of the column with cohorts ready for action, along with an elite body of slingers and archers; his deputy commander Gaius Marius with the cavalry was in charge at the rear; on each flank Metellus had apportioned the auxiliary cavalry to the military tribunes and officers in charge of the cohorts<sup>160</sup> so that light-armed troops might be integrated with them and repel the enemy's horsemen, wherever they advanced. For in Jugurtha there was such craftiness, such knowledge of the locale and of soldiering, that it was not



erat ut absens an<sup>62</sup> praesens, pacem an bellum gerens perniciosior esset, in<sup>63</sup> incerto haberetur.

47. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum, ubi et incolere et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales.

2 Huc consul simul temptandi gratia [et] si paterentur <et ob><sup>64</sup> opportunitates loci praesidium inposuit. Praeterea imperavit frumentum et alia quae bello usui forent comportare, ratus, id quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et conneatu<sup>65</sup> iuvaturam<sup>66</sup> exercitum et iam paratis rebus munimento fore.

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

48. Iugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit ac se suis artibus temptari animadvortit, quippe quoi verbis pax nuntiabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrimum erat, urbs maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium temptati, coactus rerum necessitudine statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriae adductus ex opportunitate loci, quam maximas

<sup>62</sup> X: et K: vel Nγ

<sup>63</sup> in incerto B<sup>2</sup>KF<sup>2</sup>: incerto XN: incertum γ

<sup>64</sup> si paterentur et ob Dietsch: et si paterentur ω

<sup>65</sup> corr. Ursinus: conneatum ω

<sup>66</sup> corr. Fabri: iuvaturum ω

certain whether he was more destructive when absent or when present, when offering peace or war.

47. Not far from the route by which Metellus was proceeding lay a town of the Numidians called Vaga, the most frequented trading center of the entire kingdom, where many mortals of Italic stock had become accustomed to dwell and trade. Here the consul stationed a garrison, both to see whether the inhabitants would submit to this treatment and because of the advantages of the place. Furthermore, he commanded them to collect grain and other items that would be of use for the war, thinking, as the situation suggested, that the large number of traders would aid his army in getting supplies and serve as a protection for items already procured.

While this was going on, Jugurtha sent with even greater insistence suppliant envoys, begged for peace, and offered to surrender everything to Metellus except his own life and his children's. These envoys too, like the former ones, the consul sent home after enticing them to turn traitor; he neither refused nor promised the king the peace he was demanding, and amid these delays he awaited the fulfillment of the envoys' promises.

48. When Jugurtha compared Metellus' words with his actions and realized that he was being assailed with his own tactics—for ostensibly peace was being offered him, but in reality he was faced with the bitterest warfare, a major city removed from his control, his territory reconnoitered by the enemy, and the loyalty of his subjects tampered with—he decided to put arms to the test, forced as he was to do so by the necessity of circumstances. Accordingly, having reconnoitered the enemy's march, and having conceived hope for victory from the nature of the

potest copias omnium generum parat ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit.

- 3 Erat in ea parte Numidiae quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie nomine Muthul, a quo aberat mons ferme milia passuum †viginti† tractu pari, vastus ab natura et humano cultu. Sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur in immensum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac murtetis aliisque generibus arborum quae  
4 humi arido atque harenoso gignuntur. Media autem planities deserta penuria aquae praeter flumini propinqua loca; ea consita arbustis pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

49. Igitur in eo colle, quem transverso itinere porrectum docuimus, Iugurtha extenuata suorum acie consedit; elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit eumque edocet quae ageret. Ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu et peditibus delectis suos conlocat.  
2 Dein singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur uti memores pristinae virtutis et victoriae sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant; cum eis certamen fore, quos antea victos sub iugum miserint; ducem illis, non animum mutatum; quae ab imperatore decuerint omnia suis provisae, locum superiorem, ut

<sup>161</sup> See 16.5. <sup>162</sup> The actual distance is no more than two or three miles, the paradosis "xx" arising, no doubt, from a corruption of "iii" or "iv." <sup>163</sup> Presumably in the direction of the river. <sup>164</sup> I.e., the area enclosed on three sides by the hill, mountain, and river. <sup>165</sup> It is unclear from the Latin whether Sallust is referring to the hill as jutting out at a right angle to the mountain or as extending across the Roman's line of march. <sup>166</sup> Of cavalry and infantry, respectively.

country, he made ready the greatest possible forces of all kinds, and he succeeded in getting out in advance of Metellus' army by hidden bypaths.

There was in that part of Numidia which Adherbal had controlled after the partition<sup>161</sup> a river rising from the south called the Muthul, and about †twenty† miles<sup>162</sup> distant from it, on a parallel orientation, was a naturally desolate and uncultivated mountain. From roughly the middle of it a hill branched off and extended for a considerable distance,<sup>163</sup> clothed with wild olive, myrtles, and other varieties of trees that grow from a dry and sandy soil. The intervening plain<sup>164</sup> was uninhabited owing to the lack of water, except the parts adjoining the river, which were covered with shrubs and frequented by cattle and farmers.

49. On this hill then, which I have indicated stuck out on a crosswise course,<sup>165</sup> Jugurtha took his position with his battle line greatly extended. He put Bomilcar in command of the elephants and part of the infantry and told him what he was to do. He himself deployed his own forces more toward the mountain, together with all his cavalry and select infantrymen. Then going around to the individual squadrons and companies,<sup>166</sup> he cautioned and implored them to remember their former valor and victory, and to defend themselves and their kingdom from the greed of the Romans. The contest, he said, would be with men whom they had already vanquished and sent under the yoke; those men had a change of leader but not of spirit. He assured them that he had provided everything for his troops that it was proper for a commander to do: namely, the advantage of higher ground, that in the hand-

3 prudentes cum inperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus aut  
 4 rudes cum belli<sup>67</sup> melioribus manum consererent; proinde  
 parati intentique essent signo dato Romanos invadere; il-  
 lum diem aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum  
 5 aut maxumarum aerumnarum initium fore. Ad hoc viri-  
 tim, uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore  
 extulerat, conmonefacere benefici sui et eum ipsum alius  
 ostentare, postremo <pro><sup>68</sup> quousque ingenio polli-  
 cendo, minitendo, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare,  
 quom interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degre-  
 6 diens cum exercitu conspicatur.<sup>69</sup> Primo dubius quidnam  
 insolita facies ostenderet—nam inter virgulta equi Numi-  
 daeque consederant, neque plane occultati humilitate  
 arborum et tamen incerti quidnam esset, quom natura loci  
 tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati—dein brevi  
 6 cognitio insidiis paulisper agmen constituit. Ibi conmutatis  
 ordinibus in dextro latere, quod proximum hostis erat,  
 triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit; inter manipulos fun-  
 ditores et sagittarios dispertit, equitatum omnem in cor-

<sup>67</sup> *a*, *Arus. GL* 7.492.3: bello *rell*.

<sup>68</sup> *add. s*

<sup>69</sup> *Donat. Ter. Eun.* 384: conspicitur *ω*

<sup>167</sup> Or "(Metellus) came into view," if the depon. *conspicatur* has a passive sense here (so *OLD*).

<sup>168</sup> The line of battle (*acies*) was drawn up on what had been the right flank of the line of march (*agmen*).

<sup>169</sup> If Sallust is thinking of the traditional arrangement of the maniples into the three reinforcing lines of battle (*hastati* in the front, backed up by *principes* and *triarii* as ranks two and three, respectively), then at the end of this description in 49.6 he must

to-hand combat they would be contending with the advantage of familiarity with the terrain against the inexperienced, not at a numerical disadvantage or with any less experience in war than their opponents. So, they should be prepared, he said, and at ready to attack the Romans when the signal was given, for that day would either establish on a firm footing all their toil and victories or be the beginning of the utmost wretchedness. In addition, he reminded them individually of his favors, just as he had advanced each one with money or honor on account of a military accomplishment, and he pointed out the honoree to his comrades. Finally, by promises, threats or entreaties he stirred one man after another, each in a different way according to his disposition, when meanwhile Metellus, unaware of the enemy and coming down the mountain with his army, caught sight of them.<sup>167</sup> At first the Roman wondered what in the world the unusual appearance of things signified (for the Numidians and their horses had taken up a position amid the brushwood, and while they were not entirely hidden owing to the lowness of the trees, even so it was difficult to make out just what they were, since the men and their standards were concealed both by the nature of the place and by conscious effort); then, having soon detected the ambush, Metellus briefly halted his line of march. There, after rearranging the ranks, he drew up his line of battle on the right flank,<sup>168</sup> which was nearest the enemy, with three lines of support,<sup>169</sup> between the maniples he distributed slingers and archers, stationed all the cavalry on the wings, and after exhorting the sol-

be using *principia* in the nontechnical sense of fighters in the front rank (as translated), strictly speaking, the *hastati*.

nibus locat, ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transvorsis principiis in planum deducit.

50. Sed ubi Numidas quietos neque colle degredi animadvortit, veritus ex anni tempore et inopia aquae ne siti conficeretur exercitus, <P.><sup>70</sup> Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum praemisit ad flumen uti locum castris antecaperet, existumans hostis crebro impetu et transvorsis proeliis iter suum remoraturus et, quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum temptaturos. Deinde ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat paulatim procedere, Marium post principia habere, ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant.
- 3 At Iugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos praetergressum<sup>71</sup> videt, praesidio quasi duum milium pe-

<sup>70</sup> *add. s*

<sup>71</sup> *F<sup>2</sup> in ras., s: praetergressus D: -os rell., pap. Berol. lat. 9<sup>o</sup> 914*

<sup>170</sup> I.e., after drawing up the front ranks of the battle line (*acies*) on what had been the right flank of the marching column (*agmen*), and after placing the cavalry on what were the wings so long as the Roman battle line faced the Numidians on the hill, Metellus next ordered a left-face, so as to continue his march in the direction of the river. This maneuver caused the soldiers comprising the front rank of the battle line (the *principia*) to be sideways (*transvorsis*) to the enemy—at a right angle to the Numidian line of battle.

<sup>171</sup> Rutilius (cos. 105) had been a military tribune in the Numantine war (concluded in 133), in which Marius and Jugurtha had served as well. He had been defeated for the consulship of 115 by M. Aemilius Scaurus.

<sup>172</sup> Doubtless the unencumbered squad referred to at 46.7.

diers briefly as time permitted, he led his line of battle down into the plain just as he had drawn it up, with the frontline troops now arrayed sideways.<sup>170</sup>

50. When Metellus noticed the Numidians making no move and that they were not coming down from the hill, since he was afraid in view of the season of the year and the scarcity of water that his army might be consumed by thirst, he sent ahead toward the river his deputy commander Publius Rutilius<sup>171</sup> with infantry units ready for action<sup>172</sup> and part of the cavalry in order to occupy in advance a position for the camp. He thought that the enemy would try to delay his progress by repeated attacks and battles on his flank, and that since they put little trust in their arms, they would try the effect of fatigue and thirst upon his soldiers. Then, taking into consideration the circumstances and terrain, he himself advanced gradually in the same manner as he had come down from the mountain,<sup>173</sup> he kept Marius behind the front line troops,<sup>174</sup> while he himself was with the cavalry of the left wing, which had been turned into the lead solders of the line of march.

As soon as Jugurtha saw that the rear of Metellus' line of march had passed by the first of his own men,<sup>175</sup> he seized the mountain with a contingent of roughly two

<sup>173</sup> I.e., in the direction of the river, after performing the maneuver described at the end of 49.6 (see note).

<sup>174</sup> I.e., those that would form the front line of battle, if the army wheeled to their right to take up battle formation (*acies*) and face the Numidians on the hill perpendicular to the river.

<sup>175</sup> The Numidians nearest to the mountain from which Metellus had come.

ditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat, ne forte cedentibus advorsariis receptui ac post munimento  
 4 foret. Dein repente signo dato hostis invadit. Numidae ali postremos caedere, pars a sinistra ac dextra temptare, infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare. Quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto proelio ipsi modo  
 5 eminus sauciabantur neque contra feriundi aut consequendi manum copia erat. Ante iam docti ab Iugurtha equites, ubi Romanorum turma insequi coeperat, non confertim neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio  
 6 quam maxime divorsi. Ita numero priores, si ab persequendo hostis detertere nequiverant, disiectos ab tergo aut lateribus circumveniebant; sin opportunior fugae collis quam campi fuerat, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere, nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

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

thousand infantry at the point from which the Romans had just come, so that in case his opponents gave ground, it might not serve as a refuge and protection in their rear. Then he suddenly gave the signal and launched his attack. Some of the Numidians cut down the Romans in the rear, while a part probed them on the right and left; they harassed and attacked ferociously and threw the ranks of the Romans into confusion everywhere. For even those who had withstood the charge with a stout heart were baffled by the disorganized manner of fighting in which they were wounded only from a distance and had no opportunity to strike back or join in hand to hand conflict. Jugurtha's horsemen, as previously instructed, whenever a squadron of the Roman cavalry began to pursue them, did not retreat in a cluster or in one direction but dispersed as widely as possible. Thus if the Numidians were unable to deter the enemy from their pursuit, with their superior numbers they cut off their scattered pursuers in the rear or on the flanks; but if the hill proved more favorable for their flight than the plains, the horses of the Numidians, being acquainted with the terrain, easily made their escape by that course amid the thickets, while the rough and unfamiliar ground slowed down our men.

51. The aspect of the whole affair was, in fact, changeable, uncertain, awful and pitiable. Separated from their comrades, some of our men gave way, others attacked; they paid no attention to either the regimental standards or their ranks; wherever each man had been overtaken by danger, there he stood his ground and defended himself; arms and weapons, men and horses, Numidians and Romans were mingled in confusion; nothing was being done according to a plan or command; chance governed everything.

2 Itaque multum diei processerat, quom etiam tum  
 3 eventus in incerto erat. Denique, omnibus labore et aestu  
 languidis, Metellus, ubi videt Numidas minus instare,  
 paulatim milites in unum concludit, ordines restituit et  
 cohortis legionarias quattuor adversum pedites hostium  
 conlocat. Eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa con-  
 4 sederat. Simul orare et hortari milites ne deficerent neu  
 paterentur hostis fugientis vincere; neque illis castra esse  
 neque munimentum ullum quo cedentes tenderent; in  
 5 armis omnia sita. Sed ne Iugurtha quidem interea quietus  
 erat; circumire, hortari, renovare proelium et ipse cum  
 delectis temptare omnia, subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis  
 instare, quos firmos cognoverat eminus pugnando reti-  
 nere.

52. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri,  
 2 certabant, ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam  
 Metello virtus militum erat, locus adversus, Iugurthae alia  
 3 omnia praeter milites opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi  
 intellegunt neque sibi perfugium esse neque ab hoste  
 copiam pugnandi fieri—et iam die<sup>72</sup> vesper erat—adverso  
 4 colle, sicuti praeceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco Nu-  
 midae fusi fugatique. Pauci interiere, plerosque<sup>73</sup> veloci-  
 tas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt.

5 Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum

<sup>72</sup> diei  $\beta K^2 H^2 F$

<sup>73</sup>  $A^1 N \gamma$ : pluresque *rell.*

<sup>176</sup> Here and at 100.4, citizen units, as opposed to allied contingents (38.6). By the end of the century, the manipular arrangement described in the note on 49.6 was replaced by an organization of each legion into ten cohorts comprising three maniples: one of *hastati*, one of *principes*, and one of *triarii*.

And so a considerable part of the day had passed, and even then the outcome of the battle was uncertain. Finally, now that everyone was wearied from exertion and the heat, Metellus saw that the Numidians were pressing less vigorously. He then gradually united his soldiers, reconstituted the ranks, and stationed four legionary cohorts<sup>176</sup> over against the enemy's infantry, a great part of whom had taken up a position on higher ground in a state of fatigue. At the same time Metellus begged and urged his soldiers not to give way, not to allow a fleeing enemy to prevail; he pointed out that they had no camp or any fortress to which they might withdraw, that everything depended upon their arms. Meanwhile Jugurtha too was not inactive; he went here and there, offered encouragement, renewed the battle; and in person, with picked troops, he tried everything, came to the support of his men, pressed the enemy when they faltered; those he found unwavering he held at bay by means of long-range fighting.

52. Thus did two commanders, two great men, struggle with each other, equals as individuals but with unequal resources. For Metellus had valiant soldiers but an unfavorable position, while Jugurtha had favorable circumstances in all else except his soldiers. At last the Romans, realizing that they had no place of refuge and that the foe gave them no opportunity for fighting (and it was already evening), charged straight up the hill as they had been ordered. After losing that position, the Numidians gave way and fled. A few were killed; most were saved by their speed and by the fact that the region was unfamiliar to their enemies.

Meanwhile, when Rutilius had passed by, Bomilcar, who had been put in command of the elephants and a part

pedestrium praefectum ab Iugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius praetergressus est, paulatim suos in aequom locum deducit ac, dum legatus ad flumen quo praemissus erat festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat neque remittit quid ubique hostis ageret explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedissee iam et animo vacuum accepit simulque ex Iugurthae proelio clamorem augeri, veritus ne legatus cognita re laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri officeret latius porrigit, eoque modo ad Rutili castra procedit.

53. Romani ex inproviso pulveris vim magnam animadvortunt; nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari, post ubi aequabilem manere et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque adpropinquare vident, cognita re properantes arma capiunt ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore concurrunt. Numidae tantummodo remorati dum in elephantis auxilium putant, postquam eos inpeditos ramis arborum atque ita disiectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt, ac plerique, abiectis armis, collis aut noctis, quae iam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quattuor

<sup>177</sup> Cf. 50.1.

<sup>178</sup> Those under Rutilius in the camp.

of the infantry by Jugurtha, as I stated above, gradually led his forces down into the plain; and while the Roman deputy commander was hastily making his way to the river, to which he had been sent ahead,<sup>177</sup> Bomilcar quietly dressed his battle line just as the situation demanded, and he did not cease to keep an eye on what the enemy was doing everywhere. After he found that Rutilius had taken up a position and had nothing to occupy his attention and that at the same time the din from Jugurtha's battle was increasing, he feared that the deputy commander, if he found out what was happening, might try to come to the aid of his countrymen in their difficulty. Accordingly, so as to obstruct the enemy's route, he stretched out his battle line, which he had previously drawn up in close order because of his distrust in his soldiers' courage, and in that formation he advanced toward Rutilius' camp.

53. The Romans<sup>178</sup> suddenly noticed a great cloud of dust. (For the terrain, which was covered with bushes, was obstructing their view.) At first they thought that the wind was blowing up the dry soil; but later, when they saw that the cloud remained the same size and was coming nearer and nearer as the battle line kept advancing, they realized the truth, and hastily seizing their arms, took their places, as ordered, in front of the camp. Then, when the enemy had drawn closer, both sides charged with loud shouts. The Numidians stood their ground only so long as they looked for help from the elephants; after they saw that the beasts had become entangled in the branches of the trees and were thus thrown into disarray and surrounded, they took to flight, and the greater number, after throwing away their arms, escaped unhurt, aided by the hill or nightfall, which was already upon them. Four elephants were cap-

5 capti, relicui omnes numero quadraginta interfecti. At  
Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et  
proelio fessi [laetique]<sup>74</sup> erant, tamen, quod Metellus am-  
plius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam  
6 procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque  
7 remissi patiebatur. Ac primo obscura nocte, postquam  
haud procul inter se erant, strepitu velut hostes adven-  
tarent,<sup>75</sup> alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumul-  
tum facere et paene imprudentia admissum facinus mise-  
rabile, ni utrimque praemissi equites rem exploravissent.  
8 Igitur pro metu repente gaudium mutatur:<sup>76</sup> milites alius  
alium laeti appellant, acta edocent atque audiunt, sua  
quisque fortia facta ad caelum fert. Quippe res humanae  
ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet, advor-  
sae res etiam bonos detrectant.

54. Metellus in isdem castris quadriduo 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, relicuos labores pro praeda fore. Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Iugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitare, cum paucis esset an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret explora-

<sup>74</sup> *del. Jordan*: lassique s

<sup>75</sup> *D*: adventare *rell.*: *del. Cortius*

<sup>76</sup> *Prisc. GL 3.296.7*: exortum ω

<sup>179</sup> Possibly details such as this go back to Rutilius' eye-witness account preserved in his *Memoirs*.

<sup>180</sup> With military decorations of the type mentioned at 85.29.

tured, and all the rest, forty in number, were killed. But although the Romans were wearied by their march, as well as by the work on the camp and by the battle, yet because Metellus was being held up longer than they expected, they went in battle array and on the alert to meet him. For the cunning of the Numidians permitted no relaxation or carelessness. And at first, in the darkness of the night, after the distance between them grew short, the two sides caused fear and confusion in each other by the din resembling the approach of a hostile force; and a lamentable deed almost resulted from their misapprehension if horsemen sent ahead by both sides had not reconnoitered. Thereupon, in place of fear there was a sudden change to joy; the delighted soldiers called out to one another; they told and heard about what had happened; each man praised his own valiant deeds to the sky. For so it is with human affairs: in time of victory, even cowards may brag, whereas a defeat detracts from the esteem of even the brave.

54. Metellus remained in the same camp for four days,<sup>179</sup> giving careful attention to the wounded, rewarding according to military custom those having performed meritorious service in the battles,<sup>180</sup> and praising and thanking all the troops as a body in a public address. He urged them to display equal courage for the easy tasks which remained; their fight for victory had now been brought to a satisfactory conclusion; the rest of their exertions would be for booty. Meanwhile, however, he sent deserters and other suitable persons to find out where on earth Jugurtha was and what he was doing, whether he was accompanied by a few followers or had an army, how he was behaving after being defeated. In fact, Jugurtha had



3 tum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita  
recepserat, ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum  
4 ampliorem sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris  
magis quam belli cultorem. Id ea gratia eveniebat quod  
praeter regios equites nemo omnium Numida ex fuga re-  
gem sequitur; quo quouisque animus fert, eo discedunt  
neque id flagitium militiae ducitur. Ita se mores habent.

5 Igitur Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum fero-  
cem esse, bellum renovari, quod nisi ex illius lubidine geri  
non posset, praeterea inicium<sup>77</sup> certamen sibi cum hosti-  
bus, minore detrimento illos vinci quam suos vincere, sta-  
tuit non proeliis neque in acie sed alio more bellum gerun-  
6 dum. Itaque in loca Numidiae opulentissima pergit, agros  
vastat, multa castella et oppida temere munita aut sine  
praesidio capit incenditque, puberes interfici<sup>78</sup> iubet, alia  
omnia militum praedam esse. Ea formidine multi mor-  
tales Romanis dediti obsides, frumentum et alia quae usui  
forent adfatim praebita; ubicumque res postulabat praesi-  
dium impositum.

7 Quae negotia multo magis quam proelium male pug-  
natum ab suis regem terrebant, quippe quouis spes omnis  
8 in fuga sita erat, sequi cogeatur, et qui sua loca defendere  
nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex copia quod  
9 optimum videbatur consilium capit: exercitum plerum-

<sup>77</sup> iniquum s: inimicum  $\omega$

<sup>78</sup> AF<sup>2</sup>, Serv. Aen. 5.546: interficit  $\omega$ : -fecit Prob. GL 4.19.33

<sup>181</sup> The district east of the Muthul River and west of the boundary of the Roman province.

retreated to a wooded district, one fortified by nature, and was recruiting there an army numerically greater than before but lackluster and weak, being more accustomed to tending to fields and flocks than war. The reason why this happened is because except for the king's horsemen composing his bodyguard, not a single Numidian follows his king in flight, but all disperse to wherever their inclination takes them; and this is not considered shameful when on military service. Such are their ways.

And so Metellus saw that the king's spirit was intrepid even then, that a war was being renewed which could not be waged except in keeping with the whim of Jugurtha, and that in addition the struggle with the enemy was an unequal one from his point of view, since the Numidians were defeated at a smaller cost than his own men won victory. Therefore, he decided that he must conduct the campaign not by pitched battles and in set formation but in another fashion. He, therefore, marched into the richest parts of Numidia,<sup>181</sup> laid waste the fields, captured and burned many strongholds and towns carelessly fortified or ungarrisoned, ordered adults to be killed and all else to be his soldiers' booty. As a result of this terror, many mortals were handed over to the Romans as hostages; grain and other commodities that would be of use in war were furnished in abundance; a garrison was placed wherever circumstances dictated.

These tactics alarmed the king much more than the battle lost by his troops; for he, whose entire hope was centered on flight, was being forced to give chase and to wage war on foreign ground, whereas he had been unable to defend his own territory. Nonetheless, he adopted the plan which seemed best under the circumstances; he or-

que in isdem locis opperiri iubet, ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantis repente adgreditur. Eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur, nemo omnium intactus profugit; et Numidae, prius quam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti iussi erant, in proximos collis discedunt.

55. Interim Romae gaudium ingens ortum cognitis Metelli rebus, ut seque et exercitum more maiorum gereret, in advorso loco victor tamen virtute fuisset, hostium agro potiretur, Iugurtham 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 post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita quo clarior erat, eo magis anxius erat, neque post insidias Iugurthae effuso exercitu praedari; ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu praesidium agitabant; exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis quam praeda

<sup>182</sup> I.e., in the wooded, secure district (54.3).

<sup>183</sup> Presumably foraging parties; cf. 55.4, where countermeasures are taken to prevent such ambushes.

<sup>184</sup> In this period, a *supplicatio* was typically observed for three to five days, during which normal business activities were suspended; temples stood open, sacrifices were offered to the gods, and their statues were displayed on sacred couches.

<sup>185</sup> The good news from Africa was soon offset by the alarm caused by a major defeat suffered by Metellus' consular colleague Silanus at the hands of the Cimbri in Gaul in 109 or 108 (Liv. Per. 65; Flor. 1.38.4).

dered the bulk of his army to remain where it was,<sup>182</sup> while he himself followed Metellus with a select body of cavalry. By means of journeys at night and through bypaths, he suddenly and unexpectedly fell upon Romans who were roving about.<sup>183</sup> The bulk of them were killed unarmed, many were captured, no one at all escaped unscathed; and before aid could arrive from the camp, the Numidians, as they had been ordered, scattered to the nearest hills.

55. Meanwhile, tremendous joy had arisen at Rome over the news of Metellus' exploits, how he was conducting himself and his army in the time-honored way, how he had been victorious as a result of valor, despite being in an unfavorable position, and how he was in control of the enemy's territory and had compelled Jugurtha, who had been made insolent by Albinus' ineptitude, to place his hope of safety on flight in the wilderness. Accordingly, the senate voted a thanksgiving<sup>184</sup> to the immortal gods because of these successes, while the community, previously fearful and anxious over the outcome of the war, rejoiced;<sup>185</sup> the report concerning Metellus was outstanding. He therefore strove the harder for victory, made haste in every way, yet was careful not to expose himself to the enemy anywhere, remembering that envy follows hard upon glory. Hence the greater his fame, the more uneasy he was; after Jugurtha's ambush he no longer ravaged the country with his army spread out; when he required grain or fodder, a number of cohorts<sup>186</sup> stood on guard along with all the cavalry; he personally led part of the army, and Marius the rest. But more devastation to the land was

<sup>186</sup> Presumably allied units, since Sallust does not describe them as *legionariae*, as at 51.3.

6 ager vastabatur. Duobus locis haud longe inter se castra  
7 faciebant. Ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant. Ceterum, quo  
fuga atque formido latius cresceret, divorsi agebant.

8 Eo tempore Iugurtha per collis sequi, tempus aut lo-  
cum pugnae quaerere qua venturum hostem audierat;  
pabulum et aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, con-  
rumpere; modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere;  
postremos in agmine temptare ac statim in collis regredi;  
rursus aliis, post aliis minitari, neque proelium facere  
neque otium pati, tantummodo hostem ab incepto reti-  
nere.

56. Romanus imperator ubi se dolis fatigari videt neque  
ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam et in ea  
parte qua sita erat arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit  
oppugnare, ratus, id quod negotium poscebat, Iugurtham  
laborantibus suis auxiliu venturum ibique proelium fore.

2 At ille quae parabantur a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineri-  
bus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur moenia de-  
fendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis re-  
gis, quia fallere nequibat, firmissimum erat. Praeterea  
3 pollicetur in tempore semet cum exercitu adfore. Ita  
compositis rebus, in loca quam maxime occulta discedit,  
ac post paulo cognoscit Mariu ex itinere frumentatum

<sup>187</sup> Several towns in the region bore this name. Most likely the reference here is to Zama Regia, which later served as the capital of Juba I's kingdom.

<sup>188</sup> The Romans punished deserters with great severity, sometimes by crucifixion, sometimes by having them trampled or torn by wild beasts (Val. Max. 2. 7.11-14).

done by fire than plundering. They used to make camp in two places not far from each other. When force was necessary, they presented a united front; otherwise they acted separately, in order that the enemy's terror and fright might be more widespread.

At that time Jugurtha was following through the hills; he kept watching for a suitable time or place for battle along the route where he had heard the enemy would come; he contaminated the fodder and the springs, which were very few; he showed himself now to Metellus, at times to Marius; made an attempt on the rear of the line of march and at once retreated into the hills; again he threatened now these, later those; he neither gave battle nor permitted rest to the enemy, but merely prevented them from carrying out their aim.

56. When the Roman commander saw that he was being worn down by the enemy's cunning and that no opportunity for battle was being offered, he decided to lay siege to a large city called Zama,<sup>187</sup> the chief stronghold of the part of the kingdom in which it was situated. He thought that, as the difficult situation demanded, Jugurtha would come to the aid of his subjects in their distress and that a battle would take place there. But Jugurtha, having learned Metellus' plans from deserters, arrived ahead of him by forced marches; he encouraged the townspeople to defend their walls, and to help them he added to their number some deserters, a class of individuals who were the most steadfast of the king's forces because they dared not be treacherous.<sup>188</sup> He promised, too, that he would come himself in due season with an army. Having made these arrangements, the king withdrew to places as secluded as possible; and a little later he learned that Marius

- cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum, quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat.
- 4 Eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergite et iam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit, simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur uti cohortis ab tergo circumveniant; fortunam illis praeclari facinoris casum dare; si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu aetatem
- 5 acturos. Ac ni Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent; tanta mobilitate sese Numidae gerunt.
- 6 Sed milites Iugurthini paulisper ab rege sustentati, postquam maiore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis profugi discedunt.

57. Marius ad Zamam pervenit. Id oppidum, in campo situm, magis opere quam natura munitum erat, nullius idoneae rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus cuncta moenia exercitu circumvenit, legatis imperat ubi quisque curaret.
- 3 Deinde signo dato undique simul clamor ingens oritur, neque ea res Numidas terret; infensi intentique sine tumultu manent, proelium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare, alii succedere ac murum modo subfodere modo scalis ad-
- 5 gredi, cupere proelium in manibus facere. Contra ea oppi-

<sup>189</sup> Situated on a hill overlooking the Muthul River.

with a few cohorts had been sent to fetch grain on a detour to Sicca,<sup>189</sup> which was the very first town to revolt from the king after his defeat in the battle. To that place Jugurtha hastened by night with select members of his cavalry and engaged the Romans at the gate just as they were coming out; at the same time, in a loud voice he urged the people of Sicca to surround the cohorts in the rear; fortune, he said, was giving them an opportunity for a brilliant exploit; if they performed it, he would thereafter live his life in his kingdom, and they theirs in freedom and without fear. And if Marius had not hastened to send forward his units and evacuate the town, all or a great part of the residents of Sicca would certainly have changed their allegiance; such is the fickleness with which the Numidians act. For a little while, Jugurtha's soldiers were kept from breaking rank by the king, but when the enemy attacked with greater force, they fled in all directions after suffering a few losses.

57. Marius reached Zama. That town, situated in a plain, was protected more by man-made fortifications than nature; it lacked nothing suitable for defense, being well supplied with arms and men. Therefore Metellus, after making his preparations to suit the occasion and locality, completely invested the walls with his army; he assigned to his deputy commanders where each was to have responsibility. Then, once the signal was given, a mighty shout arose from all sides at once, and yet it did not frighten the Numidians; they remained fierce and focused, without disorder, and the battle commenced. Each of the Romans fought according to his temperament, some at long range with sling bullets or stones; others advanced and now undermined the wall, now applied scaling ladders, eager to come to grips with the battle. Against these measures the

6 dani in proximos<sup>79</sup> saxa volvere, sudes, pila, praeterea  
picem sulphure et taeda<sup>80</sup> mixtam ardenti<sup>81</sup> mittere. Sed  
ne illos quidem qui procul manserant timor animi satis  
muniverat. Nam plerosque iacula tormentis aut manu  
emissa vulnerabant parique periculo sed fama inpari boni  
atque ignavi erant.

58. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Iugurtha ex inpro-  
viso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis qui  
in praesidio erant et omnia magis quam proelium expec-  
2 tantibus, portam inrumpit. At nostri repentino metu per-  
culsi sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere, alii  
3 arma capere, magna pars vulnerati aut occisi. Ceterum ex  
omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta, memores no-  
minis Romani, grege facto, locum cepere paulo quam alii  
editiorem neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt, sed  
tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frus-  
trari;<sup>82</sup> sin Numidae propius adcessissent, ibi vero virtu-  
tem ostendere et eos maxuma vi caedere, fundere atque  
fugare.

4 Interim Metellus quom acerrume rem gereret, clamo-  
rem<sup>83</sup> hostilem a tergo accepit, dein conorso equo ani-  
madvertit fugam ad se vorsum fieri; quae res indicabat  
5 popularis esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra prope

<sup>79</sup> proximis  $PA^2\beta K^1$       <sup>80</sup>  $P^2A^2\beta KHD^1$ : taedam  $aND^2F$

<sup>81</sup>  $A^2KF$ : ardentia *rell.*      <sup>82</sup>  $XH^2D^2$ : frustrati  $A^2Y$ : frustra-  
bantur *Schol. Stat. Theb. 2.594*

<sup>83</sup> *e*: clamorem vel tumultum *rell.*

<sup>190</sup> For this meaning of *taeda*, cf. Caes. *B Civ.* 2.11.2. If the reading *ardentia* is adopted, it must describe the stakes and pikes also as "flaming," which seems less satisfactory.

townsmen rolled down stones upon those nearest to them; they hurled down stakes, pikes, as well as pitch mixed with sulfur and flaming pine resin.<sup>190</sup> Not even those of our men who had remained at a distance were wholly protected by their faintheartedness: for javelins hurled from engines or by hand wounded quite a few, and brave men and cowards shared equal danger but unequal repute.

58. While this struggle was going on at Zama, Jugurtha unexpectedly attacked the Roman camp with a large force, and owing to the inattentiveness of the garrison and their failure to have the least expectation of an engagement, he burst through the gate. Our men were struck with a sudden panic, and each looked out for himself according to his temperament; some fled, others armed themselves, a great many were wounded or killed. Yet out of the whole multitude, not more than forty being mindful of their reputation as Romans formed a cluster and took a position a little higher than the other soldiers; and from that position they could not be dislodged by the utmost force, but they threw right back the missiles launched from a distance against them; since they were few in the midst of superior numbers, they hardly ever missed. But if the Numidians drew nearer, there indeed our men showed their valor, and they cut them down with the greatest fury, routed them and put them to flight.

Meanwhile, while Metellus was vigorously conducting his operation, he heard the din of an enemy force behind him; then, wheeling his horse about, he saw that men were fleeing in his direction, a circumstance which indicated that they were his confederates. He therefore quickly sent

misit ac statim C. Marius cum cohortibus sociorum, eumque lacrumans per amicitiam perque rem publicam obsecrat ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore neve hostis inultos abire sinat. Ille brevi mandata efficit.

6 At Iugurtha munimento castrorum inpeditus, quom alii super vallum praecipitentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent, multis amissis in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.

59. Igitur postero die, prius quam ad oppugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte qua regis adventus erat pro castris agitare iubet, portas et proxima loca tribunis dispertit, deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum  
2 atque uti superiore die murum adgreditur. Interim Iugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit. Qui in proximo locati fuerant, paulisper territi perturbantur, relicui cito  
3 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, dein cedere, sed adversis equis<sup>84</sup> concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem; ita expeditis peditibus suis hostis paene victos dare.

<sup>84</sup> adversis equis *K*<sup>2</sup> s: adversis equi *P*<sup>2</sup>*N*: adversi sequi *rell*.

<sup>191</sup> Those in the vicinity of the camp.

<sup>192</sup> Or, taking *Numidae* as dat. sing. with *resistere*, "they (the Romans) would not have been able to hold out against the Numidian (Jugurtha and his forces)," the interpretation favored by Paul 1984 and adopted by Woodman 2007 and Batstone 2010. For *Numida* = "Jugurtha," cf. 101.6, 106.3.

all the cavalry to the camp and ordered Gaius Marius to go immediately with the cohorts of allies, and he begged him with tears, in the name of their friendship and country, not to allow any disgrace to remain in their victorious army, and not to allow the enemy to escape unpunished. Marius promptly carried out his instructions. As for Jugurtha, hampered as he was by the fortifications of the camp (since some of his men were hurling themselves headlong over the ramparts, while others, trying to hurry in the crowded spaces, were getting in each other's way) withdrew to a defensible position with considerable losses. After night came on, Metellus returned with his army to the camp without completing his task.

59. Accordingly, on the next day, before going out to attack the town, Metellus ordered all the cavalry to ride up and down in front of the camp in the region where the king's attack was likely to occur; he assigned to the military tribunes the defense of the gates and their adjacent areas; then he himself proceeded to the town and assailed the wall, as on the previous day. Meanwhile Jugurtha suddenly rushed upon our men<sup>191</sup> from a concealed position. Those who had been stationed nearest the point of attack were terrified and briefly thrown into confusion; the rest quickly came to their aid. But the Numidians would not have been able to hold out for too long,<sup>192</sup> if their infantry interspersed with the cavalry had not produced great slaughter in the *mêlée*. For the horsemen, trusting to the infantry, did not alternately give chase and pull back, as is usual in a cavalry engagement, but charged with a frontal assault, working their way into and breaking up the line of battle; thus by means of their unencumbered infantry they nearly rendered their enemy defeated.

60. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrume niti, neque alius in alio magis quam in sese<sup>85</sup> spem habere; pariterque oppidani agere; oppugnare aut parere omnibus locis, avidius alteri alteros sauciare quam semet tegere;

2 clamor permixtus hortatione, laetitia, gemitu, item strepi-  
 3 tus armorum ad caelum ferri; tela utrumque volare. Sed illi  
 4 qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paulum modo pugnam  
 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 iacientes  
 tela, agitare.

5 Quod ubi Mario cognitum est—nam is in ea parte cura-  
 bat—consulto lenius agere ac diffidentiam rei simulare,  
 6 pati Numidas sine tumultu regis proelium visere. Ita illis  
 studio suorum adstrictis repente magna vi murum adgre-  
 ditur. Et iam scalis egressi milites prope summa ceperant,  
 quom oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia praeterea  
 7 tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere; deinde, ubi unae  
 atque alterae scalae conminutae, qui supersteterant ad-  
 flicti sunt, ceteri quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri,  
 8 magna pars volneribus confecti abeunt. Denique utrum-  
 que proelium nox diremit.

<sup>85</sup> sese *XX*<sup>2</sup>: se Y

<sup>193</sup> The one in the vicinity of the camp just described above (59.3).

<sup>194</sup> This description recalls Thucydides' account of how Athenians gesticulated and shouted mixed cries while watching their naval forces do battle to break out of the blockade in the harbor at Syracuse (7.71.3–4).

60. Concurrently the contest at Zama was being waged with great fury. Wherever each of the deputy commanders or tribunes was in charge, there the struggle was the fiercest, and no one placed hope more in another than in himself. The townspeople showed equal energy; men were fighting or making preparations at all points; each side was more eager to wound the other than to protect itself. There was a din of mingled encouragement, exultation, and groaning; the clash of arms also rose to heaven; missiles flew on both sides. But whenever the besiegers relaxed their assault ever so little, the defenders of the walls became intent spectators of the cavalry battle.<sup>193</sup> As Jugurtha's fortunes shifted, you might have seen them now joyful, now alarmed; and acting as if their countrymen could see or hear them, some shouted warnings, others shouted encouragement or gesticulated with their hands or strained with their bodies, moving both this way and that as if dodging or hurling weapons.<sup>194</sup>

When Marius perceived this—he was in charge in that area—he purposely slackened his efforts and pretended to be discouraged; he allowed the Numidians to view their king's battle without disruption. When they were preoccupied with their zeal for their countrymen, he suddenly assaulted the wall with the utmost violence. Our soldiers, mounting on scaling ladders, had almost reached the top of the wall, when the townsmen rushed to the spot and sent down a rain of stones, flaming objects, and other missiles besides. At first our men resisted; then, as ladder after ladder was shattered and those who stood upon them were dashed to the ground, the rest made off in whatever way they could, a few unharmed but a significant number badly wounded. At last, night ended the combat on both sides.

61. Metellus postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppidum capi neque Iugurtham nisi<sup>86</sup> ex insidiis aut suo loco pugnam facere et iam aestatem exactam esse, ab Zama discedit et in eis urbibus quae ad<sup>87</sup> se defecerant satisque munitae loco aut moenibus erant praesidia inponit. Ceterum exercitum in provinciam, quae proxuma est Numidiae, hiemandi gratia conlocat. Neque id tempus ex aliorum more quieti aut luxuriae concedit, sed, quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat.

4 Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romae cum Iugurtha fuerat et inde vadibus datis [clam]<sup>88</sup> de Massivae nece iudicium fugerat, quod ei per maxumam amicitiam maxuma copia fallundi erat, multis pollicitationibus adgreditur. Ac primo efficit uti ad se conloquendi gratia occultus veniat, deinde fide data, si Iugurtham vivom aut necatum sibi tradidisset, fore ut illi senatus inpunitatem et sua omnia concederet, facile Numidiae persuadet, quom ingenio infido tum metuenti ne, si<sup>89</sup> pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per condiciones ad supplicium traderetur.

62. Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Iugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas adcedit. Monet atque

<sup>86</sup> A<sup>2</sup>K<sup>2</sup>: ni F: niti aδH<sup>1</sup>D: niti nisi βH<sup>2</sup>

<sup>87</sup> P<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup> H<sup>1</sup>F<sup>1</sup>, Arus. GL 7.466.20, 485.23: ab *rell.*

<sup>88</sup> *om.* PA<sup>1</sup>: *secl.* Dietsch (*inrepsit ex 35.9P*)

<sup>89</sup> ne si B<sup>2</sup>NK<sup>2</sup>: nisi aK<sup>1</sup>D<sup>2</sup>: si A<sup>2</sup>βγ

<sup>195</sup> Roughly October 109.

61. After Metellus saw that his attempt was in vain (that the town was not being taken and that Jugurtha was not offering to fight except from ambush or in a place advantageous to him) and that the summer was now at an end,<sup>195</sup> he left Zama and placed garrisons in the cities that had gone over to him and were strongly enough fortified by their position or by walls. The rest of his army he stationed in the part of our province which lies nearest to Numidia so as to pass the winter there. But he did not devote that interval to rest or dissipation, as others commonly do, but since the war was making insufficient progress through arms, he prepared to lay a trap for the king through his friends and to employ their treachery as a substitute for open warfare.

Therefore, Bomilcar, who had been with Jugurtha in Rome and had then fled from the trial for the murder of Massiva after bond had been posted, was approached and offered many incentives because thanks to his close friendship with the king he had tremendous opportunities for deceiving him. Metellus first arranged to have Bomilcar come to him secretly for a conference; then, after a pledge of good faith had been given that if Bomilcar delivered Jugurtha to Metellus alive or dead, the senate would grant him a pardon and permit him to keep all his own property, Metellus easily won his cooperation both because of Bomilcar's faithless nature and because Bomilcar feared that if peace was made with the Romans, under the terms of the agreement he himself would be surrendered for punishment.

62. As soon as an opportunity arose, Bomilcar approached Jugurtha, who was worried and lamenting his fate. Bomilcar warned him and implored him with tears



lacrumans obtestatur uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum optume meritaē provideat: omnibus proeliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortalis captos, occisos, regni opes conminutas esse; satis saepe iam et virtutem militum et fortunam temptatam; caveat ne illo cunctante Numidae sibi consulant. His atque talibus aliis ad  
 2 deditionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati qui Iugurtham imperata facturum dicerent ac  
 3 sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere. Metellus prope cunctos senatorii ordinis ex  
 4 hibernis adcersi iubet, eorum et aliorum quos idoneos ducebat consilium habet. Ita more maiorum ex consili decreto  
 5 per legatos Iugurthae imperat argenti pondo ducenta milia, elephantos omnis, equorum et armorum aliquantum.  
 6 Quae postquam sine mora facta sunt, iubet omnis per fugas vinctos adduci. Eorum magna pars, uti iussum erat, ad-  
 7 ducti; pauci, quom primum deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretianiam abierant.  
 8 Igitur Iugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus est, quom<sup>90</sup> ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rur-

<sup>90</sup> cum *D<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup>*, *Serv. Ecl.* 8.71: dum *PβKH*: tum *ANε*

<sup>196</sup> Dio (frag. 89.1) credits Metellus with making a series of separate demands as if each were to be the last, only to add another on top of it later.

<sup>197</sup> Their gruesome punishment at the hands of Metellus is recounted by Appian (*Num.* 3).

<sup>198</sup> Commonly identified with Thisiduo, a town on the east bank of the Bagradas, ca. thirty miles south, southwest of Utica. This would be close to the western boundary of the province and make a good launching pad for the punitive campaign against

to take thought at last for himself, his children, and the people of Numidia who had served him so faithfully. He pointed out that they had been worsted in every battle, their country had been ravaged, many mortals had been captured or killed, the resources of his kingdom drained, that often enough both his soldiers' courage and the will of fortune had been put to the test; he warned him to guard against the Numidians taking measures for their own safety while he hesitated. By these and other such arguments he steered the king's mind in the direction of a surrender. Envoys were sent to the Roman commander to say that Jugurtha would carry out his orders, and that relying upon Metellus' good faith, he was surrendering himself and his kingdom unconditionally. Metellus quickly ordered all men of senatorial rank to be summoned from winter quarters; he formed an advisory council comprising them and others whom he deemed suitable. So, guided by the decree of his council in keeping with the custom of our ancestors, through envoys he demanded of Jugurtha two hundred thousand pounds' weight of silver, all his elephants, and a considerable quantity of horses and arms. And after these conditions had promptly been met,<sup>196</sup> Metellus ordered all the deserters to be brought to him in chains.<sup>197</sup> A large part of them were brought as ordered, but a few had taken refuge with King Bocchus in Mauretania as soon as the negotiations for surrender began.

Now, when Jugurtha, after being stripped of arms, men and money, was himself summoned to Tisidium<sup>198</sup> to receive his orders, he began once more to waver in his pur-

Vaga (ca. twenty-five miles to the west, northwest), which is described later, in ch. 68.

9 sus coepit flectere animum suum et ex mala conscientia  
 digna timere. Denique, multis diebus per dubitationem  
 consumptis, quomodo taedio rerum adversarum omnia  
 bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret  
 quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret, multis mag-  
 10 nisque praesidiis nequiquam perditis, de integro bellum  
 sumit. Et Romae senatus de provinciis consultus Numi-  
 diam Metello decreverat.

63. Per idem tempus Uticae forte C. Mario per hostias  
 dis supplicanti magna atque mirabilia portendi haruspex  
 dixerat; proinde quae animo agitabat fretus dis ageret,<sup>91</sup>  
 fortunam quam saepissime experiretur; cuncta prospere  
 2 eventura. At illum iam antea consulatus ingens cupido ex-  
 agitabat, ad quem capiundum praeter vetustatem familiae  
 alia omnia abunde erant: industria, probitas, militiae  
 magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubi-  
 dinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriae avidus.

3 Sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi pri-  
 mum aetas militiae patiens fuit, stipendiis faciundis, non

<sup>91</sup> ageret, *B<sup>2</sup>K<sup>2</sup>D<sup>2</sup> Fro. 100.15: agere rell.*

<sup>199</sup> I.e., by not acting under the *lex Sempronia* (see 27.3n.) to designate Numidia as one of the two consular provinces for 108 in advance of the consular elections in the latter half of 109, the senate extended Metellus' command for another year.

<sup>200</sup> Winter of 109/108. Plutarch (*Mar.* 8.4) puts the incident described here some ten months later, just prior to Marius' departure from Utica for Rome, a matter of a few days before the autumn elections of 108.

pose and from a guilty conscience to fear his just deserts. At last, after spending many days in hesitation (while at one time, out of his weariness of adversity, he thought anything at all preferable to war, occasionally he reflected how great a fall it was from a throne to slavery), despite the fruitless loss of many great assets for defense, he resumed war afresh. Meanwhile at Rome, the senate when it deliberated concerning the assignment of provinces had assigned Numidia to Metellus.<sup>199</sup>

63. During that same time,<sup>200</sup> by chance a soothsayer<sup>201</sup> declared to Gaius Marius when he was making a sacrifice to the gods at Utica that a great and marvelous future was portended for him, that trusting in the gods Marius was to carry out what he had in mind, put his fortune to the test as often as possible, that everything would turn out favorably. Even before this Marius had been driven by a mighty longing for the consulship, for achieving which he had in abundance every asset except an ancient lineage: namely, diligence, honesty, great military skill, and a spirit that was mighty in war, restrained in civilian life, immune to passion and the lure of riches, and greedy only for glory.

But having been born and raised throughout his boyhood at Arpinum, as soon as he reached the age for military life, he trained himself by performing service in the army<sup>202</sup> rather than by learning Greek eloquence or the

<sup>201</sup> A *haruspex* was a seer trained in the Etruscan art of interpreting the will of the gods by, among other things, inspecting the entrails of sacrificial victims.

<sup>202</sup> First under Scipio Aemilianus, in the Numantine campaign (of 134–133), on which Jugurtha and Metellus' legate Rutilius also served.

Graeca facundia neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit; ita  
 4 inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo  
 ubi primum tribunatum militare a populo petit, ple-  
 risque faciem eius ignorantibus, factis<sup>92</sup> notus per omnis  
 5 tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post  
 alium sibi peperit semperque in potestatibus eo modo agi-  
 6 tabat ut ampliore quam gerebat dignus haberetur. Tamen  
 is ad id locorum talis vir—nam postea ambitione praeceps  
 datus est—consulatum<sup>93</sup> adpetere non audebat. Etiam  
 tum alios magistratus plebs, consulatum nobilitas inter se  
 7 per manus tradebat. Novos nemo tam clarus neque tam  
 egregiis factis erat quin<sup>94</sup> indignus illo honore et quasi  
 pollutus haberetur.

64. Igitur ubi Marius haruspici<sup>95</sup> dicta eodem inten-  
 dere videt quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello pe-  
 tundi gratia missionem rogat. Quoi quamquam virtus,

<sup>92</sup> *coniec. Palmer:* facile *o:* facile <factis> *Kurfess*

<sup>93</sup> *N:* post adpetere *suppl. D<sup>2</sup>:* om. *rell.*

<sup>94</sup> *P<sup>1</sup>F<sup>1</sup>:* quin is *rell.:* is ante quasi *transp. Eussner*

<sup>95</sup> cum haruspici<sup>95</sup> *adh<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>203</sup> Perhaps by 129, but certainly no later than 124 (*MRR* 3.139).

<sup>204</sup> Quaestor ca. 123?; plebeian tribune in 119; but after his tribunate, and prior to his praetorship (in 115), he failed in the same year to be elected first curule and later plebeian aedile (*Plut. Mar.* 5.2).

<sup>205</sup> The time of his meeting with the soothsayer in Utica.

<sup>206</sup> In the civil strife of 88, which forced him to flee to escape arrest and execution, and on his return from exile in the civil war of 87 and the bloody purge of 86 during his 7th and last consulship.

<sup>207</sup> See *Cat.* 23.6n.

<sup>208</sup> By transposing *is* (found in the majority of MSS after *quin*)

refinements of city life. Thus, through wholesome pursuits, his unspoiled nature soon matured. Therefore, when he first sought election to a military tribunate, though the majority of voters did not know him by sight, yet because he was known by his deeds, he was elected by the vote of all the tribes.<sup>203</sup> Then, from that beginning, he gained for himself one political office after another,<sup>204</sup> and he conducted himself in exercising power in such a way that he was regarded worthy of a higher position than that which he was holding. Nevertheless, despite being up until that point<sup>205</sup> such an admirable man—for afterward he was driven headlong by ambition<sup>206</sup>—he did not venture to aspire to the consulship. Even in that period, while the commons bestowed other political offices, the nobles passed the consulate from hand to hand among themselves. No “new man”<sup>207</sup> was so famous or so illustrious for his deeds that he was not considered unworthy of that honor and unclean, so to speak.<sup>208</sup>

64. And so,<sup>209</sup> when Marius saw that the words of the soothsayer pointed in the same direction as his heart’s desire was urging him, he asked Metellus for a discharge<sup>210</sup> in order to seek office.<sup>211</sup> Now, although Metellus pos-

to precede *quasi*, Eussner made this statement repeat the view expressed at *Cat.* 23.6: “and the office (*is = consulatus*) sullied, so to speak, (by being held by a *novus homo*).”

<sup>209</sup> The narrative now resumes after the digression occupying 63.3–7.

<sup>210</sup> *Missio* denotes a more permanent release from duties than a “furlough” (*commeatus*), which is the term Velleius (2.11.2) employs to describe Marius’ request.

<sup>211</sup> At the elections to be held in late 108 for the consulship of 107.

gloria atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum conmotus insolita re mirari eius consilium et quasi per amicitiam monere ne tam prava inciperet neu super fortunam animum gereret: non 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 Marii flectitur, 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 contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter viginti. Quae res Marium quom pro honore quem adfectabat tum contra Metellum vehementer adcenderat.

5 Ita cupidine atque ira, pessumis consultoribus, grassari neque facto ullo neque dicto abstinere; quod modo ambitiosum foret: milites quibus in hibernis praeerat laxiore imperio quam antea habere; apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, criminose simul et magnifice de bello loqui: dimidia pars exercitus si sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum; ab

<sup>212</sup> This son, later known as Metellus Pius (cos. 80), was born ca. 129 if he was about twenty years old at the time of Marius' request. Hence he was eligible to be consul in 86 at the earliest, when Marius (born ca. 157 BC) would have been more than seventy years old!

sessed in abundance valor, renown, and other qualities to be desired by good men, he nevertheless had a disdainful and arrogant spirit, a common defect in the nobles. And so, astonished at the unusual request, he at first expressed surprise at Marius' intention and, as if out of friendship, advised him not to enter upon such a misguided course of action or to entertain thoughts above his station. All men, he said, should not covet all things; Marius should be content with his own lot; and finally, he must beware of making a request of the Roman people that would justifiably be denied him.

After Metellus had made this and other similar remarks without shaking Marius' resolve, he at last replied that as soon as his official duties allowed, he would do what Marius was asking. Later, when Marius often repeated the same request, Metellus is said to have stated that Marius ought not to be in a hurry to go to Rome, that he would soon enough stand for the consulship with Metellus' own son.<sup>212</sup> (That young man was serving at the time in Numidia on his father's personal staff and was about twenty years old.) Metellus' remark greatly inflamed Marius not only for the office to which he aspired, but also against Metellus. So, he pressed on under the influence of desire and anger, the worst counselors, and he refrained from no act or word provided it furthered his interests. He was less strict than before in maintaining discipline among soldiers under his command in winter quarters; among businessmen, of whom there was a large number in Utica, he talked about the war in a disparaging and at the same time boastful fashion. If, he said, just half of the army were put in his charge, he would have Jugurtha in chains within a few days; the war was purposely being protracted by the

6 imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis et regiae  
superbiae imperio nimis gauderet. Quae omnia illis eo  
firmiora videbantur quia diuturnitate belli res familiaris  
corruperant, et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

65. Erat praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam  
nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissae nepos,  
quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem scripserat,  
morbis confectus et ob eam causam mente paulum inni-  
2 nuta. Quoi Metellus petenti more regum ut sellam iuxta  
poneret, item postea custodiae causa turmam equitum  
Romanorum, utrumque negaverat; honorem, quod eorum  
more foret quos populus Romanus reges appellavisset,  
praesidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites  
3 Romani satellites Numidae tradererentur. Hunc Marius  
anxium adgreditur atque hortatur ut contumeliarum in  
imperatorem cum suo auxilio poenas petat; hominem ob  
morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: il-  
lum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissae nepotem esse; si  
Iugurtha captus aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiae  
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 negotia-  
tores, alios ipse, plerosque pacis spes inpellit uti Roman

<sup>213</sup> The father of Jugurtha as well. In 105, after the capture of Jugurtha, the Romans made Gauda king of Numidia.

<sup>214</sup> Meaning that he inherited only in case of the disability or refusal of the heir(s) in the first degree (*primi heredes*).

<sup>215</sup> *Sella* refers to the *sella curulis*, a seat of ivory usually reserved for Roman magistrates at the rank of curule aedile or above, but sometimes the honor was conferred on foreign monarchs (e.g., on Masinissa, Liv. 30.15.11).

present commander because, being a vain man of tyrannical haughtiness, he took excessive pleasure in the exercise of power. And all this talk seemed that much more convincing to the businessmen because they had experienced the loss of assets from the long duration of the war and because nothing moves fast enough for a grasping heart.

65. Furthermore, there was in our army a Numidian named Gauda, a son of Mastanabal<sup>213</sup> and grandson of Masinissa; Micipsa had named him an heir in the second degree.<sup>214</sup> He was enfeebled by ill-health and for that reason was a little impaired in intellect. When Gauda asked Metellus to be allowed the kingly privilege of sitting on an official chair<sup>215</sup> next to him and afterward for a squadron of Roman Knights to serve as a bodyguard, Metellus refused both requests: the honor on the ground that by custom it belonged only to those who had been formally recognized as kings by the Romans; the guard, on the ground it would have been an insult to Roman Knights if they were handed over to a Numidian as his attendants. Marius approached Gauda, who was upset, and urged him, with his help, to exact revenge upon the commander for the insults. With positive words he encouraged the fellow, whose disposition lacked stability on account of illness: he stated that Gauda was a king, a mighty hero, the grandson of Masinissa; that if Jugurtha was captured or killed, Gauda would without delay occupy the throne of Numidia; and that this could happen soon, if only he, Marius, was sent as consul to conduct the war.

In this way Marius induced both Gauda and the Roman Knights (those in the army and businessmen), some by his personal influence, the majority by the hope of peace, to

ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant,  
 5 Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus  
 honestissima suffragatione consulatus petebatur. Simul  
 ea tempestate plebs, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam,  
 novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

66. Interim Iugurtha postquam omissa deditione bel-  
 lum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, co-  
 gere exercitum, civitatis quae ab se defecerant formidine  
 aut ostentando praemia adfectare, communire suos locos;  
 arma, tela aliaque quae spe pacis amiserat reficere aut  
 conmerari, servitia Romanorum adlicere et eos ipsos qui  
 in praesidiis erant pecunia temptare; prorsus nihil intac-  
 2 tum neque quietum pati, cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenses,  
 quo Metellus initio Iugurtha pacificante praesidium inpo-  
 suerat, fatigati regis supplicii neque antea voluntate alie-  
 nati, principes civitatis inter se coniurant. Nam volgus, uti  
 plerumque solet et maxume Numidarum, ingenio mobili,  
 seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum  
 rerum, quieti et otio advorsum. Dein compositis inter se  
 rebus in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebra-  
 tusque per omnem Africam ludum et lasciviam magis  
 3 quam formidinem ostentabat. Sed ubi tempus fuit, centu-

<sup>216</sup> See ch. 40.

<sup>217</sup> The account now resumes from where it was interrupted by the digression on Marius' political ambitions (63–65). The time is the winter of 109/108.

<sup>218</sup> See 47.2: this was early in the campaign season of 109, after Jugurtha began asking for peace (46.2).

write to their friends in Rome, criticizing Metellus' conduct of the war and demanding Marius as commander in chief. So the consulship was being sought for Marius by many mortals whose backing conferred tremendous prestige. At that time, now that the nobles had been dealt a severe blow by the Mamilian law,<sup>216</sup> the commons were striving to advance "new men." Thus everything fell into place for Marius.

66. Meanwhile,<sup>217</sup> Jugurtha, after he resumed the war by breaking off his surrender, prepared everything with great care, made haste, levied a new army, and tried by means of intimidation or by offering rewards to win back communities that had defected. He fortified places under his control; he refurbished or purchased armor, weapons and other things which he had sacrificed out of his hope for peace; he tempted the Romans' slaves to revolt and tried to bribe even those who formed the Roman garrisons. In short, he left absolutely nothing untried or undisturbed; he kept everything in commotion. Consequently, the inhabitants of Vaga, where Metellus had placed a garrison at the outset when Jugurtha was suing for peace,<sup>218</sup> were worn down by the king's entreaties (nor had they previously defected willingly) and entered into a conspiracy formed by the leaders of the community. The common throng, as usual—and especially so in the case of the Numidians—was of a fickle disposition, prone to rebellion and disorder, fond of revolution and opposed to peace and quiet. Then, after arranging matters among themselves, they selected as their date the third day hence because it was a holiday observed all over Africa and held out the prospect of entertainment and festivity rather than dread. And so, when it was the appointed time, they invited to

riones tribunosque militaris et ipsum praefectum oppidi T. Turpilius Silanus alius alium domos suas invitant. Eos omnis praeter Turpilius inter epulas obruncant. Postea milites palantis inermos, quippe in tali die, ac sine imperio adgrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis acta consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse et res novae satis placebant.

67. Romani milites, improvise metu incerti ignarique quid potissimum facerent, trepidare. Arce<sup>96</sup> oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant, praesidium hostium, portae ante clausae fuga<sup>97</sup> prohibebant. Ad hoc mulieres puerique protectis aedificiorum saxa et alia quae locus praebat certatim mittere. Ita neque cavere anceps malum neque a fortissimis infirmis 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 misericordiae hospitium a pacatione aut<sup>98</sup> casu ita evenerit, parum conperimus; nisi, quia

<sup>96</sup> arce *Jordan*: arcem X $\delta$ HD: ad arcem F

<sup>97</sup> a: fugam A<sup>2</sup> *rell.*

<sup>98</sup> an *Ky*

<sup>219</sup> Possibly this statement, that Turpilius was *praefectus oppidi*, gave rise to Plutarch's otherwise unsupported assertion (*Mar.* 8.1) that Turpilius was a *praefectus fabrum* (chief of engineers), a post that later came to resemble that of a commander's chief of staff.

<sup>220</sup> From the armed townsfolk, on the one hand, who roamed the streets, and, on the other, the women and boys on the rooftops.

their several homes the centurions and military tribunes and even the prefect of the town.<sup>219</sup> Titus Turpilius Silanus. They butchered them all, except Turpilius, amid the feasting. Afterward, they fell upon the common soldiers as they wandered about unarmed (seeing that it was a holiday) and without their officers. The commons joined in the massacre, a part having been briefed by the nobles, others roused by their fondness for such deeds, men, who did not know what had been done or its goal but found sufficient incentive in the uprising itself and revolution.

67. The Roman soldiers, bewildered by this unexpected peril and not knowing what to do first, were in a state of confusion. A garrison of the enemy cut them off from the citadel of the town, where their standards and shields were; the city gates, which had been closed beforehand, cut them off from flight. Moreover, women and boys on the edge of roofs were eagerly hurling down stones and whatever else lay to hand. It was quite impossible to guard against the double danger,<sup>220</sup> and brave men were helpless before the feeblest sort of opponents; side by side valiant and cowardly, strong and weak, were cut down without striking a blow.

Amid such savagery as this, while the Numidians were unleashing all their fury and the town was completely shut in, the prefect Turpilius alone of all the Italians escaped unscathed. Whether this happened as a result of the mercy of his host, or by prearrangement, or by mere chance, I have not succeeded in discovering;<sup>221</sup> still, because in such

<sup>221</sup> Plutarch (*Mar.* 8.1) credits the Numidians with sparing Turpilius out of their regard for his just and kindly administration of his duties.

illi in tanto malo turpis vita integra fama potior fuit, improbus intestabilisque videtur.

68. Metellus postquam de rebus Vagae actis conperit, paulisper maestus ex conspectu abit. Deinde, ubi ira et aegritudo permixta sunt, cum maxuma cura ultum ire iniurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et quam plurimos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit et postera die circiter hora tertia pervenit in quandam planitiem locis paulo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites, fessos itineris magnitudine et iam abnuentis omnia, docet oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse: decere illos relicuom laborem aequo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis atque miserrimis, poenas caperent. Praeterea praedam benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum adrectis, equites in primo late,<sup>99</sup> pedites quam artissime ire et signa occultare iubet.

69. 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 pe-

<sup>99</sup> s: latere ω

<sup>222</sup> *Vita turpis* (lit. "a disgraceful life"), a pun on Turpilius' name. <sup>223</sup> In the dead of winter and at the latitude of Utica, the third (equinoctial) hour after sunrise (at 7:55 A.M. on January 1) was ca. 9:30 A.M. <sup>224</sup> From their departure at sundown (ca. 5:30 P.M.) on the previous day to the third hour (ca. 9:30 A.M.), roughly 16 hours elapsed. The distance to Vaga (assuming Thisiduo as the point of departure: see 62.8n.) was less than twenty-five miles in a straight line, but longer by the route the army would have been forced to take.

a disaster Turpilius preferred a torpid<sup>222</sup> life to an unsullied reputation, he gives the impression of being a detestable scoundrel.

68. After Metellus found out about the events at Vaga, in grief he briefly withdrew from sight. Then, when anger and sorrow were blended, he hastened to go to avenge the outrages with the utmost attention to detail. Precisely at sundown, he led out the legion with which he was wintering and as many Numidian cavalymen as he could muster, all lightly equipped; and on the following day, at about the third hour,<sup>223</sup> he reached a plain surrounded on all sides by somewhat higher ground. There he informed his soldiers, worn out by the long march<sup>224</sup> and now balking at all demands, that the town of Vaga was not more than a mile away. It was proper for them, he said, to endure patiently the remaining toil provided they could exact punishment on behalf of their brave but unhappy fellow citizens. Furthermore, he made liberal promises about the booty. When he had thus roused their spirits, he ordered the cavalry to advance at the forefront in a spread-out formation and the infantry to proceed in the closest possible formation and to conceal their regimental standards.

69. When the people of Vaga perceived that an army was making its way toward them, at first they closed their gates, thinking that it was Metellus, as in reality it was. Later, seeing that their fields were not being laid waste and that the horsemen who were the first to come into view were Numidians, they thought it was Jugurtha instead and went out to meet him with great jubilation. Then suddenly,



ditesque repente signo dato alii volgum effusum oppido caedere, alii ad portas festinare, pars turris capere; ira<sup>100</sup> atque praedae spes amplius quam lassitudo posse.

3 Ita Vagenses biduom modo ex perfidia laetati. Civitas  
4 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 expurgat, condemnatus verberatusque capite poenas solvit; nam is civis ex Latio<sup>101</sup> erat.

70. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, quoniam impulsu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectum regi et ipse eum suspiciens novas res cupere, ad perniciem  
2 eius dolum quaerere, die noctuque fatigare animum; denique omnia temptando socium sibi adiungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, clarum<sup>102</sup> acceptumque popularibus suis, qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare et omnis res exequi solitus erat quae Jugurthae fesso aut maioribus adstricto superaverant. Ex

<sup>100</sup> B<sup>2</sup>CKF: irae aB<sup>1</sup>NHD

<sup>101</sup> A<sup>1</sup>K<sup>2</sup>H<sup>1</sup>D<sup>3</sup>F<sup>2</sup>: collatio *rell.*

<sup>102</sup> carum *coniec.* Colerus

<sup>225</sup> Sallust elsewhere (84.2, 95.1) uses this same expression, *ex Latio*, to denote persons who possessed not full Roman citizenship but only Latin rights (see 39.2n.), and this must be the meaning here since the clause introduced by *nam* seems intended to explain why Turpilius was not exempt from flogging and execution, as a Roman citizen would be. (The only reason for rejecting this interpretation is the otherwise unsupported claim by Plutarch [*Mar.* 8.1] that Turpilius was a *praefectus fabrum*, an office confined to Roman citizens, but see 66.3n. In the same chapter,

upon a given signal, some of the cavalry and infantry began to cut down the crowd that had poured from the town; others hurried to the gates, while a part seized the towers; anger and hope for plunder counted for more than their weariness.

Thus for only two days after their treachery did the people of Vaga take delight. Their large and prosperous community was entirely given over to vengeance and plunder. Turpilius, the prefect of the town, who, as I indicated above, was the only one to escape; was ordered by Metellus to plead his case, and being unable to clear himself, he was found guilty and put to death after being scourged; for he was a citizen possessing only Latin status.<sup>225</sup>

70. During that same time, Bomilcar, at whose prompting<sup>226</sup> Jugurtha had commenced the surrender which he discontinued out of fear—now that Bomilcar was an object of mistrust in the eyes of king and himself mistrusted Jugurtha—desired a change of regime; he began to seek some cunning way to bring about Jugurtha's destruction, and racked his brains day and night. Finally, in the course of exploring all options, he gained as a confederate Nabdalsa,<sup>227</sup> a nobleman of great wealth, one who was known to and well liked by his countrymen. This man had usually led an army apart from the king and attended to all business which was too much for Jugurtha when weary or occupied by more important duties; consequently, he had gained fame and power. By joint planning, he and Bomil-

Plutarch includes the detail found in no other source that evidence clearing Turpilius of guilt came to light after his execution.)

<sup>226</sup> See 62.1.

<sup>227</sup> Otherwise unknown.

3 quo illi 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 inultis  
 5 hostibus vastaretur. Is postquam magnitudine facinoris  
 percussus ad tempus non venit metusque rem inpediebat,  
 Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi et timore soci  
 anxius ne omisso vetere consilio novom quaereret, litteras  
 ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, in quis mollitiam socor-  
 diamque viri accusare, testari deos per quos iuravisset,  
 monere ne praemia Metelli in pestem converteret. Iugur-  
 thae exitium adesse, ceterum suane an Metelli virtute  
 periret, id modo agitari; proinde reputaret cum animo suo,  
 praemia an cruciatum mallet.

71. Sed quom eae litterae allatae, forte Nabdalsa exer-  
 cito corpore fessus in lecto quiescebat, ubi cognitis Bomil-  
 caris verbis primo cura, deinde, uti aegrum animum solet,  
 3 somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam negotiorum cura-  
 tor, fidus acceptusque et omnium consiliorum nisi novis-  
 4 sumi particeps. Qui postquam allatas litteras audivit et ex  
 consuetudine ratus opera aut ingenio suo opus esse, in  
 tabernaculum introiit, dormiente illo epistulam super cap-  
 ut in pulvino temere positam sumit ac perlegit, dein pro-  
 pere cognitis insidiis ad regem pergit.

<sup>228</sup> Since most of the territory between the two Roman camps (under Metellus at Tisidium [P], 62.8, 68.2, and under Marius at Utica [P], 64.5) would have been within the Roman province, Sallust's placement of Nabdalsa's army does not make sense as a measure designed to protect Numidian territory.

car chose a date for their ambush. Everything else they decided to arrange on the spot, as the situation demanded. Nabdalsa set out for his army, which he was keeping, according to his orders, between the winter encampments of the Romans<sup>228</sup> so as to prevent the enemy from ravaging the country with impunity. When, overcome by anxiety at the enormity of the proposed crime, he did not appear at the appointed hour and his dread thwarted their enterprise, Bomilcar was eager to carry out his design and at the same time disconcerted by his accomplice's fear in case he might abandon their former plan and look for a new one. Therefore, by way of trusted individuals he sent him a letter in which he found fault with Nabdalsa's weakness and cowardice, called to witness the gods by whom he had sworn, and warned him against the danger of having the rewards offered by Metellus turn into ruin. Jugurtha's destruction, he stated, was at hand; the only question was whether he would perish as a result of their valor or that of Metellus; Nabdalsa should, therefore, ponder in his mind whether he preferred rewards or torture.

71. Now when the letter arrived, Nabdalsa, who was fatigued from physical exercise, chanced to be resting in bed, where, after reading Bomilcar's words, at first worry took hold of him, then sleep, as is usual with a troubled mind. He had as his personal assistant a Numidian, trusted and well liked, one involved in all his designs except this last one. When the man heard that a letter had arrived, he entered the tent while Nabdalsa slept, thinking that, as usual, his services or advice were needed. He picked up and read the letter which had been carelessly left on the pillow above Nabdalsa's head; then quickly, upon perceiving the plot, he went to the king.

5 Nabdalsa paulo post experrectus, ubi neque epistulam repperit et rem omnem uti acta erat [ex perfugis]<sup>103</sup> 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. Ad ea rex aliter atque animo gerebat placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis iram oppresserat ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oreretur.<sup>104</sup> Neque post id locorum Iugurthae dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit; neque loco neque mortali quoiquam aut tempori satis credere, civis hostisque iuxta metuere, circumspectare omnia et omni strepitu pave-scere, alio <atque alio><sup>105</sup> loco saepe contra decus regium noctu requiescere, interdum somno excitus<sup>106</sup> adreptis armis tumultum facere, ita formidine quasi vecordia ex-agitari.

73. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus tamquam ad inte-grum bellum cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fati-gantem de perfectione, simul et invitum et offensum sibi parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romae plebes,

<sup>103</sup> *del. Kritz (ex 73.1 huc inlatum)*

<sup>104</sup> *aN<sup>1</sup>: oriretur rell. (cf. Cat. 34.2)*

<sup>105</sup> *s: om. ω*      <sup>106</sup> *exercitus P<sup>1</sup>N: excitatus A<sup>2</sup>: experrectus*

*Diom. GL 1.376. 16*

<sup>229</sup> In the spring of 108, his second campaign.

<sup>230</sup> Plutarch (*Mar.* 8.4) puts Marius' release by Metellus late

When Nabdalsa woke up a little later and did not find the letter, he understood the whole situation, just as it had transpired. He first made an attempt to overtake the in-former, but failing in that, he went to Jugurtha to placate him. He stated that what he himself had been preparing to do had been forestalled by the treachery of his retainer. With tears he implored the king by their friendship and by his own past faithful services not to suspect him of being involved in such a crime.

72. To these words the king replied mildly, disguising his real feelings. After putting to death Bomilcar and many others whom he knew to be implicated in the plot, he restrained his anger so that a rebellion might not arise from the affair. But from that moment on, there was for Jugurtha not one day or night of tranquility; he put little trust in any place, mortal, or time; feared his country-men and the enemy alike; he was always on the watch; he started at every sound; he rested at night now in this place, now in that, often disregarding regal decorum; at times, on being roused from sleep, he would seize his arms and cause a commotion; so driven was he by fear bordering on insanity.

73. Now when Metellus learned from deserters of the fate of Bomilcar and the discovery of the plot, he again hastened to make all his preparations, as if for a new war.<sup>229</sup> He sent Marius home<sup>230</sup> since the fellow kept pressing for his departure and since at the same time Me-tellus considered him unsuitable for service because of his discontent and their bad relations. At Rome, too, the com-

in 108, a mere twelve days before the consular elections, which in this period were usually held in the late autumn.

litteris quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant cognitae,  
 4 volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas,  
 quae antea decori fuit, invidiae esse, at illi alteri generis  
 humilitas favorem addiderat. Ceterum in utroque  
 5 magis studia partium quam bona aut mala sua moderata.  
 Praeterea seditiosi magistratus volgum exagitare, Metellum  
 6 omnibus contionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem  
 in maius celebrare. Denique plebes sic adensa uti opifices  
 agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus  
 7 sitae erant, relictis operibus frequentarent Marium et sua  
 necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita percussa 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 Numidiam Metello<sup>107</sup> decreverat; ea res frustra fuit.

74. Eodem tempore Iugurtha amissis amicis—quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine pars ad Romanos,  
 alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant—quom 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 praefec-

<sup>107</sup> *suppl. pauci s* (cf. 62.10): paulo decreverat (senatus *B*<sup>2</sup>)  
*XN*<sup>1</sup>*D*<sup>1</sup>: senatus paulo decio decreverat (decio paulo decr. *N*<sup>2</sup>,  
 paulo decr. decio *H*) *F*

<sup>231</sup> Especially the plebeian tribunes (cf. *Cat.* 38.1).

<sup>232</sup> It had been twenty-five years since the last certain instance: P. Rupilius in 132. <sup>233</sup> Resuming from where 73.1 broke off: the campaign season of 108.

mons, upon learning of the letters which had been sent concerning Metellus and Marius, had readily accepted the reports about both men. The commander's status as a member of the nobility, previously a distinction, became a source of unpopularity, while to Marius his humble origin lent increased favor. But in the case of both men, their own good or bad qualities had less influence than party spirit. Moreover, seditious<sup>231</sup> magistrates stirred up the general public; in every public meeting they kept accusing Metellus of capital offenses and exaggerated the merit of Marius. At length the commons were so inflamed that all craftsmen and country folk, whose substance and credit depended upon the labor of their own hands, left their work and flocked to Marius, regarding their own necessities as less important than the success of his candidacy. So it was that the nobles were demoralized, and after the lapse of many years<sup>232</sup> the consulship was entrusted to a "new man." And afterward, when the tribune Titus Manlius Mancinus asked the people whom they wished to conduct the war with Jugurtha, a packed assembly chose Marius. To be sure, a little earlier the senate had voted Numidia to Metellus, but the decree was without effect.

74. At the same time,<sup>233</sup> Jugurtha had lost his friends—very many he had put to death himself, while the rest had partly fled out of fear to the Romans, others to King Bocchus—and since he could not carry on the war without assistants and considered it dangerous to put to the test the loyalty of new followers given the treachery of past associates, he lived in doubt and uncertainty. There was no measure and no plan or any man that fully satisfied him.

tosque in dies mutare, modo advorsum hostis, 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  
3 instructique, dein proelium incipitur. Qua in parte rex pugnae adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum, ceteri eius omnes milites primo congressu pulsati fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti; nam ferme Numidas<sup>108</sup> in omnibus proeliis magis pedes quam arma tutata<sup>109</sup> sunt.

75. 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  
2 cultus erat. Quae postquam Metello conperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proximum in spatio milium quinquaginta loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen spe patrandi belli, si eius oppidi potitus foret, omnibus  
3 asperitates supervadere ac naturam etiam vincere adgreditur. Igitur omnia iumenta sarcinis levare iubet nisi frumento dierum decem, ceterum utris modo et alia aquae  
4 idonea portari. Praeterea conquirat ex agris quam plurimum potest domiti pecoris; eo inponit vasa quousque

<sup>108</sup>  $A^1 B^2 HD^2 F^2$ : Numidis  $PA^2 \beta \epsilon$

<sup>109</sup>  $\beta HF^2$  (cf. 52.4): tuta  $\alpha \delta \epsilon$

<sup>234</sup> Of undetermined location; modern Thala does not fit the description given in 75.2, since it is not fifty m.p. from the nearest river.

<sup>235</sup> I.e., to do the impossible.

He changed his routes and his prefects daily, now went forth to meet the enemy, now took to the desert; often placed hope in flight and shortly afterward in arms; he was uncertain what to trust less, his followers' courage or their loyalty: thus, whichever way he turned, circumstances were against him.

Now amid these delays, Metellus unexpectedly appeared with his army. Jugurtha made ready and drew up his Numidians so far as time permitted; then the battle began. Wherever the king was present in the fighting, there a show of resistance was made for a while; the rest of his soldiers were routed and put to flight at the first charge. The Romans took possession of quite a number of regimental standards and arms, but few prisoners; for in all their battles, the Numidians generally find protection more in speed of foot than in weapons.

75. Now having even less confidence in his situation as a result of this flight, Jugurtha made his way into the desert with the fugitives and a part of the cavalry, and then to Thala,<sup>234</sup> a large and wealthy town, where most of his precious objects were and his sons were receiving much of their early training. This became known to Metellus, and although he knew that between Thala and the nearest river lay dry and desolate country of up to fifty miles in extent, nevertheless, in the hope of ending the war if he gained possession of that town, he set out to surmount all the difficulties and even to conquer nature.<sup>235</sup> Accordingly, he ordered all pack animals to be relieved of burdens except a ten-days' allowance of grain; only leather bags and other objects suitable for holding water were to be transported. Moreover, from the fields he rounded up as many domestic animals as possible; upon them he

5 modi, sed pleraque lignea, conlecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc finitumis imperat, qui se post regis fugam  
 6 Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquae portaret; diem locumque, ubi praesto forent,<sup>110</sup> praedicat. Ipse ex flumine, quam proximum oppido aquam esse supra  
 7 proficiscitur. 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  
 8 superque foret. Praeterea conmeatus spe amplior, quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, officia intenderant. Ceterum milites religione pluvia magis usi, eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese dis immortalibus curae esse.

10 Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthae, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re percussi, nihilo segnus bellum parare; idem nostri facere.

76. 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

<sup>110</sup> *corr. Gruter:* fuerit (fuerat N) ω

<sup>236</sup> Bringing water, as ordered (75.5).

loaded utensils of every kind (but especially wooden ones) gathered from the huts of the Numidians. Besides this, Metellus ordered the neighboring people who had surrendered to him after the king's flight to transport as much water as each could; he named a date and place where they were to present themselves. He himself loaded his animals from the river which, as I have already said, was the nearest water to the town; equipped in this fashion, he set out for Thala. Then, when Metellus had reached the place to which he had instructed the Numidians to come and had pitched and fortified his camp, suddenly such an abundance of rain is said to have been sent from heaven that this alone was enough and more than enough for the army. Besides, the provisions were greater than he anticipated because the Numidians (like most people after a recent surrender) had carefully attended to their duties.<sup>236</sup> But from religious motives, the soldiers availed themselves more of the rain water, and that resource added greatly to their spirits; for they thought that they were an object of care in the eyes of the immortal gods.

The next day, contrary to Jugurtha's expectation, the Romans arrived at Thala. The townspeople, who had supposed themselves protected by their inaccessible situation, though amazed at this great and unexpected feat, none the less made diligent preparations for war; our men did the same.

76. But the king, now believing that nothing was infeasible for Metellus—since by his energy he had triumphed over all obstacles: arms, weapons, places, seasons, lastly Nature herself, which controls everyone else—fled from the town by night with his children and a great part of his cash. And afterward he lingered in no place for more

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. Dein duobus locis ex copia maxime idoneis vineas agere, [superque eas]<sup>111</sup> aggerem iacere et super aggerem inpositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra haec oppidani festinare, parare; prorsus ab  
 4 utrisque nihil relicuom fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore proeliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta quam eo  
 5 ventum erat, oppido modo potiti: praeda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. Ei postquam murum arietibus feriri resque  
 6 suas adffictas vident, aurum atque argentum et alia quae prima ducuntur domum regiam conportant. Ibi vino et epulis onerati illaque et domum et semet igni corrumpunt et quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pendere.

77. Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes uti praesidium praefectumque eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quendam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere, advorsum quem neque imperia magistratuum neque leges valerent. Ni id

<sup>111</sup> *del. Popma*

<sup>237</sup> Perhaps in late July 108. <sup>238</sup> Cf. 56.2, where deserters were used by Jugurtha to stiffen the defense of Zama; they could expect no mercy if they surrendered. <sup>239</sup> Leptis Magna (mod. Lebda), as we can tell from 78.1, where the town's location is given as lying between the Greater and Lesser Syrtis (cf. 19.3).

than one day or one night, pretending that his haste was due to important affairs; but as a matter of fact he feared treachery which he thought he could escape by rapid movements; for he believed such designs came into being through inactivity and as a result of opportunity.

But when Metellus saw that the inhabitants were committed to battle and also that the town was fortified both by defensive works and by its position, he encompassed the walls with a stockade and a trench. Then in the two most suitable places that presented themselves he brought up the mantlets, built a mound, and by placing turrets on the mound protected the siege work and those carrying it out. The townsmen for their part hastened their preparations; in short, nothing was left undone by either side. At last, exhausted by much previous toil and many battles, the Romans got possession of the town only forty days after their arrival;<sup>237</sup> all the booty was ruined by the deserters.<sup>238</sup> For when those men saw that the wall was being battered by the rams and realized that their situation was hopeless, they carried into the palace the gold and silver and other objects that are considered valuable. There, gorged with food and wine, they burned the treasure, the palace and themselves, thus voluntarily paying the penalty which they feared they would suffer in defeat at the hands of the enemy.

77. Now just when Thala was being captured, envoys had come to Metellus from the town of Leptis,<sup>239</sup> begging him to send them a garrison and a prefect: one Hamilcar, they said, a high-ranking man given to intrigue, was aiming at a revolution, and against him neither the magistrates' orders nor the laws could prevail; unless Metellus

festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore. Nam Leptitani iam inde a principio belli Iugurthini ad Bestiam consulem et postea Romam miserant amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea inpetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere et cuncta a Bestia, Albino Metelloque imperata nave fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile quae petebant adepti. Emissae eo cohortes Ligurum quattuor et C. Annius praefectus.

78. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est, quos accepimus profugos ob discordias civilis navibus in eos locos venisse; ceterum situm inter duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa, in pares magnitudine, pari natura. Quorum proxuma terrae praealta sunt, cetera, uti fors tulit, alta alia, <alia><sup>112</sup> [in]<sup>113</sup> tempestate 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.

4 Eius civitatis lingua modo convorsa conubio Numidarum; legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica, quae eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant.  
5 Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

<sup>112</sup> alta alia alia s: alta alia ω

<sup>113</sup> *secl. Kunze*

<sup>240</sup> Phoenicians from the city of Sidon (or Tyre, according to Plin. *NH* 5.76), most likely in the sixth or early fifth century BC.

<sup>241</sup> I.e., close to the eastern most frontier, that bordering on Egypt, which Sallust reckoned as part of Asia rather than Africa (see 19.3).

<sup>242</sup> The text is uncertain.

<sup>243</sup> From the Greek *syro* (to drag along, to sweep).

acted promptly in this matter, their own safety—allies of the Romans—would be in the greatest peril. (For the citizens of Leptis, right at the start of the Jugurthine war, had sent messengers to the consul Bestia and afterward to Rome, asking for friendship and an alliance. Then, after their request had been granted, they had always remained true and loyal, and had diligently executed all the commands of Bestia and Albinus, as well as Metellus.) Therefore the envoys obtained from Metellus what they were requesting; four cohorts of Ligurians and Gaius Annius as prefect were sent to the town.

78. The town of Leptis was founded by Sidonians,<sup>240</sup> who, tradition has it, came to that region in ships as exiles because of civil discord. It lies between the two Syrtes, which received their name from their nature. For there are two bays almost on the outer edge of Africa,<sup>241</sup> unequal in size but of like character. The parts of them nearest the shore are very deep; the rest, just as chance has brought it about, is full of shoals, now here, now there as a result of stormy weather.<sup>242</sup> For when the sea begins to swell and rage from the winds, the waves drag along mud, sand, and huge rocks: so the aspect of the places changes concurrently with the winds. They are called “Syrtes” from this dragging.<sup>243</sup>

Only the language of that community has been altered as a result of intermarriage with the Numidians; the bulk of its laws and culture is Phoenician, which the inhabitants retained the more easily because they lived at a distance from the Numidian king’s authority. For between them and the thickly settled part of Numidia were extensive waste lands.



79. Sed quoniam in eas regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare; eam rem nos locus admonuit.

- 2 Qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraque Africa<sup>114</sup>  
 imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti  
 3 fuere. Ager in medio harenosus, una specie; neque flumen  
 neque mons erat qui finis eorum discerneret. Quae res eos  
 4 in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. Postquam  
 utrumque legiones, item classes saepe fusae fugataeque, et  
 alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant, veriti ne mox victos  
 victoresque defessos alius adgrederetur, per indutias  
 sponsonem faciunt uti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur:  
 5 quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis  
 utriusque populi finis haberetur. Igitur Carthagine duo  
 fratres missi, quibus nomen Philaenis erat, maturavere  
 iter pergere. Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id socordiane an  
 6 casu adciderit 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  
 7 solet; ita prospectu impedito morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses  
 aliquanto posteriores se esse vident et ob rem corruptam  
 domi poenas metuont, criminari Carthaginiensium ante  
 tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem, denique

<sup>114</sup> pleraque Africa <sup>1</sup>, *Arus. GL 7.481.22-3*: pleraeque Africae *rell.*

<sup>244</sup> More than somewhat, since the boundary ultimately agreed upon is ca. 250 miles southwest of Cyrene on a direct line, but some 700 miles southeast of Carthage.

79. Since we have come to this region thanks to the affairs of the people of Leptis, it seems fitting to relate the singular and memorable deed of two Carthaginians; the place reminds me of that tale.

At the time when the Carthaginians exercised authority in the greater part of Africa, the people of Cyrene were also strong and prosperous. In between lay a sandy district of uniform aspect: there was no river or mountain to mark their frontier, a circumstance that kept the two peoples involved in major and lasting conflict. After armies and fleets had often been routed and put to flight on both sides, and the two nations had somewhat worn each other down, out of fear that soon a third party might attack victors and vanquished alike in a weakened state, they struck an agreement during a truce. They arranged that on a given day envoys should set out from each city and that the place where they met should be regarded as the common frontier of the two peoples. Accordingly, two brothers, whose name was Philaenus, were sent from Carthage, and they hurried to make progress on their journey. Those from Cyrene went more slowly. (Whether this was owing to sluggishness or chance I am not sure. But in those lands a storm commonly causes delay, just as on the sea. For when the wind starts blowing and picks up sand from the ground throughout that flat and barren region, the sand is driven with great force and customarily fills the mouth and eyes; thus it slows down travel because visibility is impaired.) Now when the men of Cyrene saw that they were somewhat outdistanced<sup>244</sup> and feared punishment at home on account of the ruined opportunity, they accused the Carthaginians of having left home ahead of time; they refused to abide by the agreement; in short they were in

- 8 omnia malle quam victi abire. Sed quom Poeni aliam  
 condicionem, tantummodo aequam, peterent, Graeci optio-  
 nem Carthaginiensium faciunt, ut vel illi, quos finis populo  
 9 sese quem in locum vellent processuros. Philaeni condi-  
 cione probata seque vitamque suam rei publicae condona-  
 10 vere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philaenis  
 fratribus aras consecraverunt alique illis domi honores in-  
 stituti.

Nunc ad rem redeo.

80. Iugurtha postquam amissa Thala nihil satis firmum  
 contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum pau-  
 cis profectus, pervenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum fe-  
 rum incultumque et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani.  
 2 Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit ac paulatim consue-  
 facit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare,  
 3 item alia militaria facere. Praeterea regis Bocchi proxu-  
 mos magnis muneribus et maioribus promissis ad studium  
 sui perducit, quis adiutoribus regem adgressus, impellit uti  
 4 advorsus Romanos bellum incipiat. Id ea gratia facilius  
 proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio huiusce belli legatos  
 5 Romam miserat foedus et amicitiam petitum; quam rem  
 opportunissimam incepto bello pauci impederant caeci  
 avaritia, quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos  
 6 erat. Et iam antea Iugurthae filia Bocchi<sup>115</sup> nupserat. Ve-

<sup>115</sup> A<sup>2</sup>β (cf. *Flor.* 1.36.17; *Plut. Sull.* 3.2, *Mar.* 10.3): Boccho  
 αY, *Non.* 353M.34

<sup>245</sup> Roman senators who were either backing Jugurtha or self-  
 ishly seeking bribes.

favor of anything except departing in defeat. But when the Carthaginians sought other terms, provided they were fair, the Greeks gave them a choice of either being buried alive in the place they claimed as the boundary for their country, or of allowing the Greeks on the same condition to advance as far as they wished. The Philaeni accepted the terms and sacrificed themselves for their country; so they were buried alive. The Carthaginians consecrated altars on that spot to the Philaeni brothers, and other honors were established for them at home.

Now I return to my subject.

80. After the loss of Thala, Jugurtha thought nothing sufficiently secure against Metellus and set out through vast deserts with a few followers until he came to the Gaetulians, a wild, uncivilized race of men, unacquainted at that time with the name of Rome. He mustered a large number of them in one place and gradually trained them to keep ranks, follow the standards, obey orders, and perform the other duties of soldiers. He also brought over to his side by means of lavish gifts and even more lavish promises the closest friends of King Bocchus, and through their aid he approached the king and induced him to make war upon the Romans. This was an easier and more straightforward matter because at the beginning of this very war Bocchus had sent envoys to Rome to request a treaty of friendship; but this arrangement, so advantageous for the war which was already under way, had been thwarted by a few men, blinded by greed, whose habit it was to traffic in everything, honorable and dishonorable.<sup>245</sup> Even before that, Bocchus' daughter had mar-

rum ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur, quia singuli pro opibus quisque quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii pluris habent, sed reges eo amplius.

7 Ita animus multitudine distrahitur, nulla pro socia optinet, pariter omnes viles sunt.

81. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt. Ibi, fide data et accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione adcendit: Romanos iniustos, profunda avaritia, communis omnium hostis esse; eandem illos causam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi, quis omnia regna advorsa sint. Tum sese, paulo ante Carthaginiensis, item regem Persen, post uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore. His atque aliis talibus dictis, ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt, quod ibi [Q.]<sup>116</sup> Metellus praedam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus aut capta urbe operae pretium fore aut, si dux Romanus auxilio suis venisset, proelio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem inminuere, ne moras agitando aliud quam bellum mallet.

82. Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere neque, uti saepe iam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit. Ceterum

<sup>116</sup> *om. s: Q. βF: Quintus A<sup>2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>δDH: minus A<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>246</sup> The bulk of the MSS state that "Jugurtha's daughter married Bocchus," but Plutarch (*Mar.* 10.2) and Florus (1.36.17), who likely drew on Sallust, identify Bocchus as Jugurtha's father-in-law (*πενθερός, socer*). <sup>247</sup> Crushed in 146 and 168, respectively. <sup>248</sup> Sallust neglects to recount how and when Circa came under Roman control after its surrender to Jugurtha in 112 (26.2).

ried Jugurtha.<sup>246</sup> But such a tie is taken lightly among the Numidians and Moors because individuals have as many wives as their means permit—some as many as ten, others more, and kings a still greater number. Thus devotion is parceled out by the large number; no wife holds a position as a partner; all are equally of slight value.

81. Accordingly, the armies met in a place mutually agreed upon. There, after an exchange of pledges, Jugurtha strove to inflame the heart of Bocchus by a speech: the Romans, he said, were unjust, of boundless greed, and the common foes of all mankind; they, to whom all monarchies are adversaries, had the same motive for war with Bocchus as with himself and other nations, namely, the lust for dominion. At that moment, he, Jugurtha, was the Romans' enemy; a short while ago it had been the Carthaginians and King Perses;<sup>247</sup> in the future it would be whoever seemed to them most prosperous. After Jugurtha had uttered these and similar arguments, the kings decided on a journey to the town of Circa because Metellus had placed there his booty, prisoners and baggage.<sup>248</sup> So Jugurtha thought that if the city was taken, it would be worth the effort, or, if Metellus came to the aid of his forces, they would engage him in battle. For Jugurtha was craftily hastening to only this goal: to undermine the peace being enjoyed by Bocchus so that he might not by continual delay choose some course other than war.

82. After the Roman commander learned of the kings' alliance, he did not offer battle recklessly and anywhere at random, as had been his custom with Jugurtha after he had so often defeated him. Instead, he awaited the kings

haud procul ab Cirta castris munitis reges opperitur, melius esse ratus cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novos hostis adcesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere.

- 2 Interim Roma per litteras certior fit provinciam Numidiam Mario datam; nam consulem factum ante acceperat. Quibus rebus supra bonum aut honestum percussus, neque lacrimas tenere neque moderari linguam, vir egregius in aliis artibus nimis molliter aegritudinem pati.
- 3 Quam rem alii in superbiam vortebant, alii bonum ingenium contumelia ad censum esse, multi, quod iam parta 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. Igitur eo dolore inpeditus, et quia stultitiae videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit postulatum ne sine causa hostis populo Romano fieret: habere tum magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque 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 quoivis, etiam ignavo licere, deponi, quom

<sup>249</sup> By vote of the people in January 107 (73.7), after Metellus' second military campaign had ended.

in a fortified camp not far from Cirta; he thought it better to get to know the Moors, inasmuch this new enemy had joined the fray, and then to offer battle according to what suited him.

Meanwhile he was informed by letters from Rome that the province of Numidia had been given to Marius<sup>249</sup> (for he had already heard of his election to the consulship). Upset by this news more than was right or proper, he neither held back tears nor curbed his tongue; an outstanding man in other qualities, he was too soft in enduring distress. Some attributed his reaction to arrogance; others felt that a noble temperament had been exasperated by insult; many felt it was because victory which he had already achieved was being snatched from his grasp. Personally, I have come to the conclusion that he was tormented more by the honor done to Marius than by the affront to himself, and that he would not have been so upset if the province had been taken from him and given to someone other than Marius.

83. Held back, therefore, by this resentment, and because it appeared foolish to promote another's interests at his own peril, Metellus sent envoys to Bocchus, to demand that he not become an enemy to the Roman people without provocation; at that moment, he said, Bocchus had a splendid opportunity to form a friendly alliance, which was preferable to war, and that although he might feel confidence in his own strength, nevertheless he ought not to exchange certainty for uncertainty; every war is easily begun but ended with extreme difficulty; its beginning and end are not under the control of the same individual; anyone at all, even a coward, may begin it, but it is broken off only when the victors are willing; therefore Bocchus

victores velint; proinde sibi regnoque suo consuleret, neu florentis 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  
3 fieret, omnia conventura. Rursus imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuntios mittit; ille probare partim, alia abnuere. Eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nuntiis, tempus procedere, et ex Metelli voluntate bellum intactum trahi.

84. At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissima 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  
2 praeterea magnifica pro se et illis dolentia. Interim quae bello opus erant prima habere, postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus arcessere, praeterea ex Latio sociisque<sup>117</sup> fortissimum quemque, plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos, adire et ambiundo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis secum proficisci.

3 Neque illi senatus, quamquam advorsus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat. Ceterum supplementum etiam

<sup>117</sup> sociisque *post* regibus *ω*: *Wirz transp.* sociisque *post* Latio

<sup>250</sup> "Latium" is used here (and at 95.1; cf. 69.4) to denote allied communities possessing Latin status (see 39.2n.): shorthand for *socii nominis Latini*.

ought to consult his own interests and those of his kingdom and not intertwine his own prosperity with Jugurtha's ruined cause.

To this appeal the king made a sufficiently conciliatory reply: that he desired peace but pitied the misfortunes of Jugurtha; that if the same opportunity were offered Jugurtha, everything would result in an understanding. Once again Metellus sent envoys to counter Bocchus' demands; Bocchus partly gave assent, other points he rejected. In this way, while messengers were frequently sent back and forth by both sides, time passed and, in keeping with Metellus' intention, the war dragged on without any engagement.

84. But, as I noted earlier, Marius had been chosen consul with the ardent support of the commons, and after the people assigned him the province of Numidia, then indeed he persistently and boldly attacked the aristocracy to whom he had already shown his hostility. He assailed now individuals, now the entire group; he kept saying he had wrested the consulship from them as spoils from the conquered, as well as other boastful things on his own behalf and grievous to the nobles. Meanwhile, he made the needs of the war his highest priority; he demanded reinforcements for the legions, summoned auxiliaries from foreign nations and kings, besides calling out from the Latins<sup>250</sup> and allied communities the bravest men, most known to him from prior military campaigns, a few by reputation only; and by making the rounds, he influenced veterans who had served their time to join his expedition.

The senate, although it was hostile to him, did not dare to withhold authorization for any of his measures. In fact, it even took delight in decreeing reinforcements because

laetus decreverat, quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur et Marius aut belli usum aut studia volgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata; tanta libido cum Mario eundi  
 4 plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque praeda locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum, alia huiusce modi animis trahabant, et eos non paulum oratione sua Marius adregerat.  
 5 Nam postquam omnibus quae postulaverat decretis milites scribere volt, hortandi causa, simul et nobilitatem uti consueverat exagitandi, contionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

85. "Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non isdem 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 consulatus aut praetura, eo maiore cura illam administrari quam  
 2 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 forisque omnia curare et ea agere inter invidios,  
 3 occursantis, factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, maiorum fortia facta,  
 4 cognatorum et adfinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia

it was thought that military service was unpopular with the commons and that Marius would lose either resources for the war or the devotion of the masses. But this outcome was hoped for in vain; such passion for accompanying Marius had seized almost everyone. Each man fancied in his mind that he would be enriched by booty, would return home a victor, and other such visions; and Marius had excited them in no slight degree by a speech of his. For when all the decrees which he had demanded had been passed and he wished to enroll soldiers, he called a public meeting in order to encourage enlistment and at the same time, according to his custom, to criticize the nobles. Then he discussed the issues in the following manner:

85. "I know, Citizens, that most men seek power from you by one set of practices and then exercise it, after it has been obtained, by quite another; that at first they are industrious, humble and modest, but afterward they lead lives of indolence and arrogance. But just the opposite course seems right to me; for just as the whole nation is of more value than a consulate or a praetorship, so it ought to be governed with much greater care than political offices are sought. Nor am I unaware how great a task I am taking upon myself in accepting this signal favor of yours. To prepare for war and at the same time to spare the treasury; to force into military service those whom one would not wish to offend; to have a care for everything at home and abroad—to do all this amid envy, enmity and intrigue, is a harder task than you might suppose, Citizens. Furthermore, if *others* make mistakes, their ancient nobility, the brave deeds of their ancestors, the power of their relatives and in-laws, their many retainers, are all at their disposal

haec praesidio adsunt; mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est virtute et innocentia tutari. Nam alia infirma sunt.

- 5 "Et illud intellego, Quirites, omnium ora in me con-  
 6 vorsata esse, aequos bonosque favere, quippe mea bene  
 7 facta rei publicae procedunt, nobilitatem locum invadendi  
 8 quaerere. Quo mihi acrius adnitendum est uti neque vos  
 9 capiamini et illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui  
 10 uti omnis labores et pericula consueta habeam. Quae ante  
 11 vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti accepta mercede  
 12 deseram non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in  
 potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos  
 simulavere; mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optimis artibus  
 egi, bene facere iam ex consuetudine in naturam vortit.  
 Bellum me gerere cum Iugurtha iussistis, quam rem nobilitas  
 aegerrime tulit. Quaeso, reputate cum animis vestris  
 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; 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 imperatorem  
 alium quaerat. Atque ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam  
 consules facti sunt et acta maiorum et Graecorum

<sup>251</sup> See 4.5n.

for protection; *my* hopes are all vested in myself and must be maintained by my own worth and integrity. For other resources are weak.

"This too I understand, Citizens, that the eyes of all are turned on me, that fair-minded and decent men favor me because my good deeds benefit our country, while the nobles are looking for an opening to attack me. Wherefore I must strive the more vigorously so that you may not be taken in and so that they may be disappointed. From childhood to my present time of life, I have lived in such a way that I am familiar with every kind of toil and danger. As to the deeds I did voluntarily, Citizens, before the conferral of your favors, it is not my intention to abandon them now that they have brought me their reward. To exercise restraint in office is difficult for those who from interested motives have merely pretended to be virtuous; as for me, I have spent my entire life in the best practices, and good conduct has become second nature as a result of habit. You have appointed me to wage the war against Jugurtha, a decision that has greatly annoyed the nobles. I ask you, reconsider in your hearts whether it would be better to change your minds, if you should send on this or any similar undertaking someone of that clique of nobles, a man of ancient lineage and many ancestral images<sup>251</sup>—but no military experience; doubtless with the result that in his complete ignorance he quakes in the face of such an assignment and rushes to appoint some member of the populace as a mentor in carrying out his duties. So it generally happens that the man whom you have appointed to exercise a command seeks out someone else to be the *de facto* commander. I personally know of men, Citizens, who, after being elected consuls, have begun to study both

militaria praecepta legere coeperint: praeposteri homines, nam gerere quam fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est.

- 13 "Comparete nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me  
hominem novom. Quae illi audire aut<sup>118</sup> legere solent,  
eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quae illi litteris, ea  
14 ego militando didici. Nunc vos existumate facta an dicta  
pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam, ego illorum  
15 ignaviam; mihi fortuna, illis probra obiectantur.<sup>119</sup> Quam  
quam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existu-  
16 tumo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum. Ac si  
iam ex patribus Albini aut Bestiae quaeri posset mense an  
illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi  
sese liberos quam optimos voluisse?  
17 "Quod si iure me despiciunt, faciant<sup>120</sup> idem maioribus  
18 suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas coepit. Invident  
honori meo; ergo invideant labori, innocentiae, periculis  
19 etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. Verum homines  
corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi vestros honores  
20 contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. Ne illi  
falsi sunt, qui divorsissimas res pariter expectant, ignaviae  
21 voluptatem et praemia virtutis. Atque etiam, quom apud  
vos aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione maiores  
suos extollunt: eorum fortia facta memorando clariores  
22 sese putant. Quod contra est. Nam quanto vita illorum

118 VA: et *rell.*119 obiciuntur VP<sup>2</sup>120 faciunt PA<sup>1</sup>

<sup>252</sup> I.e., before one can be a successful commander (*after* being elected to office), it is necessary first to gain experience in the ranks (*before* standing for election).

the deeds of their forefathers and the military treatises of the Greeks; such individuals are wrongheaded, for whereas engaging in action follows upon election with respect to time, in practical experience it precedes it.<sup>252</sup>

"Compare me now, Citizens, a 'new man,' with those arrogant nobles. What they are accustomed to hear about or read, I have partly seen with my own eyes, in other cases done personally. What they have learned from books I have learned by service in the field. Judge now for yourselves whether words or deeds are worth more. They scorn my lack of pedigree, I their worthlessness; I am reproached with my lot in life, they with their scandals. To be sure, I personally believe that all men have one and the same nature, but that the bravest is of the best stock. And if the fathers of Albinus and Bestia could now be asked whether they would have preferred to sire me or those men, what do you suppose they would reply, except that they desired the best possible children?

"But if they rightly look down on me, let them do likewise in the case of their own forefathers, whose nobility began, as does mine, from personal merit. They begrudge me my office; therefore, let them begrudge my toil, my integrity, even my dangers, since it was through those that I won the office. In fact, these men, spoiled by pride, live as if they scorn the honors you confer; they seek them as if they have lived honorably. Surely they are deluded in looking forward with equal confidence to polar opposites, namely, the pleasure of idleness and the rewards of merit. And furthermore, when they deliver remarks in front of you or in the senate, they eulogize their ancestors in most of their speeches; by recounting the brave deeds of those men, they imagine themselves more glorious. But it is just



23 praeclarior, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior. Et profecto  
 24 ita se res habet: maiorum gloria posteris quasi lumen est,  
 neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur. Huiusce  
 25 rei ego inopiam fateor,<sup>121</sup> Quirites, verum, id quod multo  
 praeclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc vi-  
 dete 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 pe-  
 26 perisse melius est quam acceptam corrupisse.

“Equidem ego non ignoro, si iam mihi respondere ve-  
 lint, abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore.  
 Sed in maximo vostro beneficio quom omnibus locis  
 meque<sup>122</sup> vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere,  
 27 ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me qui-  
 dem ex animi mei sententia nulla oratio laedere potest.  
 Quippe vera necesse est bene praedicent, falsa vita mo-  
 28 resque mei superant. Sed quoniam vostra consilia accu-  
 santur, qui mihi summum honorem et maxumum nego-  
 tium inposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate num eorum  
 29 paenitendum sit. Non possum fidei causa imagines neque  
 triumphos aut consulatus maiorum meorum ostentare, at,  
 si res postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria  
 30 dona, praeterea cicatrices advorso corpore. Hae sunt  
 meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut

<sup>121</sup> fateor V: patior  $\omega$

<sup>122</sup> V: me  $\omega$

<sup>253</sup> “Trophy spears” denote a military award known as the *hasta pura*, a headless spear presented in recognition of valor.

the reverse. For the more glorious the life of their ances-  
 tors was, the more shameful is the idleness of these men.  
 And assuredly the matter stands thus: the glory of ances-  
 tors is, as it were, a light shining upon their posterity, and  
 it suffers neither their virtues nor their faults to be hidden.  
 Of such glory I acknowledge my poverty, Citizens; but—  
 and that is far more glorious—I may speak of my very own  
 deeds. Now see how unfair those men are; that which they  
 lay claim to for themselves as a result of others’ merit they  
 do not allow to me as the result of my own, no doubt be-  
 cause I have no ancestral images and because mine is a  
 freshly minted nobility; yet surely it is better to have  
 brought nobility into being than to have sullied it after it  
 has been inherited.

“I am, of course, well aware that if they want to reply  
 to me, their language will be eloquent and well structured.  
 But since in connection with your very great kindness to  
 me they savagely attack both you and me with invective at  
 every opportunity, I have decided not to be silent so that  
 no one will misinterpret reticence on my part as a guilty  
 conscience. For, according to what I feel in my heart, no  
 speech can injure me. Naturally the truth has to be told to  
 my credit; my past life and character refute any false-  
 hoods. But since those men are criticizing your judgment  
 in giving me the highest office and a most important com-  
 mission, consider over and over again whether you ought  
 to regret those decisions. To inspire trust, I cannot dis-  
 play ancestral images and triumphs or consulships of my  
 forefathers; but if occasion requires, I can display trophy  
 spears,<sup>253</sup> a distinguished-service banner, medals and  
 other military decorations, as well as scars on my breast.  
 These are my ancestral images, these my nobility, not left

illa illis, sed quae ego meis plurimis laboribus et periculis quaesivi.

- 31 "Non sunt composita verba mea; parvi<sup>123</sup> id facio. Ipsa  
se virtus satis ostendit. Illis artificio opus est, ut turpia  
32 facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras Graecas didici; pa-  
rum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad virtutem docto-  
33 ribus nihil profuerant. At illa multo optuma rei publicae  
doctus sum: hostem ferire, praesidia agitare, nihil metuere  
nisi turpem famam, hiemem et aestatem iuxta pati, humi  
requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare.  
34 His ego praeceptis milites hortabor, neque illos arte col-  
lam, me opulenter, neque gloriam meam laborem illorum  
35 faciam. Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque quom-  
tute per molliam<sup>124</sup> agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id  
36 est dominum, non imperatorem esse. Haec atque alia ta-  
lia<sup>125</sup> maiores vestri faciundo seque remque publicam  
37 celebravere. Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus,  
nos illorum aemulos contemnit, et omnis honores non ex  
merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit.  
38 "Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Mai-  
ores eorum omnia quae licebat illis reliquere: divitias,  
imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram; virtutem non reli-  
quere, neque poterant; ea sola neque datur dono neque  
39 accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, quia

<sup>123</sup> parvi VP<sup>2</sup>, Non. 257M.36: parum ω

<sup>124</sup> molliam V

<sup>125</sup> alia talia s: alia VPβ: talia AB<sup>2</sup>Y

<sup>254</sup> I.e., in the Greeks themselves.

to me by inheritance as theirs is, but a nobility sought by my own innumerable efforts and perils.

"My words are not carefully composed; I care little for that. Merit displays itself well enough on its own. *They* have need of artfulness to cover up their shameful deeds with rhetoric. I have not studied Greek literature; it held no allure for me to study it since it had not promoted virtue in its teachers.<sup>254</sup> But I have learned those skills which are by far the best for the nation—to strike down the foe, to maintain defenses, to fear nothing except ill repute, to endure winter and summer alike, to sleep on the bare ground, to bear privation and toil at the same time. With such guiding principles as these, I shall encourage my soldiers; I shall not treat them stingily and myself lavishly, nor convert their toil into my personal glory. The exercise of command that I am describing is beneficial, is what a Roman citizen deserves. (For to control one's army by means of punishment, while living yourself a life of ease, is to be a master of slaves, not a commander.) By performing these and other such deeds, your forefathers made themselves and their nation renowned. But the nobles, relying upon the achievements of past generations, though they themselves are of very different character, despise us who emulate the men of old, and they claim from you all honors, not on the basis of merit, but as though owed to them.

"But those arrogant men stray far from the truth. Their ancestors have left them all that was permitted—riches, ancestral images, their own glorious fame; prowess they have not left them, nor could they; prowess alone is neither bestowed nor received as a gift. They say that I am coarse and of unrefined manners because I do not know

- parum scite convivium exorno neque histrionem ullum neque pluris preti coquam quam vilicum habeo. Quae  
 40 mihi lubet confiteri, Quirites; nam ex parente meo et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi: 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 aestumant, id semper faciant: ament, potent; ubi adulescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviiis, dediti ventri et turpissimae parti corporis. Sudorem, pulverem et alia talia relinquunt nobis, quibus illa epulis iucundiora sunt. Verum non  
 42 ita est. Nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Ita iniustissime luxuria et ignavia, pessumae artes, illis qui coluere eas nihil officiant, rei publicae innoxiae cladi sunt.
- 44 “Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mei mores, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de re publica loquar.  
 45 Primum omnium de Numidia bonum habete animus, Quirites. Nam quae ad hoc tempus Iugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, inperitiam atque superbiam.  
 46 Deinde exercitus ibi est locorum sciens, sed mehercule magis strenuos quam felix. Nam magna pars eius avaritia  
 47 aut temeritate ducum adtrita est. Quam ob rem vos, quibus militaris aetas est, adnitimini mecum et capessite rem publicam, neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut

<sup>255</sup> A high-priced cook and actor would be required to make elegant a dinner party and its accompanying entertainment (cf. Liv. 39.6.8–9).

<sup>256</sup> The vices of, respectively, the commanders in 111 (Bestia), 110 (Sp. Albinus and his brother Aulus), and 109–108 (Metellus).

how to give an elegant dinner and do not pay an actor or cook more than my farm overseer.<sup>255</sup> This I cheerfully admit, Citizens; for this is what I have learned from my father and other upright men: that elegance is becoming to women but toil to men, that all virtuous men ought to have more fame than riches, that arms, not fine trappings, confer luster.

“Well then, let them keep right on doing what gives them pleasure: carrying on love affairs, drinking, and passing their old age where they have spent their youth, in banquets, as slaves to their belly and the most shameful part of their body. Let them leave sweat, dust, and other such things to us, men who find those things more pleasurable than banquets. But this is not the way it is. For when those depraved men have disgraced themselves by their crimes, they proceed to snatch away rewards belonging to the virtuous. Thus, most unjustly do the most abominable practices of luxury and sloth not at all work to the disadvantage of those who practice them, but are the ruin of a blameless nation.

“Now, inasmuch as I have replied to them to the extent that my character—but not their crimes—demanded, I shall say a few words about our nation. First of all, take heart, Citizens, concerning Numidia. For you have taken away everything which up to this time has protected Jugurtha—greed, incompetence, and arrogance.<sup>256</sup> Next, our army in Africa is familiar with the country, but, by Hercules, is more valiant than fortunate. For a great part of it has been destroyed by the greed or rashness of its leaders. Therefore, do you, who are of military age, join your efforts with mine and take part in your nation’s affairs, and let no one feel fear as a result of the disaster of

imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine  
aut in proelio consultor idem et socius periculi vobiscum  
48 adero, meque vosque in omnibus rebus iuxta geram. Et  
profecto dis iuvantibus omnia matura sunt: victoria,  
49 praeda, laus. Quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis  
bonos rei publicae subvenire decebat. Etenim nemo igna-  
via immortalis factus est, neque quisquam parens liberis  
50 uti aeterni forent optavit, magis uti boni honestique vitam  
exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem  
verba adderent. Nam strenuis abunde dictum puto.”

86. Huiusce modi oratione habita Marius, postquam  
plebis animos adrectos videt, propere conmeatu, stipen-  
dio, armis aliisque utilibus navis onerat; cum his A. Man-  
2 lium legatum proficisci iubet. Ipse interea milites scribere,  
non more maiorum neque ex classibus, sed uti quouisque  
3 lubido erat, capite census plerosque. Id factum alii inopia  
bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant,  
quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat, et homini  
potentiam quaerenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus,  
quod neque sua cara, quippe quae nulla sunt, et  
omnia cum pretio honesta videntur.

<sup>257</sup> Perhaps as early as February 107.

<sup>258</sup> I.e., the five classes from which soldiers were drawn, said to have been established by King Servius Tullius, based on property qualifications (Liv. 1.42.4–43). In this period, to be enrolled in the fifth and lowest census class, the minimum property qualification was a very modest 1,500 bronze asses (Cic. *Rep.* 2.40).

<sup>259</sup> Lit. the *capite censi*, those who were enrolled by the censors as mere “persons” (*capita*) because they had insufficient property to be eligible for inclusion in even the fifth and lowest Servian class; as such, they were exempt from military service.

others or the arrogance of generals. I myself, one who both takes counsel concerning danger and shares in it, shall be right there with you on the march or in battle; and I shall treat myself and you alike in all situations. And surely everything, with the help of the gods, is on the point of being realized—victory, spoils, glory. But even if those incentives were uncertain or remote, it would still be fitting for all good men to come to the aid of the nation. Truly, no one ever became immortal through cowardice; and no parent has prayed for his children to live forever but rather that their lives might be noble and honored. I would say more, Citizens, if words could instill courage in cowards. For those who are resolute I think I have spoken long enough.”

86. After Marius had made a speech of this sort and saw the spirits of the commons aroused, he quickly loaded his ships with provisions, money, arms, and other serviceable things; he ordered his deputy commander Aulus Manlius to set sail with these.<sup>257</sup> Meanwhile, he himself enrolled soldiers, not according to the census classes,<sup>258</sup> in keeping with the ancestral tradition, but just as the fancy took anyone, for the most part the poorest of the poor.<sup>259</sup> Some say that he did this because of a dearth of qualified recruits, others out of a desire to curry favor, because that class had given him honor and advancement; and to a man aspiring to power, the most serviceable is the poorest man who has no regard for his own possessions, having none, and considers anything accompanied by remuneration honorable.

4 Igitur Marius, cum aliquanto maiore numero quam  
decretum erat in Africam profectus, paucis diebus Uticam  
5 advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato. Nam  
Metellus conspectum Mari fugerat, ne videret ea quae  
audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

87. Sed consul expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxi-  
liariis in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur,  
omnia ibi capta militibus donat, dein castella et oppida  
natura et viris parum munita adgreditur, proelia multa,  
2 ceterum levia, alia<sup>126</sup> aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites  
sine metu pugnae adesse, videre fugientis capi aut occidi,  
fortissimum quemque tutissimum, armis libertatem pa-  
triam parentisque et alia omnia tegi, gloriam atque divitias  
3 quaeri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus  
omnium aequalis facta.

4 At reges ubi de adventu Mari cognoverunt, divorsi in  
locos difficilis abeunt. Ita Iugurthae placuerat speranti  
mox effusos hostis invadi posse, Romanos sicuti plerosque  
remoto metu laxius licentiusque futuros.

88. Metellus interea Romam profectus contra spem  
suam laetissimis animis accipitur,<sup>127</sup> plebi patribusque,  
postquam invidia decesserat, iuxta carus.

<sup>126</sup> alia levia  $\omega$ : *transp. Ciacconius*

<sup>127</sup>  $\alpha B^2 C^1 N$ : excipitur  $A^2 B^1 C^2 \gamma$ .

<sup>260</sup> Perhaps as many as five thousand additional soldiers (P. Brunt, *Italian Manpower*, 430), roughly the equivalent of one additional legion.

<sup>261</sup> Spring 107, presumably not too long after Manlius (86.1).

<sup>262</sup> Jugurtha and Bocchus.

<sup>263</sup> He received the honor of celebrating a triumph in 106 and the agnomen "Numidicus" (Vell. 2.11.2).

Therefore, Marius set sail for Africa with a somewhat greater contingent than had been authorized,<sup>260</sup> and a few days later he landed at Utica.<sup>261</sup> The army was handed over to him by the deputy commander Publius Rutilius. For Metellus had avoided the very sight of Marius so that he might not see what he had been unable even to hear of with composure.

87. Now the consul, after having brought up to full strength the ranks of the legions and the cohorts of auxiliaries, set out for a fertile district, one rich in booty; there he gave to the soldiers everything that was taken. Then he attacked some fortresses and towns not well defended by nature or by garrisons; he fought many battles, but slight ones and in various places. Meanwhile the raw soldiers became accustomed to enter battle fearlessly; they saw that those who ran away were either captured or killed, that the bravest were the safest, that by means of arms liberty, country and parents, and all else were protected, while glory and riches were won by the same. Thus in a short time the raw and the seasoned soldiers coalesced, and all became equally courageous.

But the kings,<sup>262</sup> on hearing of the arrival of Marius, withdrew each to a different place, difficult of access. Jugurtha had decided on this plan, hoping that the enemy could presently be spread out and attacked, that the Romans, like most soldiers, would have less caution and discipline once their fear had been banished.

88. Metellus meanwhile set out for to Rome and, contrary to his expectation, was received with great rejoicing, being popular with the commons and senators alike now that ill will against him had died out.<sup>263</sup>

2 Sed Marius inpigre prudenterque suorum et hostium  
 res pariter attendere, cognoscere quid boni utrisque ad  
 contra esset, explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias  
 3 eorum antevenire, nihil apud se remissum neque apud  
 illos tutum pati. Itaque et Gaetulos et Iugurtham ex sociis  
 nostris praedas agentis saepe adgressus in itinere fuderat,  
 ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exue-  
 4 rat. Quae postquam gloriosa modo neque belli patrandi  
 cognovit, statuit urbis quae viris aut loco pro hostibus et  
 advorsum se opportunissimae erant singulas circumve-  
 5 nire; ita Iugurtham aut praesidiis nudatum <iri>,<sup>128</sup> si ea  
 pateretur, aut proelio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuntios  
 ad eum saepe miserat: velle populi Romani amicitiam; ne  
 6 quid ab se hostile timeret. Id simulaveritne, quo improvi-  
 sus gravior adcideret, an mobilitate ingeni pacem atque  
 bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum est.

89. Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita  
 adire, partim vi, alia metu aut praemia ostentando avor-  
 2 tere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, existumans  
 3 Iugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed ubi  
 illum procul abesse et aliis negotiis intentum accepit,  
 maiora et magis aspera adgredi tempus visum est.

<sup>128</sup> *suppl. Meiser: <fore> Prammer*

<sup>264</sup> I.e., had compelled even Jugurtha, as well as his troops, to throw aside their arms and flee for their lives.

<sup>265</sup> This sentence explains why the only enemy forces of immediate relevance were those of Jugurtha.

But Marius paid equally active and prudent attention to the activities of his own men and the enemy, learned what advantage or the opposite each side had, reconnoitered the movements of the kings, forestalled their plans and plots, allowed no relaxation to his soldiers and no security to the enemy. Hence he had frequently attacked and routed the Gaetulians and Jugurtha on the march, while they were plundering our allies, and not far from the town of Cirta he had stripped the king himself of his arms.<sup>264</sup> But after Marius realized that such exploits merely brought him glory and did not tend to finish the war, he decided to invest one at a time cities that by reason of their population or location were most serviceable to the enemy and most detrimental to his own success. He thought that in that way Jugurtha would either be stripped of his defenses, if he made no opposition, or would stand and fight in a pitched battle. (For<sup>265</sup> Bocchus had frequently sent Marius messengers, saying that he desired the friendship of the Roman people, that Marius need not fear any hostile act on his part. Whether Bocchus was putting up a pretense in order to strike a heavier blow from it being unexpected, or was habitually wavering between peace and war as a result of the volatility of his temperament, is not altogether certain.)

89. Now the consul, as he had planned, drew near the fortified towns and strongholds, and in some cases by force, in others by intimidation or bribery, took them from the enemy. And at first his operations were modest, since he thought that Jugurtha would come within his grasp for the sake of protecting his subjects. But when he learned that the king was far off and engrossed in other matters, the time seemed ripe for tackling greater and harder tasks.

- 4 Erat inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque  
valens nomine Capsa, quous conditor Hercules Libys  
memorabatur. Eius cives apud Jugurtham innumes, levi  
imperio et ob ea fidelissimi habebantur, muniti advorsum  
hostis non moenibus modo et armis atque viris, verum  
5 etiam multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam praeter op-  
pido propinqua alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquae,  
infesta serpentibus, quarum vis sicuti omnium ferarum  
inopia cibi acrior. Ad hoc natura serpentium ipsa pernicio-  
6 siosa siti magis quam alia re adconditur. Eius potiundi  
Marius maxuma cupido invaserat, quom propter usum  
belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur et Metellus oppidum  
Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm  
munitumque, nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a moeni-  
bus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo atque ea  
7 intra oppidum iugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur. Id ibi-  
que<sup>129</sup> et in omni Africa, quae procul a mari incultius age-  
bat, eo facilius tolerabatur quia Numidae plerumque lacte  
et ferina carne vescebantur et neque salem neque alia  
inritamenta gulae quaerebant; cibus illis advorsum famem  
atque sitim, non lubricum neque luxuriae erat.

90. Igitur consul, omnibus exploratis, credo dis fre-

<sup>129</sup> A<sup>2</sup>βK<sup>2</sup>H<sup>2</sup>D<sup>2</sup>: ubique αΥ

<sup>266</sup> An oasis town in the extreme southeast of Numidia, ca. 120 miles southeast of Sicca. <sup>267</sup> See 18.3n.

<sup>268</sup> See 75–76. <sup>269</sup> *Quae*, referring to *Africa*, is used for the people (cf. 55.2, where *civitas*, “the community,” stands for *cives* and is construed with the verb *agere*, as here).

<sup>270</sup> “Trusting in the gods” (*dis fretus*) repeats the same words used by the soothsayer when he encouraged Marius to press ahead (63.1).

There was in the midst of huge waste lands a large, strong town called Capsa,<sup>266</sup> whose reputed founder was the Libyan Hercules.<sup>267</sup> Under Jugurtha's authority its citizens were held exempt from tribute, with a mild rule, and consequently were regarded as most loyal, being protected from their enemies not only by walls and armed men, but still more by the harshness of their locale. For, except in the vicinity of the town, all else is desolate, wild, lacking water, and infested by serpents, whose violence, like that of all wild creatures, is fiercer as a result of the scarcity of food. Moreover, their deadly disposition is especially aggravated by thirst. Marius had been seized with a great desire to gain control of that town, not only on account of its practical value in war, but also because the undertaking seemed hazardous and Metellus had gained great renown by the capture of Thala,<sup>268</sup> a town similar in its situation and defenses, except for the fact that there were some springs not far from Thala, while the people of Capsa had but one source of ever-flowing water (and that within the town itself); otherwise they depended upon rain water. This scarcity of water was the more readily endured both there and in all Africa where<sup>269</sup> the people live a less civilized existence far from the sea because the Numidians consumed chiefly milk and game and sought neither salt nor other stimulants of the palate; for from their perspective, food served to ward off hunger and thirst, not as a means of luxurious self-indulgence.

90. And so the consul, after a thorough reconnaissance, and trusting in the gods, I suppose<sup>270</sup>—for against such

tus—nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat, quippe etiam frumenti inopia temptabatur, quia Numidiae pabulo pecoris magis quam arvo student et quodcumque natum fuerat iussu regis in loca munita 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 Laris, ubi stipendium et conneatum locaverat, ire iubet dicitque se praedabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occultato pergit ad flumen Tanain.

91. 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, quom ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrum effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere atque uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur paratos esse iubet; omnibus sarcinis abiectis, aqua modo seque et iumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur noctemque totam itinere facto consedit.

<sup>271</sup> Roughly September 107.

<sup>272</sup> More correctly "Lares," a town in southeast Numidia, ca. eleven miles southeast of Sicca (56.3) and ca. 110 miles north of Capsa, Marius' intended target.

<sup>273</sup> Of uncertain location.

<sup>274</sup> Divisional units of the infantry and cavalry, respectively.

<sup>275</sup> For the transport of water.

great difficulties he could not make sufficient provision by mere planning, seeing that he was being put to the test even by a scarcity of grain because the Numidians give more attention to fodder for their flocks than to plowed fields (and such grain as had been produced had been transported by the king's command to fortified places); moreover, the fields were dry and stripped of their crops at that season, for it was the end of summer<sup>271</sup>—nevertheless, in keeping with the resources to hand, Marius made his preparations with sufficient precaution. He assigned all the cattle that had become booty on previous days to the auxiliary cavalry to drive; he ordered his lieutenant commander Aulus Manlius to go with light-armed cohorts to the town of Laris,<sup>272</sup> where he had placed cash to pay the soldiers and supplies, and he said that in the course of his pillaging he would come to the same place a few days later. Having thus concealed his real undertaking, he proceeded to the river Tanais.<sup>273</sup>

91. Now every day on the march, Marius had equitably distributed cattle to his army by centuries and likewise by squadrons,<sup>274</sup> and he took care that leather sacks should be made from the hides; thus at the same time he mitigated the lack of grain, and without anyone's knowledge, he prepared objects that would soon to be useful.<sup>275</sup> When they finally reached the river on the sixth day, a great quantity of leather sacks had been produced. Having pitched a lightly fortified camp by the river, he ordered the soldiers to take their meal and to be ready to march forth at sunset, and after discarding all their baggage, to load themselves and their pack animals with water only. Then, when he thought the proper time had come, he set out from the camp and halted after making a march through-



Idem proxuma facit, dein tertia multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumulosum ab Capsa non amplius duum milium intervallo, ibique quam occultissime potest cum  
 4 omnibus copiis operitur. 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 propere sequi neque milites praedari sinere.  
 5 Quae postquam oppidani cognovere, res trepidae, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potestate coegere uti deditionem facerent.  
 6 Ceterum oppidum incensum, Numidae puberes interfecti, alii omnes venundati, praeda militibus divisa. 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. Postquam tantam rem peregit<sup>130</sup> Marius sine ullo suorum incommodo, magnus et clarus antea, maior atque  
 2 clarior haberi coepit. Omnia non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur; milites, modesto imperio habiti simul et locupletes, ad caelum ferre; Numidae magis quam mortalem timere; postremo omnes, socii atque hostes, credere

<sup>130</sup> peregit *A*<sup>2</sup>*β*: gessit *post* Marius *H*: peregit *vel* effecit *s* *sed post* incommodo: *om. adē*

<sup>276</sup> As he had promised potential recruits (85.47).

out the whole night. He did the same thing the next night; then on the third night, long before daybreak, he reached a hilly tract, distant not more than two miles from Capsa. There he waited with all his forces, keeping as much in concealment as possible. Now when day dawned and the Numidians, fearing no attack, came out of the town in large numbers, suddenly he ordered all the cavalry and with them the swiftest of the foot soldiers to proceed at a run toward Capsa and to occupy its gates. Then he himself quickly followed, keeping on the alert, and he did not allow his soldiers to plunder. When the townspeople grasped the situation, their utter confusion, great panic, unexpected plight (besides the fact that part of their fellow citizens were outside the walls, in the power of the enemy) compelled them to make a surrender. Notwithstanding, the town was burned; adult Numidians were killed; all the rest were sold, and the booty was divided among the soldiers. This deed in contravention of the right of war was committed not as a result of the consul's criminal greed but because the place was of advantage to Jugurtha and difficult of access for us, while the character of the populace was fickle, untrustworthy and previously kept in check neither by kindness nor by fear.

92. After he had accomplished such a major undertaking without an detriment to his own forces, Marius, previously great and famous, began to be regarded as still greater and more famous. All his rash acts were ascribed to his bravery; the soldiers, who were treated to even-handed discipline<sup>276</sup> and at the same time enriched, extolled him to the sky; the Numidians feared him as if he were more than mortal; in short, all persons, those taking our side and enemies alike, believed that he either pos-

illi aut mentem divinam esse aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi.

- 3 Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit, pauca repugnantibus Numidis capit, plura <deserta><sup>131</sup> propter Capsensium miserias igni corrumpit; luctu atque  
 4 caede omnia conplentur. Denique, multis locis potitus ac plerisque exercitu incruento, aliam rem adgreditur non eadem asperitate qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus  
 5 difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Muluccha, quod Iugurthae Bocchique regnum diiungebat, erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus mediocri castello satis patens, in  
 6 immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto; nam omnis natura velut opere atque consulto praiceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte quam consilio melius  
 7 gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis <et><sup>132</sup> magna vis frumenti et fons aquae; aggeribus turribusque et aliis<sup>133</sup> machinationibus locus inportunus, iter castellorum angustum admodum, utrimque praecisum. Ea vineae cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur. Nam quom eae paulo processerant, igni aut lapidibus corrumpebantur,

<sup>131</sup> s <sup>132</sup> *transp. Jordan: magna vis et frumenti o*

<sup>133</sup> Y: *altis (ex talis A) X*

<sup>277</sup> Given the late date of the campaign against Capsa (ca. September 107: 90.1) and the great distance from Capsa to the river Muluccha (ca. 750 miles), where the fighting next takes place, the narrative must now be of the following campaign season in 106. Consequently, the towns described in 92.3–4 as captured and burned will have fallen during the winter of 107/106.

sessed divine insight or that everything was revealed to him by the favor of the gods.

Now, after his success at Capsa, the consul proceeded to other towns; a few he captured in spite of the resistance of the Numidians, still more he burned when they were abandoned on account of the wretched fate of the inhabitants of Capsa; all Numidia was filled with bloodshed and lamentation. Finally, after gaining control of many places, and for the most part without loss to his army, he embarked upon another undertaking, not involving the same hardship as the Capsa campaign but no less difficult.<sup>277</sup>

For you see, not far from the river Muluccha, which separated the realms of Jugurtha and Bocchus, there was in the midst of an otherwise flat expanse a rocky hill, broad enough for a fortress of moderate size, and soaring to a great height with the exception of one very narrow approach; for the whole place was naturally steep, as if it had been made so by art and design. This place Marius aimed to seize by a supreme effort because the king's treasures were there. But that undertaking met with success more as a result of chance than of planning. For the fortress had a goodly complement of men and arms, and a substantial abundance of grain, and a spring of water. The terrain was unsuitable for mounds, towers, and other siege works; the path giving access to those manning the fortress was quite narrow and sheer on either side. Mantlets were pushed forward that way with extreme danger and to no purpose. For when they had advanced but a short distance, they were ruined by fire or by stones; the soldiers did not keep

9 milites neque pro opere consistere propter iniquitatem loci neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare; optumus quisque cadere aut sauciari, ceteris metus augeri.

93. At Marius, multis diebus et laboribus consumptis, anxius trahere cum animo suo omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua saepe prospere usus fuerat. Quae quom multos dies noctisque aestuans agitare, 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 cocleas; quarum quom unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paulatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more ingeni humani cupido difficilia faciendi animum invadit.<sup>134</sup> Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paulum modo prona, deinde inflexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert. Quoius ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus, Ligus in castelli planitiem pervenit, quod cuncti Numidae intenti proeliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus quae mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur non temere, uti adscenderat, sed temptans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium prope adit, acta edo-

<sup>134</sup> s: advortit (advort- P) αK: vertit (vort- B) A<sup>2</sup>βNγ

<sup>278</sup> See 38.6n.

their footing before the siege works because of the steepness of the terrain and not without danger did they carry out their tasks within the mantlets; the bravest of them were killed or wounded; fear kept growing in the rest.

93. But after many days and much labor had been expended, Marius began to ponder anxiously whether to abandon the attempt since it was fruitless, or to await the favor of fortune, which he had often employed to his success. While he was vacillating as he turned these matters over for many days and nights, by chance a Ligurian,<sup>278</sup> a common soldier of the auxiliary cohorts, when he had left camp to fetch water noticed snails crawling among the rocks not far from the side of the fortress which was facing away from the battling. As he went after first one and then another of these creatures and then still more, in his eagerness to gather them he gradually emerged at almost the top of the hill. When he realized the deserted nature of the place, his mind was overcome, after the fashion of human nature, by a desire to perform a difficult feat. By chance, a great oak tree had taken root there among the rocks; having grown horizontally for a short distance, it then turned and soared to a great height, in the direction nature encourages all plants to grow. Supporting himself now with the tree branches, now with projecting rocks, the Ligurian reached the level ground of the fortress because the Numidians as a whole were intent upon and physically engaged in the fighting that was taking place. After examining everything that he thought would be useful later, he returned by the same way, not heedlessly, as he had gone up, but testing and observing everything. Then he quickly approached Marius, told him what he had done, and urged

cet, hortatur ab ea parte qua ipse adscenderat castellum temptet, pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem.

7 Marius cum Ligure promissa eius cognitum ex praesentibus misit, quorum uti quouisque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nuntiavere. Consulis animus tamen paulum adrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero quinque quam velocissimos delegit et cum paucissimis<sup>135</sup> praesidio qui forent quattuor centuriones, omnisque Liguri parere iubet et ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

2 94. Sed ubi ex praecepto tempus visum, paratis compositisque omnibus ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi, qui escensuri erant,<sup>136</sup> praedocti ab duce arma ornatumque mutaverant: capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nisisque per saxa facilius 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 vetustate<sup>137</sup> radices eminebant laqueis vinciebat, quibus allevati milites facilius escenderent,<sup>138</sup> interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu; ubi paulo asperior ascensus erat singulos prae<sup>139</sup> se inermos mittere, deinde ipse

<sup>135</sup> *suppl. Wirz: cum iis ω*      <sup>136</sup> *escensuri erant Carrio et forte A<sup>1</sup>: ascensuri erant F<sup>2</sup>: e centuriis erant P: centuriis praerant A<sup>2</sup>βH<sup>2</sup>: et centuriae praerant Y*

<sup>137</sup> *vetustae P*      <sup>138</sup> *aN<sup>1</sup>: ascenderent A<sup>2</sup>βN<sup>2</sup>Kγ*

<sup>139</sup> *prae Ks: pro P<sup>1</sup>: per rell.*

<sup>279</sup> See textual note. Common sense calls for a squad of soldiers to be part of this mission, and Frontinus (*Str.* 3.9.3), whose account of this operation clearly draws upon Sallust, specifically attests such a squad.

him to make an attempt on the fortress at the point where he himself had mounted; he promised to be a guide for the dangerous ascent.

Marius thereupon sent some of his staff with the Ligurian to investigate the man's assurances, and each of them, according to his temperament, pronounced the undertaking difficult or easy. Still, the consul's spirit was somewhat buoyed. Accordingly, he chose out of his stock of horn blowers and trumpeters the most agile, five in number, and four centurions, together with a very few soldiers<sup>279</sup> who were to serve as protection. He ordered all of them to obey the Ligurian, and he set the next day for the operation.

94. Now when it appeared to be time according to Marius' instructions, the Ligurian proceeded to the spot after all preparations and arrangements had been made. Those who were going to make the ascent, in keeping with the previous instructions of their guide, had changed their arms and equipment, baring their heads and feet so as to be able to see better and climb among the rocks more easily. On their backs were swords and shields, but the latter of Numidian design, made of hide, both because of their lighter weight and so that they would make less noise if bumped. And so the Ligurian, going on ahead, fastened ropes to the rocks and roots, if they stuck out as a result of age, so that pulled up by means of them the soldiers might more easily make the ascent. Sometimes he hoisted up with his hand those whom the unusual nature of the route alarmed; where the ascent was a little too rough, he sent men ahead one at a time unarmed and then followed him-

cum illorum armis sequi; quae dubia nisi videbantur potissimum temptare ac saepius eadem ascendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere. Igitur diu multumque fatigati tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte, quod omnes sicut aliis diebus advorsum hostis aderant.

Marius ubi ex nuntiis quae Ligus egerat cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos proelio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine acta succedere et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminens terrere. At Numidae, saepe antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctisque agitare, male dicere Romanis ac Mario vecordiam obiectare, militibus nostris Iugurthae servitium minari, secundis rebus feroces esse.

Interim omnibus, Romanis hostibusque, proelio intentis, magna utrimque vi pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere. Ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere, deinde uti quisque muro proximus erat, postremo cuncti armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriae certantes

<sup>280</sup> In this formation, the soldiers held their shields above their heads in such a way that they overlapped and made a continuous covering to ward off missiles from above.

self, bringing their arms. He was first to test spots that appeared to offer uncertain support, and by repeatedly climbing up and back down the same way, and then at once stepping aside, he bolstered the courage of the rest. Accordingly, after a long time and great exertion, they finally reached the fortress, deserted at that point because all the defenders, as on other days, were face to face with the enemy.

When Marius learned from messengers of the Ligurian's success (although he had kept the Numidians intent upon the battle the entire day), then indeed he urged on his soldiers and personally emerged from the mantlets; after having his soldiers form the tortoise-shell defense,<sup>280</sup> he advanced to the wall and simultaneously tried to terrify the enemy at long range with artillery, archers and slingers. But the Numidians, since previously they had often overturned the Romans' mantlets and set fire to them, were not protecting themselves within the fortress walls, but they operated day and night in front of the walls, insulting the Romans, taunting Marius with being a lunatic, threatening our soldiers with slavery at the hands of Jugurtha, and being bold as a result of their successes.

Meantime, while the Romans and the enemy were all intent upon the battle, and were contending on both sides mightily, these for glory and dominion, those for safety, suddenly trumpet signals sounded in the rear of the foe. And first the women and children, who had come out to look on, began to flee, then those who were nearest the wall, and finally everyone, armed and unarmed alike. When this happened, the Romans all the more fiercely pressed on; they caused a rout and merely wounded the majority. Then they made their way over the bodies of the

7 murum petere, neque quemquam omnium praeda morari. Sic forte correcta Mari temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit.

2 95. Ceterum dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum magno equitatu in castra venit, quos uti ex Latio et a sociis 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, optume et diligentissime omnium qui eas res dixere persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur.

3 Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit, familia prope iam extincta maiorum ignavia, litteris Graecis et Latinis iuxta [atque doctissime]<sup>140</sup> 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.

<sup>140</sup> *secl. Vogel*

<sup>281</sup> His arrival was more likely in the summer of 107 (not, as here, 106 autumn). Plut. (*Sull.* 3.1) has Sulla leave Rome with Marius. Details of the action at Capsa in 107 (89.4–91) may be derived, in part, from an eyewitness account in Sulla's *Memoirs*.

<sup>282</sup> See 84.2n. <sup>283</sup> Apparently Sallust had not yet planned to write his *Historiae*, the first book of which had much to say about Sulla.

<sup>284</sup> Praetor in 78, he died in 67 while serving as a legate of Pompey in the pirate war. His *Historiae* focused on the period 90–82 BC (the Social War and Sullan Civil War) and possibly extended to Sulla's death in 78.

slain, and eager for glory, they strove to reach the wall; booty did not slow down any one at all. Thus Marius' rashness was made good by pure chance and found glory out of blame.

95. While this campaign was in progress, the quaestor Lucius Sulla arrived<sup>281</sup> in camp with a large force of horsemen which he had been left in Rome to muster from the Latins<sup>282</sup> and from allied communities. And since the subject matter has brought to our attention such a great man, it seems fitting to say a few words about his nature and manner of life. For I am not going to speak elsewhere of Sulla's deeds,<sup>283</sup> and Lucius Sisenna,<sup>284</sup> who has done the best and most competent job of all writers who have treated those deeds, has not, in my opinion, spoken with sufficient frankness.

Sulla, then, was a noble of patrician stock, of a family which had almost faded away to nothingness thanks to the inactivity of his ancestors.<sup>285</sup> He was versed alike in Greek and Roman literature, very high spirited, fond of pleasure but more fond of glory. Though a man of luxurious leisure, nevertheless, pleasure never slowed him down in his undertakings, except that he could have taken a more honorable decision concerning his wife.<sup>286</sup> He was eloquent, clever, and easygoing in his friendships. His mind possessed a depth beyond belief in putting up pretenses; he was generous with many things, especially with money.

<sup>285</sup> I.e., their failure to seek public office.

<sup>286</sup> Likely an allusion to Sulla's divorce of his wife, Metella, and her removal from his house, when she was on her deathbed: a decision taken on the advice of the pontiffs to spare him from ritual pollution (Plut. *Sull.* 35.2).

4 Atque illi, felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam, numquam super industriam fortuna fuit, multique dubitare fortior an felicius esset. Nam postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo pudeat an pigeat magis disserere.

96. Igitur Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Mari cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc milites benigne appellare, multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere, sed ea properantius quam aes mutuum reddere, ipse ab nullo repetere, magis id laborare 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, consulis aut quouisquam boni famam laedere, tantummodo neque consilio neque manu priorem alium pati, plerosque antevenire.

4 Quibus rebus et artibus brevi Mario militibusque carissimus factus.

97. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utilis, simul et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuntios misit quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret, proeli faciendi tempus adesse.

<sup>287</sup> *Felicissimo* alludes to Sulla's adoption of the agnomen "Felix" (the "Lucky" or "Fortunate"). He even named his twins, a son and a daughter, Faustus and Fausta ("Fortunate"), respectively.

<sup>288</sup> In late 82, after his victory in the civil war, Sulla unleashed a reign of terror, murdering his political enemies in the proscriptions, which in Sallust's view belied Sulla's claim to be "Felix."

<sup>289</sup> A clear allusion to Marius' undermining of Metellus' reputation (64.5).

And though he was the most fortunate<sup>287</sup> of all men prior to his victory in the civil war, his fortune was never unearned by effort on his part, and many have been in doubt as to whether his bravery or his good luck was greater. As to what he did afterward, I am uncertain whether it causes more shame or pain to speak of those deeds.<sup>288</sup>

96. And so Sulla, as was stated above, after he came with his cavalry to Africa and to the camp of Marius, although he was previously inexperienced and unacquainted with war, became in a short time the most resourceful in the whole army. Moreover, he addressed the soldiers in a kindly fashion, granted favors to many at their request and to others of his own accord; he was unwilling himself to accept favors and more prompt at repaying them than a debt of money. He himself never asked for repayment, but rather strove to have as many people as possible in *his* debt. He indulged in banter as well as serious remarks with the most lowly; he was with them a great deal at their manual labor, on the march, and on guard duty, and yet he did not try to undermine the reputation of the consul or of any decent man, which is what depraved ambition usually leads men to do.<sup>289</sup> He aimed only at not allowing anyone to outdo him in counsel or in action, and he surpassed the majority. As a result of such conduct and practices, he soon became very dear to Marius and the soldiers.

97. But Jugurtha, after losing Capsa and other fortified places useful to him, as well as a great deal of money, sent messengers to Bocchus, telling him that he should lead his troops into Numidia as soon as possible, that the time for a battle was at hand. But when he learned that Bocchus was hesitating and was doubtfully pondering the advan-

- 2 Quem ubi cunctari accepit et dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere, rursus uti antea proximos eius donis corrupit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi aut integris suis finibus bellum compositum foret. Eo praemio inlectus Bocchus cum magna multitudine Iugurtham adcedit. Ita amborum exercitu coniuncto, Marius iam in hiberna proficiscentem vix decuma parte die relicua 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 difficiliorem fore.
- 4 Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit et ipsi hostes aderant, et priusquam exercitus aut instrui aut sarcinas conligere, 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 incurrunt.
- 5 Qui omnes, trepidi inproviso metu ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant aut capientis alios ab hostibus defensabant; pars equos escendere,<sup>141</sup> obviam ire hostibus; pugna latrocinio magis quam proelio similis fieri; sine signis, sine ordinibus equites peditesque permixti cedere alius, alius<sup>142</sup> obtruncari, multi<sup>143</sup> contra adversos

<sup>141</sup> N<sup>1</sup>, *Arus. GL 7.472.12*: ascendere (scandere, A<sup>1</sup>) *rell.*

<sup>142</sup> *corr. Jordan*: alios alios ω: alii alii *Linker*

<sup>143</sup> multi A<sup>2</sup>: multa A<sup>1</sup>N: multos *rell.*

<sup>290</sup> In the vicinity of Cirta (102.1), ca. 500 miles to the east, after the capture of the fortress on the Muluccha River (92.5–94) on the western edge of Numidia, in late autumn of 106.

tages of war and peace, he once more bribed the king's nearest associates with gifts, and he promised the Moor himself a third part of Numidia, if the Romans were driven from Africa or the war was brought to a close without any loss of his own territory. Enticed by this prize, Bocchus joined Jugurtha with a great throng. So, after the armies of both kings had been united, they attacked Marius while he was now departing for winter quarters,<sup>290</sup> when scarcely a tenth part of the day was left. For they thought that the night, which was at hand, would offer them protection in case of defeat and would be no hindrance, if they were victorious because they had knowledge of the locale; for the Romans, by contrast, either outcome of the battle would be more difficult in the darkness. Therefore, at the very same moment the consul learned of the enemy's arrival from many reports, and the enemy themselves were upon them; and before the army could be drawn up or collect its baggage, in fact before it could receive any signal or command, the Moorish and Gaetolian cavalry rushed upon our forces; they did so not in battle array or after the fashion of a proper battle but in swarms, just as chance had brought them together.

Agitated by the unexpected alarm, and yet mindful of their valor, all our men either seized their weapons or warded off the enemy from their comrades while they were arming themselves. A part leapt on their horses and charged the foe. The combat turned into something more like an action against bandits than a pitched battle. Without regimental standards, without proper battle formation, with cavalry and infantry mingled together, one man gave ground, while another was cut down; many, while fighting fiercely against their adversaries, were sur-



acerrume pugnantes ab tergo circumveniri; neque virtus neque arma satis tegere, quia hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi erant. Denique Romani veteres [novique]<sup>144</sup> et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus aut casus coniunxerat, orbis fecere atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

98. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus aut magis quam antea demisso animo fuit, sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissumis magis quam familiarissimis paraverat, vagari passim ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confertissimi obstiterant, invadere; manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat. Iamque dies consumptus erat, quom 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, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat, quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquae magnus erat, alter usui opportunus, quia magna parte editus et praecipua pauca munimenta quaerebat.<sup>145</sup> 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 de-

<sup>144</sup> *secl. Kritz*

<sup>145</sup> s: gerebant *PA*<sup>2</sup>*BD*<sup>1</sup>; -bat *B*<sup>2</sup>*K*<sup>2</sup>*HF*: regebant *N*<sup>1</sup>*D*<sup>2</sup>: -bat *N*<sup>2</sup>*K*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>291</sup> See 97.3.

rounded from the rear. Neither courage nor weapons offered sufficient protection because the enemy were superior in number and attacked on every side. Finally, the Romans who were veterans and for that reason skilled in warfare, formed circles if the terrain or chance brought any of them together, and thus protected simultaneously on every side and drawn up in an orderly formation they withstood the violence of the enemy.

98. In so adverse a situation Marius was neither frightened nor less confident than before, but with his personal squadron of cavalry, which he had formed of the bravest men rather than of his most intimate friends, he roamed here and there, now helping those of his men who were in difficulty, now charging the enemy where they were putting up the thickest resistance. He looked after the needs of his soldiers by hands-on intervention, since in the general confusion he could not issue commands. And now the day was spent, yet the barbarians did not let up one little bit; and thinking that darkness was in their favor, as the kings had anticipated,<sup>291</sup> they attacked with greater vigor. Then Marius devised a plan to suit the options at his disposal, and with the aim of providing a place of refuge for his men, he took possession of two neighboring hills, one of which was too small for a camp but had a large spring of water, while the other was quite serviceable because, being for the most part high and steep, it required little fortification. But he ordered Sulla to pass the night with the cavalry beside the spring, while he himself gradually drew together and united his scattered soldiers (the enemy being in no less disorder); then he led them all at a quick march onto the hill. Thus the kings were deterred from battle under the pressure of their unfavorable posi-

terrentur, neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed utroque colle multitudo circumdato effusi consedere.

6 Dein, crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari  
more suo laetari, exultare, strepere vocibus; et ipsi duces  
7 feroces, quia non fugerant,<sup>146</sup> pro victoribus agere. Sed ea  
cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia visu  
magnoque hortamento erant.

99. Plurimum vero Marius inperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maximum silentium haberi iubet, ne signa quidem, uti per vigiliis solebant, canere. Deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis iam hostibus ac paulo ante somno captis, de inproviso vigiles,<sup>147</sup> item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnia 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 providere quicquam poterant; ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, formido [terrore]<sup>148</sup> quasi vecordia ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique, arma et signa militaria pleraque capta, pluresque eo proelio quam omnibus superioribus interempti. Nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

<sup>146</sup> A<sup>2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>: fugere aut ω

<sup>147</sup> corr. Cortius: vectigales ω

<sup>148</sup> formidine terrore (terror A<sup>2</sup>) Xδ: terrore formidine (formido s) γ: terrore secl. Dietsch (cf. 72.2 formidine quasi vecordia)

<sup>292</sup> The night was divided into four watches of equal length.

<sup>293</sup> When contrasted with the legions, as here, "cohort" refers to the auxiliary troops.

tion. Nevertheless, they did not allow their men to go far away, but after surrounding both hills with their huge army, they bivouacked in loose order.

Then, after kindling many fires, the barbarians, as is their usual habit, spent the greater part of the night in rejoicing, in exultation and in noisy chatter, while even their leaders, who were filled with confidence because the men had not taken to flight, acted as if they were victorious. Now, all this was clearly visible to the Romans from their higher position in the darkness and encouraged them greatly.

99. Marius, who was particularly heartened by the enemy's lack of experience, ordered the utmost possible silence to be kept and not even the customary signals to be sounded at the end of each watch of the night.<sup>292</sup> Then, when daylight was drawing near and the enemy having at length become exhausted had just yielded to sleep, he ordered the watchmen and likewise the horn blowers of the cohorts,<sup>293</sup> of the cavalry squadrons and of the legions to sound simultaneously, and without warning, all their signals, and the soldiers to raise a shout and burst forth from the gates of their camp. The Moors and Gaetulians, having been suddenly awakened by the strange and terrible sound, could not flee, arm themselves, or do or provide for anything at all; thus had terror, like a frenzy, seized everyone of them as a result of the clash of arms, the shouting, the lack of help, the charge of our men, and the confusion. In a word, they were all routed and put to flight, most of their arms and military standards were taken; and in that one battle more of the enemy fell than in all those that had gone before. For sleep and the unaccustomed fear hampered flight.

100. Dein Marius, uti coeperat, in hiberna <pergit, quod><sup>149</sup> propter conneatum in oppidis maritimis agere decreverat. Neque tamen victoria socors aut insolens factus, sed pariter atque in conspectu hostium quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextimos,<sup>150</sup> in sinistra parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortis Ligurum curabat. Primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugae, minime cari et regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant. Simul consul quasi nullo inposito omnia providere, apud omnis adesse, laudare et increpare merentis. Ipse armatus intentusque item milites cogebat. Neque secus atque iter facere, castra munire, excubium ad portas<sup>151</sup> cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxilios mittere, praeterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigiliis ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futura<sup>152</sup> quae imperavisset, quam uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labor volentibus esset. Et sane Marius illoque aliisque temporibus Iugurthini belli pudore magis quam malo exercitum coercebat. Quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant, <alii><sup>153</sup> quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam, et

<sup>149</sup> *suppl. Dietsch: lacuna ω*

<sup>150</sup> dextimos, P<sup>2</sup>AβK<sup>2</sup>D<sup>2</sup>, Prisc. GL 2.95.5, 98.15: extremos p<sup>1</sup>γ

<sup>151</sup> ad portas *coniec. Reynolds: in portas Lipsius: in porta ω*

<sup>152</sup> *corr. Dietsch: -uri ω: -urum s*

<sup>153</sup> *suppl. Wirz (cf. 82.3 alii +acc. + inf., multi quod . . .)*

<sup>294</sup> I.e., with the baggage in the center, surrounded by the heavy-armed troops; the front, rear, and flanks were protected by cavalry and light-armed soldiers.

100. Then Marius proceeded, as he had started to do, to his winter quarters, because he had decided to spend the winter in the coastal towns for the sake of supplies. His victory, however, did not make him negligent or arrogant, but he advanced in square formation,<sup>294</sup> as though he were under the eyes of the enemy. Sulla, with the cavalry, was the officer in charge of the troops on the right; on the left it was Aulus Manlius, with the slingers and archers, as well as cohorts of Ligurians. In front and in the rear Marius had stationed the tribunes with the light-armed companies. Deserters, expendable and the most knowledgeable of the region, reconnoitered the enemy's line of march. At the same time, the consul looked out for everything, just as if no one else had been assigned the duty; he was present everywhere; he praised and blamed the men according to their deserts. Armed and alert himself, he compelled the soldiers to follow his example. With the same care that he showed in making his march, he fortified his camp; he sent legionary cohorts to bivouac near the gates and sent auxiliary cavalry to perform the like duty before the camp. In addition, he stationed others on the ramparts above the palisade, he personally inspected the sentries not so much out of a lack of confidence that his orders would be executed but to make the soldiers willing to endure labor of which their commander did his full share. Certainly Marius at that time, and at other times during the Jugurthine war, restrained his army more by appealing to their sense of shame than by punishment. Many said that he did this through a desire for popularity; others that he did so because hardship (to which he had been accustomed from childhood) and other things that the rest

alia, quae ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati habuisset,<sup>154</sup> nisi tamen res publica<sup>155</sup> pariter ac saevissimo imperio bene atque decore gesta.

101. Igitur quarto denique die haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt, qua re hostis adesse intellegitur. Sed quia divorsi redeuntes alius ab alia parte atque omnes idem significabant, consul incertum quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine conmutato, advorsum omnia paratus ibidem opperitur. Ita Iugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quattuor partis distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus aequae aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum hostes adtigerant, cohortatus suos turmatim et quam maxime confertis equis ipse alique Mauros invadunt; ceteri in loco manentes ab iaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites proeliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus quos Volux filius eius adduxerat neque in priore pugna in itinere morati adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat,<sup>156</sup> quod ibi Iugurtha cum plurimis erat. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites convortit. Ibi Latine—nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat—exclamat nostros frustra

<sup>154</sup> A<sup>2</sup>BK<sup>2</sup>γ: habuisse αδ, Fro. 100.19

<sup>155</sup> res publica (R. P. or r. p.) δ, Fro. l.c.: rei p. PA<sup>2</sup>βγ: rem p. A<sup>1</sup>

<sup>156</sup> BH: agitabat A<sup>2</sup>: erat *rell.*

<sup>295</sup> The meaning and the text are uncertain; see the critical notes.

<sup>296</sup> I.e., retaining the square formation (cf. 100.1).

of mankind call afflictions Marius regarded as sources of pleasure.<sup>295</sup> Still, the nation was nevertheless served well and properly, no less than it would have been by the harshest exercise of authority.

101. Finally on the fourth day, not far from the town of Cirta, the scouts quickly appeared from all sides at the same time, from which circumstance it was realized that the enemy were at hand. But since different scouts, though returning from various quarters, all made the same report, the consul was uncertain about how to draw up his line of battle; he therefore waited right where he was, without changing his formation,<sup>296</sup> prepared for countering all eventualities. In this way hope cheated Jugurtha, who had distributed his troops into four divisions with the thought that by being launched from all sides some would come upon the enemy from the rear. Meanwhile Sulla, with whom the enemy had first come into contact, encouraged his men, and with the cavalry marshaled by squadrons and in the closest possible array, he personally led an attack on the Moors with a part of his force; the rest of Sulla's troops, while remaining in place, shielded themselves from javelins hurled at long range and cut down any who engaged in close combat. While the cavalry were fighting in this fashion, Bocchus fell upon the rearmost line of Romans with the infantry which had been brought up by his son Volux and had not been present in the previous battle, since they had been delayed on route. Marius at the time was busy at the front line because Jugurtha was there with most of his forces. Then the Numidian, on learning of Bocchus' arrival, secretly shifted position with a few followers to join his ally's infantry. There, he cried out in Latin (for he had learned to speak it at Numantia) that our

pugnare, paulo ante Marium sua manu interfectum. Simul  
 7 *impigre* occiso pedite nostro cruentaverat. Quod ubi mi-  
 lites acceperere, magis atrocitate rei quam fide nuntii ter-  
 8 Romanos acrius incedere. Iamque paulum a fuga aberant  
 quom Sulla, profligatis eis quos advorsum ierat, rediens ab  
 9 latere Mauris incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. At Iugur-  
 tha, dum sustentare suos et prope iam adeptam victoriam  
 retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra sinis-  
 tra<sup>157</sup> omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus  
 10 erumpit. Atque interim Marius fugatis equitibus adcurrit  
 11 auxilio suis, quos pelli iam acceperat. Denique hostes iam  
 undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile in campis paten-  
 tibus: sequi, fugere, occidi, capi; equi atque viri adfficti, ac  
 multi vulneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem  
 pati, niti modo ac statim concidere; postremo omnia,  
 qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus, et inter  
 ea humus infecta sanguine.

102. Post ea loci consul, haud dubie iam victor, perve-  
 nit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat.  
 2 Eo, post diem quintum quam iterum barbari male

<sup>157</sup> sinistraque B<sup>2</sup>K<sup>2</sup>

<sup>297</sup> *Satis impigre* counters any suggestion of heroism.

<sup>298</sup> A rival tradition preserved by Oros. 5.15.15–16 (going back to Livy?) credits a sudden, very violent rainstorm with turning the tide of the battle in the Romans' favor in the fighting near Cirta. It makes no mention of Sulla's timely intervention.

men were fighting in vain, that he had killed Marius with his own hand shortly before. At the same time, he displayed a sword smeared with blood, which he had made gory in the battle by slaying energetically enough<sup>297</sup> one of our foot soldiers. When our men heard this, they were shocked more by the dreadful nature of the assertion than by a belief in the report, while at the same time the barbarians were encouraged and charged more fiercely upon the horrified Romans. And now our men were just on the point of flight, when Sulla, after crushing the enemy whom he had gone to meet, returned and fell upon the flank of the Moors. Bocchus was immediately turned to flight.<sup>298</sup> As for Jugurtha, while he desired to keep his men from breaking rank and to preserve the victory that had almost been achieved, he was surrounded by the cavalry; but though all on his right and left were slain, he broke through alone, dodging amid the hostile missiles. Marius in the meantime, after putting the Numidian cavalry to flight, hastened to the aid of his men, who, he had now heard, were being hard pressed. Finally, the enemy were now routed on all sides. Then there was a terrifying sight in the open plains—men were pursuing, fleeing, being killed, being captured; horses, as well as men, were dashed to the ground. And many after being wounded could neither flee nor endure remaining still; they now struggled to rise and at once collapsed; in short, the whole landscape, wherever the eye could reach, was strewn with missiles, arms, and corpses, and the ground in the midst of this was soaked with blood.

102. After this, the consul, now beyond all question victor, arrived at the town of Cirta, which had been his destination from the start. To that place, on the fifth day

pugnauerant, legati a Boccho veniunt qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, duos quam fidissimos ad eum mitteret: velle de suo<sup>158</sup> et de populi Romani commodo cum eis disserere. Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire iubet.

3 Qui quamquam ad ceteros ibant, tamen placuit verba apud regem facere ut<sup>159</sup> ingenium aut avorsum flecterent aut cupidum pacis vehementius ad cenderent. Itaque Sulla, quoniam facundiae, non aetati a Manlio concessum, pauca verba huiusce modi locutus:

5 "Rex Bocche, magna laetitia nobis est, quom te talem virum di monuere uti aliquando pacem quam bellum malles, neu te optimum cum pessimo omnium Jugurtha miscendo conmaculares, simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem atque illum scelertissimum persequi. Ad hoc populo Romano iam a principio imperi<sup>160</sup> melius visum amicos quam servos quaerere, tutiusque rati volentibus quam coactis imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia, primum quia procul absumus, in quo offensae minimum, gratia par ac si prope adessemus; dein quia parentis abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis neque quocquam omnium satis fuit. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset; profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses quam mala perpressus es.<sup>161</sup> Sed quoniam humana-

<sup>158</sup> se A<sup>2</sup>β      <sup>159</sup> s

<sup>160</sup> coniec. Selling: inopi, VA<sup>2</sup>βK<sup>2</sup>HD<sup>2</sup>, marg. P<sup>2</sup>: tibi. A<sup>1</sup>N: om. εP<sup>1</sup>

<sup>161</sup> corr. Fabri: esses (esse, V) ω

<sup>299</sup> Appian (*Num* fr. 4) makes Manlius the spokesman and reverses the order of the speeches, having Bocchus speak first.

after the barbarians had fought their second unsuccessful engagement, there came from Bocchus envoys who, as per their king's instructions, asked Marius to send him his two most trusty representatives; Bocchus, they said, wished to hold a discussion with them concerning his own interests and those of the Roman people. Marius immediately ordered Lucius Sulla and Aulus Manlius to go. And they, although they were going in response to a summons, decided to make some remarks before the king in order either to alter his disposition, if unfavorable, or to rouse it still further, if eager for peace. And so Sulla, to whom Manlius yielded,<sup>299</sup> not because of his years, but because of his eloquence, spoke briefly in this fashion:

"King Bocchus, we experience great joy since the gods have prompted such a great man as yourself to prefer at last peace to war, and not to sully yourself, the best of men, by association with Jugurtha, the very worst, and at the same time to relieve us of the bitter necessity of punishing equally you, though merely misguided, and that criminal. In addition to this, there is the fact that the Roman people from the beginning of their rule have preferred to seek friends rather than slaves; they have thought it safer to govern the willing than those forced to obey. For you, indeed, no friendship is more advantageous than ours: first, because we are far removed from you, under which circumstance there will be the least friction but just as much goodwill as if we were near at hand; and secondly, because we already have plenty of subjects, while neither we nor anyone else ever had enough friends. If only you had felt thus disposed from the first! Assuredly, by this time you would have received from the Roman people far more favors than the injuries you have suffered. But since the

rum rerum fortuna pleraque regit, quoi scilicet placuit et vim et gratiam nostram te experiri, nunc, quando per illam licet, festina atque uti coepisti perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officiis superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuom demitte, numquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum esse. Nam bello quid valeat tute scis.”

12 Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne, simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit: se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutandum arma cepisse. Nam Numidiae partem unde vi Iugurtham expulerit iure belli suam factam; eam vastari a Mario pati nequuisse. Praeterea, missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum. Dein, copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus quos Iugurtha, cognita legatione Sullae et Manli, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruperat.

103. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernaculis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola obsessum turrim regiam, quo Iugurtha perfugas omnis praesidium inposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus [feliciter],<sup>162</sup> seu reputando quae sibi duobus proeliis ve-

<sup>162</sup> *om. s:* Bocchus feliciter ω

<sup>300</sup> Cf. 80.4–5. <sup>301</sup> During the winter of 106/105, the army was stationed in coastal towns (100.1). <sup>302</sup> According to Appian (*Num. fr.* 5), Marius' winter foray was directed against the Gaetulians. They were dwellers in the southern, desolate region of Jugurtha's kingdom, which fits the description of the locale where Jugurtha is said to have sought refuge when Bocchus began to waver as a trustworthy ally (Dio fr. 89.5).

chief control of human affairs belongs to Fortune, whose pleasure it evidently was for you to experience both our power and our goodwill, make haste, now that she allows it, and proceed as you have begun. You have many opportunities easily to overcome your past mistakes by good services. Finally, take this thought to heart, that the Roman people have never been outdone in kindnesses. For you know at first hand what strength they have in war.”

To these words Bocchus made a conciliatory and courteous reply, at the same time briefly excusing his offense, declaring that he had taken arms not in a spirit of hostility but to protect his kingdom. For the part of Numidia from which he had driven Jugurtha had been made his, he said, by right of war; that he had not been able to allow it to be laid waste by Marius. Furthermore, that when he had previously sent envoys to Rome, he had been denied friendship;<sup>300</sup> but he was putting aside old history, and if Marius would allow him, he would at that time send ambassadors to the senate. (Afterward, when he was given an opportunity to do this, the barbarian's intent was altered by friends whom Jugurtha had bribed upon learning of the embassy of Sulla and Manlius since he feared the understanding that was being reached.)

103. Meanwhile Marius, having settled his army in winter accommodations,<sup>301</sup> went into the desert<sup>302</sup> with light-armed cohorts and a part of the cavalry to besiege a royal stronghold where Jugurtha had posted all the deserters as a garrison. At that time Bocchus once more, whether as a result of pondering that which had happened to him in two battles or because he had been warned by other

nerant seu admonitus ab aliis amicis quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque<sup>163</sup> delegit, quorum et fides cognita et ingenia validissima erant. Eos ad Marium ac deinde, si placeat, Romam legatos ire iubet; agundarum rerum et quocumque modo belli conponundi licentiam ipsis<sup>164</sup> permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur; deinde in itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, sine decore ad Sullam perfugiunt, quem consul in expeditionem proficiscens pro praetore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, uti meriti erant, sed adcurate ac liberaliter habuit. Qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiae falsam et Sullam ob munificentiam in sese amicum rati. Nam etiam tum largitio multis ignota erat; munificus nemo putabatur nisi pariter volens, dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt ut fautor consulatorque sibi adsit; copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui et alia quae aut utilia aut benevolentiae<sup>165</sup> esse credebant oratione extollunt. Dein Sulla omnia pollicito, docti quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies quadraginta ibidem opperiantur.

<sup>163</sup> quinque . . . consultum et ratam (112.3) *om. codices mutili*

<sup>164</sup> *b<sup>2</sup>FRHQ: illis sCnD: del. Gruter*

<sup>165</sup> *QD<sup>1</sup>: benevolentia FRHD<sup>2</sup>: benevolentiam Csn*

<sup>303</sup> Because Bocchus had vacillated and shown himself to be uncommitted to reaching a peaceful settlement (102.15).

<sup>304</sup> Not men in general, but relatively unsophisticated men like the Mauri.

<sup>305</sup> Sulla (qu. 107) was, in fact, proquaestor in 106 and 105.

friends whom Jugurtha had left unbribed, chose out of the entire body of those closest to him five who were known to be faithful and possessed preeminent ability. These he ordered to go as envoys to Marius and then, if Marius agreed, to Rome; he gave them complete freedom of action and permission to end the war in any way at all. These envoys quickly left for the Romans' winter quarters; then, on route they were set upon and robbed by Gaetolian bandits and fled in terror and disarray to Sulla, whom the consul had left as commander in his place when setting out on his expedition. Sulla did not treat them as enemies of no account, just as they deserved,<sup>303</sup> but with respect and generosity. As a result, the barbarians regarded the Romans' reputation for avarice as undeserved and regarded Sulla as their friend because of his liberality toward them. For even at that comparatively late date many men<sup>304</sup> had no experience of calculated openhandedness; no one who was generous was suspected of insincerity; all gifts were regarded as indications of kind feeling. Therefore they made known to the quaestor<sup>305</sup> Bocchus' instructions; at the same time, they begged him to help them as a supporter and advisor. In a speech, they extolled the military forces, integrity and greatness of their sovereign and other aspects which they thought were useful for making their case or likely to produce goodwill. Then, after Sulla had promised to do all that they asked and had instructed them how to address Marius and the senate, they lingered there for about forty days.<sup>306</sup>

<sup>306</sup> Apparently waiting for Marius to return in the early months of 105.



104. Marius postquam confecto<sup>166</sup> quo<sup>167</sup> intenderat negotio Cirtam redit et de adventu legatorum certior factus est, illosque et Sullam ab Tucca<sup>168</sup> venire iubet, item L. Bellienum praetorem Utica,<sup>169</sup> praeterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis; quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. Legatis<sup>170</sup> potestas Romam eundi fit, et ab consule interea indutiae postulabantur. Ea Sullae et plerisque placere; pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quae fluxae et mobiles semper in advorsa mutantur.

3 Ceterum Mauri, inpetratis omnibus rebus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rusone, qui quaestor stipendium in Africam portaverat, duo ad regem redeunt. Ex eis Bocchus quom cetera, tum maxime benignitatem et  
4 studium Sullae lubens accepit. Romaeque legatis eius, postquam errasse regem et Iugurthae scelere lapsum deprecari sunt, amicitiam et foedus petentibus hoc modo respondetur:

5 "Senatus et populus Romanus benefici et iniuriae memor esse solet. Ceterum Boccho, quoniam paenitet, de-

<sup>166</sup> infecto *HD*<sup>1</sup>: confecto *rell.*      <sup>167</sup> negotio quo (quod *DQ*) *H*

<sup>168</sup> ab tucca *F*: ab tuca *sn*: ab Utica *CRHD*<sup>2</sup>: ad uticam *D*<sup>1</sup>: ad se uticam *Q*      <sup>169</sup> utica *FRH*: utica tum *C*: tum n: uticam *s*: *om.* *QD*

<sup>170</sup> legatis *F*: quibus mandatis legatis *Q*: in quibus (quis, *sCn*) legatis *RHD*

<sup>307</sup> One branch of the manuscript tradition reports the outcome as a failure (*infecto*), rather than a success (*confecto*).

<sup>308</sup> Text uncertain. Tucca was a coastal town on the Ampsaga

104. After Marius, upon completing the task at which he had aimed,<sup>307</sup> returned to Cirta and was informed of the arrival of the envoys, he ordered them and Sulla to come from the vicinity of Tucca,<sup>308</sup> likewise Lucius Bellienus the praetor<sup>309</sup> from Utica, as well as every member of the senatorial order from all parts of the province. In consultation with these men, he took under advisement Bocchus' proposals. Authorization was given to the envoys to go to Rome; in the meantime, a truce was requested from the consul. This won the approval of the majority, including Sulla; a few adopted a harsher stance, doubtless out of their lack of experience with human affairs, which are shifting and unstable, always changing to the opposite.

As for the Moors, after they had obtained everything that they requested, three of them departed for Rome with Gnaeus Octavius Ruso, the quaestor who had conveyed the soldiers' pay to Africa; two returned to the king. From them Bocchus received with pleasure both the general report and especially the report of Sulla's kindly interest. And at Rome his envoys, after pleading in excuse that their king had made a mistake and been led astray by the wickedness of Jugurtha, asked for a treaty of friendship and received a reply after this fashion:

"The senate and Roman people are customarily mindful of a good service and of an injury. Still, since Bocchus

River, north of Cirta (Plin. *NH* 5.21), a site suitable for one of the winter encampments described in 100.1.

<sup>309</sup> Ballienus will have governed the Roman province of Africa, while Marius had charge of Numidia and the war against Jugurtha, with "supreme command" (*maius imperium*).

licti gratiam facit; foedus et amicitia dabuntur, quom meruerit."

105. Quis rebus cognitis, Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit<sup>171</sup> uti Sullam ad se mitteret, quocius arbitrato communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum praesidio equitum atque [peditum]<sup>172</sup> funditorum Balearum; praeterea iere sagittarii et cohors Paeligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa, neque his secus atque aliis armis advorsum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti.

3 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 aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero et hostilem  
4 metum efficiebant. Igitur se quisque expedire, arma atque tela temptare, intendere; timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus et advorsum eos quos saepe vice-  
5 rant. Interim equites exploratum praemissi rem, uti erat, quietam nuntiant.

106. Volux adveniens quaestorem appellat dicitque se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul et praesidio missum. Deinde eum et proximum diem sine metu coniuncti eunt.  
2 Post, ubi castra locata et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus incerto voltu pavens ad Sullam adcurrit dicitque sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum Iugurtham haud procul abesse;

<sup>171</sup> petiverat *HDQ*

<sup>172</sup> *secl. Cortius*

<sup>310</sup> Allies who came from central Italy, to the southeast of the Sabine district.

feels regret, they pardon his offense; he shall be given a treaty of friendship when he has earned it."

105. Upon receiving news of this, Bocchus requested Marius by letter to send Sulla to him with authorization to make provision for their common interests. Sulla was accordingly sent with a guard of horsemen and Balearic slingers; there also went archers and a cohort of Paelignians<sup>310</sup> with light armament so as to quicken their journey and since they were just as well protected by such armament as by any other against the enemy's missiles because those missiles are light.

Now finally, on the fifth day in the course of their march Volux, the son of Bocchus, suddenly appeared in the open plains with not more than a thousand horsemen, whose disorderly and widely scattered advance produced in Sulla and all the others the impression of a greater number than it was in reality and inspired the fear of an attack. Therefore, each man prepared himself, tried his arms and weapons, and was on the alert; there was some anxiety, but greater confidence, as was natural to victors facing those whom they had often vanquished. Meanwhile, the horsemen who had been sent forward to reconnoiter reported a calm state of affairs, as in fact was the case.

106. Upon arriving, Volux addressed the quaestor, saying that he had been sent by his father Bocchus to meet them and serve as protection at the same time. Then they journeyed in union that day and the next without any alarm. Afterward, when the camp was pitched and it was evening, the Moor suddenly with a troubled expression ran in terror to Sulla and said that he had learned from his scouts that Jugurtha was not far off; at the same time, he

3 simul uti noctu clam secum profugeret rogat atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci negat se totiens fustum Numidam pertimescere: virtuti suorum satis credere; etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius quam, proditis quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paulo morbo  
4 interiturae vitae parceret. Ceterum ab eodem monitus uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium adprobat ac statim milites cenatos esse in castris, ignisque quam creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi iubet.

5 Iamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, quom equites Mauri nuntiant Iugurtham circiter duum milium intervallo ante eos  
6 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. At Sulla, quamquam eadem existumabat, tamen ab iniuria Maurum prohibet. Suos hortatur uti fortem animum gererent: saepe antea <a><sup>173</sup> paucis strenuis adversum multitudinem bene pugnatum; quanto sibi in proelio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore, nec quemquam decere qui manus armaverit ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maximo metu nudum et caecum corpus ad hos-

<sup>173</sup> *ed. Ven. 1470:* ante a s: antea sCnFQR: ante HD

<sup>311</sup> I.e., before the first three hours of dark had elapsed.

requested and urged Sulla to make his escape with him secretly during the night. But Sulla with a defiant attitude declared that he did not fear the Numidian who had been so often routed; that he had absolute trust in the valor of his men; that even if inevitable destruction was at hand, he would rather stand his ground than through the betrayal of the men under his command, and by cowardly flight, preserve a life that was not guaranteed and perhaps would end shortly from natural causes. Still, when Volux recommended that they take their departure during the night, he approved the plan, and he ordered the soldiers immediately to be done with their meals in camp and to kindle as many fires as possible; then, at the first watch,<sup>311</sup> to march forth in silence.

And when all were now wearied from the night march, and Sulla was beginning to measure off his camp at sunrise, just then the Moorish horsemen reported that Jugurtha had taken up a position about two miles in front of them. Upon hearing this, the Romans were then indeed seized with tremendous fear; they believed that they had been betrayed by Volux and involved in an ambush. Some said that they ought to lay hands on him to exact vengeance and that the fellow ought not to be allowed to get away with such a great crime.

107. But, although Sulla shared this opinion, nevertheless he shielded the Moor from harm. He urged his men to keep up their courage, saying that previously success in battle had often been achieved against a multitude by a handful of valiant men; that the less they spared themselves in battle, the safer they would be; that it was disgraceful for any man who had weapons in his hands to seek help from his unarmed feet and amid great fear to turn toward the enemy the defenseless and blind part of his

2 tis vortere. Dein Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Iovem maxumum obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae  
 3 Bocchi testis adesset, ex castris abire iubet. Ille lacrumas orare ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, ac magis calliditate Iugurthae, quoi videlicet speculanti iter suum cognitum  
 4 esset. Ceterum quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet et spes opesque eius ex patre suo penderent, credere illum nihil palam ausurum, quom ipse filius testis  
 5 adesset. Qua re optimum factu videri per media eius castra palam transire; sese, vel praemissis vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sulla iturum.

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

108. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam Aspar nomine multum et familiariter agebat, praemissus ab Iugurtha, postquam Sullam adcitum 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 carus acceptusque. Quem Bocchus fidum esse Romanis multis ante tempestatibus expertus,

<sup>312</sup> Closely echoing an observation of Xenophon (*Cyr.* 3.3.45): "It is folly for men, if they want to prevail, to take to flight and set against the enemy that part of their body which is blind and without weapons and without hands."

<sup>313</sup> I.e., Volux's father, Bocchus.

<sup>314</sup> His role is also mentioned by Appian (*Num.* fr. 5).

body.<sup>312</sup> Then calling upon Jupiter the Greatest to be present as a witness of Bocchus' treacherous crime, he ordered Volux to depart from the camp on the ground that he was acting the part of an enemy. With tears Volux begged Sulla not to believe that charge, saying that nothing had been done out of treachery on his part but rather as a result of the cunning of Jugurtha, who had evidently learned of their route by spying on them. But he stated that since Jugurtha had no immense body of men and all his hopes and resources depended upon his own father,<sup>313</sup> he did not believe that the man would dare an overt act when he himself, the king's son, was present as a witness. Therefore, it seemed to him that the best course of action was to march openly through the midst of Jugurtha's encampment; he said that he would go all by himself with Sulla, whether his Moors were sent ahead or left in place.

That proposal was adopted in view of the desperate emergency; and by setting out at once—because they came on the scene unexpectedly—they passed through the enemy lines unscathed, while Jugurtha wavered and hesitated. Then, within a few days they reached their destination.

108. There a Numidian by the name of Aspar<sup>314</sup> had frequent cordial dealings with Bocchus. (After Jugurtha heard of the summoning of Sulla, he dispatched Aspar as his spokesman and to spy treacherously upon Bocchus' plans.) In addition, Dabar, a son of Massugrada, of the line of Masinissa, a man of inferior birth in the maternal branch—for his father was the son of a concubine—was dear to the Moor and on good terms with him because of his many good attributes. Having found Dabar to be faithful to the Romans on many previous occasions, Bocchus at once sent

ilico ad Sullam nuntiatum mittit paratum sese facere quae populus Romanus vellet: conloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse deligeret, neu Jugurthae legatum pertimesceret,<sup>174</sup> consulto sese omnia cum illo integra habere, quo res communis licentius gereretur; nam ab insidiis eius aliter caveri nequiverat.

3 Sed ego conperior Bocchum magis Punica fide quam ob ea quae praedicabat simul Romanum et Numidam spe pacis adtinuisse multumque cum animo suo volvere solum, Jugurtham Romanis illi Sullam traderet; lubidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

109. Igitur Sulla respondit pauca se coram Aspare locutum, cetera occulte aut nullo aut quam paucissimum praesentibus; simul edocet quae sibi responderentur.

2 Postquam sicuti voluerat congressi, dicit se missum a consule venisse quaesitum ab eo pacem an bellum agitur foret. Tum rex, uti praeceptum fuerat, post diem decimum redire iubet: ac nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum. Deinde ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte adcersitur; ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur, praeterea Dabar internuntius, sanctus vir et ex sententia ambobus. Ac statim rex sic incipit.

110. "Numquam ego ratus sum fore uti rex maximus

<sup>174</sup> neu . . . pertimesceret *post* interga habere *o: transp. Hitzig*

<sup>315</sup> Aspar. <sup>316</sup> I.e., of Sulla and Bocchus.

<sup>317</sup> From the time of the Second Punic War, the Carthaginians (Poeni) were regarded by the Romans as the epitome of faithlessness (cf. Polyb. 3.78.1; Liv. 21.4.9). <sup>318</sup> Of Bocchus and Sulla, in the presence of Jugurtha's representative Aspar.

him to Sulla to report that he was ready to do what the Roman people wished; further to ask Sulla to select a date, place and time for a conference and not to fear Jugurtha's envoy,<sup>315</sup> declaring that he was purposely maintaining intact all ties with Jugurtha so that their common interests<sup>316</sup> might be pursued with greater freedom; for otherwise it was impossible to guard against his plots.

(But I find that it was more with Punic faith<sup>317</sup> than for the reasons he made public that Bocchus kept both the Roman and the Numidian on tenterhooks with the hope of peace, and that he was in the habit of pondering deeply whether to betray Jugurtha to the Romans or Sulla to Jugurtha; that his inclination influenced him against us, his dread in our favor.)

109. Accordingly, Sulla replied that he would utter a few remarks in the presence of Aspar, the rest in secret either with no one else present or as few as possible; at the same time he gave instructions about what reply was to be given to him. When the meeting<sup>318</sup> was convened just as Sulla wanted, Sulla said that he had come on a mission from the consul to inquire of Bocchus whether he was going to engage in peace or war. Then the king, as he had been instructed to do, directed Sulla to return ten days later, and he stated that he had still not yet made a decision, but would give his answer on that day. Then both men withdrew to their own camps. But when the night was far advanced, Sulla was summoned secretly by Bocchus; both men brought to the meeting only trustworthy interpreters, besides Dabar as a go-between, an upright man to the liking of both of them. Then the king immediately began as follows:

110. "I never imagined that I, the greatest monarch in

2 in hac terra et omnium, quos novi, privato homini gratiam  
 3 deberem. Et mehercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum multis  
 4 orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigus! Id  
 5 inminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor; fuerit  
 6 mihi eguisse aliquando pretium tuae amicitiae, qua apud  
 7 animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeo experiri licet:  
 8 arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo lubet,  
 9 sume, utere et, quoad vives, numquam tibi redditam gra-  
 10 tiam putaveris; semper apud me integra erit. Denique  
 11 nihil me sciente frustra vales. Nam, ut ego aestumo, re-  
 12 gem armis quam munificentia vinci minus flagitiosum est.  
 13 “Ceterum de re publica vostra, quovis curator huc mis-  
 14 sus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque  
 15 feci neque factum umquam volui; at finis meos adversum  
 16 armatos armis tutatus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ita  
 17 placet; gerite quod vultis cum Iugurtha bellum. Ego flu-  
 18 men 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.”

111. Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice, de pace et  
 2 de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi pa-  
 3 tefecit, quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum,  
 4 quoniam armis amplius valuissent, non in gratiam habitu-

this land and of all kings whom I know, would owe grati-  
 2 tude to a man of private station. And by Hercules, before  
 3 I became acquainted with you, Sulla, I personally gave aid  
 4 to many in answer to their petitions, to others of my own  
 5 accord, needing nobody's help myself. This curtailment  
 6 of self-sufficiency, which others customarily regret, gives  
 7 me joy; let the need which I have experienced at last be  
 8 the price of your friendship, which in my heart I hold  
 9 dearer than all else. This indeed you may put to the test:  
 10 take arms, men, money, in short, whatever you please; use  
 11 them, and as long as you live, never think that my debt of  
 12 gratitude to you has been repaid; it will always remain  
 13 undiminished in my mind. In short, you will wish for noth-  
 14 ing in vain, provided I know your desires. For in my esti-  
 15 mation, it is less disgraceful for a king to be outdone by  
 16 arms than in generosity.

“Still, listen to a few words concerning your country,  
 2 whose interests you have been sent here to look after. I did  
 3 not make war on the Roman people, and I never wanted  
 4 it to be made; but I defended my territory with arms  
 5 against armed attackers. This I now cease to do, since it is  
 6 your wish; wage with Jugurtha the war you desire. I shall  
 7 not go beyond the river Muluccha, which was the bound-  
 8 ary between Micipsa and myself, and I shall not allow  
 9 Jugurtha to cross that boundary. Furthermore, if you re-  
 10 quire anything that is honorable for you and me, you shall  
 11 not go away with a refusal.”

111. In response to these words Sulla spoke briefly and  
 2 modestly on his own behalf, at length about peace and  
 3 their common interests. Finally, he made it clear to the  
 4 king that the senate and Roman people would not consider  
 5 that which he was promising worthy of gratitude, inas-

ros; faciendum ei<sup>175</sup> 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, Numidiaem partem quam nunc peteret, tum ultro adventuram.

2 Rex primo negitare: cognitionem, adfinitatem, praeterea foedus intervenisse; ad hoc metuere ne fluxa fide usus popularium animos avorteret, quis et Iugurtha carus  
3 et Romani inveni erant. Denique saepius fatigatus lenitur  
4 et ex voluntate Sullae omnia se facturum promittit. Ceterum ad simulandam pacem, quoniam Numidia defessus bello avidissimus erat, quae utilia visa constituunt. Ita composito dolo digrediuntur.

112. 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 profiscitur; deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus, 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 Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse. Ceterum Bocchus si amobus consultum et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam ut una ab omnibus quasi de pace in colloquium veniretur,

<sup>175</sup> *Wirz*: et s<sup>1</sup>CnFRHD: esse s<sup>2</sup>Q

<sup>319</sup> The nature of the kinship is not known. For the marriage alliance, cf. 80.6.

<sup>320</sup> Cf. 97.2–3.

much as they had shown themselves his superior in arms; that he must do something that would be viewed as having been more to their advantage than his own; such an act was indeed quite ready to hand inasmuch as he had access to Jugurtha; that if he delivered him into the hands of the Romans, they would be greatly indebted to him; that friendship, alliance, and the part of Numidia which he now was seeking would then come his way of its own accord.

At first the king kept refusing, saying that ties of kinship and marriage,<sup>319</sup> as well as a treaty,<sup>320</sup> stood in the way; moreover, that he feared that if he broke faith, he would alienate the sympathy of his subjects to whom Jugurtha was dear and the Romans hateful. At last, after being pressed repeatedly, he softened and promised to do all according to Sulla's wishes. But they made arrangements which seemed suitable for making a pretense of peace for which the war-weary Numidian was most eager. Having thus put in place their deceit, they parted company.

112. But, on the following day the king addressed Aspar, Jugurtha's envoy, and said that he had learned from Sulla, through Dabar, that the war could be brought to an end on certain conditions; therefore, he should ascertain the view of his king. Aspar joyfully departed to the camp of Jugurtha; then fully briefed by the latter, he returned in haste to Bocchus eight days later and reported to him that Jugurtha was eager to do everything that was demanded of him but did not have very much faith in Marius; that often in the past peace agreements with Roman commanders had been in vain. But he requested Bocchus, if he wanted due consultation to be given to their mutual interests and a lasting peace to be firmly established,

ibique sibi Sullam traderet. Quom 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. Haec Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit, ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus parum conperimus. Sed plerumque regiae voluntates ut vehementes sic mobiles, saepe ipsae sibi advorsae. Postea tempore et loco constituto in conloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Iugurthae legatum appellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter laeti ac spei bonae pleni esse.

3 Sed nocte ea, quae proxima fuit ante diem conloquio decretum, Maurus, adhibitis amicis ac statim inmutata voluntate remotis ceteris, dicitur secum ipse multum agitavisse, vultu [corporis] <et oculis><sup>176</sup> pariter atque animo varius; quae scilicet [ita]<sup>177</sup> tacente ipso occulta pectoris

4 patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam adcersi iubet et ex illius sententia Numidae insidias tendit.

5 Deinde ubi dies advenit et ei nuntiatum est Iugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et quaestore nostro quasi obviis honoris causa procedit in tumultum facillimum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque

<sup>176</sup> vultu corporis (vultu colore motu corporis *Fs*) *XδHD*: vultu et oculis *Serv. Aen.* 7.251

<sup>177</sup> *om. s*

<sup>321</sup> See 103.7n.

to arrange for a conference to be attended jointly by all parties, ostensibly concerning peace, and there to deliver Sulla to him. That when he had so important a man under his control, then a treaty would be made by order of the senate or of the people; for a man of rank who was in the power of the enemy not as a result of his own cowardice, but in the service of the country, would not be abandoned.

113. Pondering to himself this proposal for a long time, the Moor at last gave his promise, but whether his hesitation was the result of trickery or genuine hesitation, I have not ascertained. But as a rule, the desires of kings are as changeable as they are ardent, and often contradictory. Afterward, when place and time had been agreed upon for the parties to attend a peace conference, Bocchus addressed now Sulla, now Jugurtha's envoy, treated them kindly, and made the same promises to them both. They, in turn, were equally joyful and full of good hope.

That night, however, which was the one preceding the day appointed for the conference, the Moor summoned his friends and, immediately upon changing his mind, dismissed them; then he is said to have pondered to himself for quite a while, undergoing a change of expression on his face and in his eyes to match his mental state, outward signs that evidently revealed the secrets of his heart, though he was silent. Nevertheless, at last he ordered Sulla to be summoned, and in keeping with the latter's instructions he set a trap for the Numidian.

Then, when the day arrived and he was informed that Jugurtha was not far off, Bocchus (as if going to meet him out of respect) proceeded with a few friends and our quaestor<sup>321</sup> to a mound in plain sight of those who were lying in ambush. The Numidian drew near to the same



necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat, adcedit ac statim signo dato undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obtruncati, Iugurtha Sullae victus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

114. Per idem tempus advorsum Gallos ab ducibus nostris, Q. Caepione et Cn. Mallio, male pugnatum. Quo metu Italia omnis contremuit. Illique et inde usque ad nostram memoriam Romani sic habuere, alia omnia virtuti suae prona esse, cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certari. Sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum et Iugurtham Romam victum adduci nuntiatum est, Marius consul absens factus est et ei decreta provincia Gallia, isque Kalendis Ianuariis magna gloria consul triumphavit.

4 Et ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae.

<sup>322</sup> At the Battle of Arausio in southern Transalpine Gaul, east of the Rhone River, on October 6, 105. The enemy were not, in fact, Gauls, but the Cimbri, a Germanic tribe, who had invaded Gaul (cf. 55.2n.). Roman casualties are said to have numbered eighty thousand (Liv. *Per.* 67), the most costly Roman defeat since Cannae at the hands of Hannibal in 216. Mallius was consul, and Caepio (cos. 106) proconsul.

<sup>323</sup> Of 104.

<sup>324</sup> Jugurtha was led with his two sons before Marius' chariot in the triumphal procession (Liv. *Per.* 67). Afterward, he was put to death in the Tullianum (cf. *Cat.* 55.3n.) by either starvation (Plut. *Mar.* 12.3–4) or strangulation (Eutr. 4.27.6; Oros. 5.15.19: the Livian tradition?). Bocchus received the western portion of Numidia (from presumably the Ampsaga River in the east to the Muluccha in the west), while Jugurtha's half brother Gauda (cf. 65) was installed as Rome's client king in the remaining, eastern, portion (CIL 2.3417 = ILS 840).

place with most of his close followers, unarmed, as had been agreed, and immediately upon a given signal a rush was made simultaneously on all sides from the ambush. His companions were cut to pieces; Jugurtha was delivered to Sulla in bonds and taken by him to Marius.

114. During that this same time, our generals Quintus Caepio and Gnaeus Mallius fought an unsuccessful engagement against the Gauls.<sup>322</sup> And as a result, all Italy trembled in dread. The Romans both of that time and even down to our own day have held the view that all else presented no obstacle to their valor, but that with the Gauls the struggle was over survival, not glory. But after it was announced that the war in Numidia had been concluded and that Jugurtha was being brought in bonds to Rome, Marius was elected consul in his absence, and Gaul was assigned him as his province. And on the first of January,<sup>323</sup> as consul, he celebrated a triumph with great glory. And at that time the hopes and welfare of the community were placed in him.<sup>324</sup>

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*C.* denotes references to the *Bellum Catilinae*; *J.* to the *Bellum Jugurthinum*. References that do not include *C.* or *J.* are to page numbers (e.g., xiv, 165). Proper names are given in their Latin form, and names of persons are arranged alphabetically by *nomina gentilia*, with cross-references provided for common *cognomina*. Following each person's name is the relevant *RE* number (Pauly-Wissowa) and an indication of political office(s) held and role(s) relevant to the two monographs. All dates are BC unless otherwise stated. Parentheses enclose persons, places, and topics not explicitly found in the text but merely alluded to obliquely or covered in the notes or introductions. Place-names marked with an asterisk (\*) are included on the maps.

The following abbreviations are employed: br. = brother, cens. = censor, cos. = consul, cos. suff. = suffect consul, desig. = designate, mod. = modern place-name, nr. = near, pr. = praetor, pr. urb. = urban praetor, procos. = proconsul, qu. = quaestor, s.v. = entry included elsewhere in this index, tr. pl. = tribune of the plebs.

Aborigines (name given to pre-Roman, native population of Latium\* with whom Trojan immigrants under Aeneas, s.v., traditionally intermingled): *C.* 6.1

(Actium [promontory on Adriatic coast of Greece]: xvi-xvii)

Adherhal (*RE* 4; elder son of

Micipsa, s.v., king of Numidia\*; put to death by his cousin/adoptive br. Jugurtha in 112): 165 (family tree); *J.* 5.7; 9.4; 10.8; 11.3; 13.1 (x2), 3, 9; 15.1, 2, 3; 16.2, 5; 20.1, 4; 21.1, 2, 3; 22.4, 5; 23.2; 24.1; 25.1, 10; 26.1, 3; 35.1; 48.3

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- (Aefulanus ager [district nr. town of Aefula, south of Tibur in Latium\*]: C. 43.1n)
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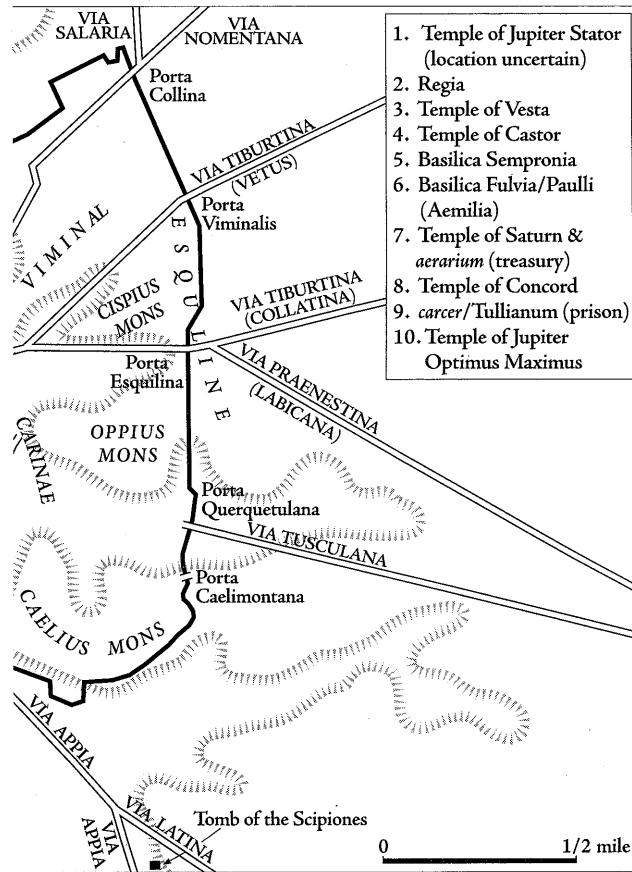
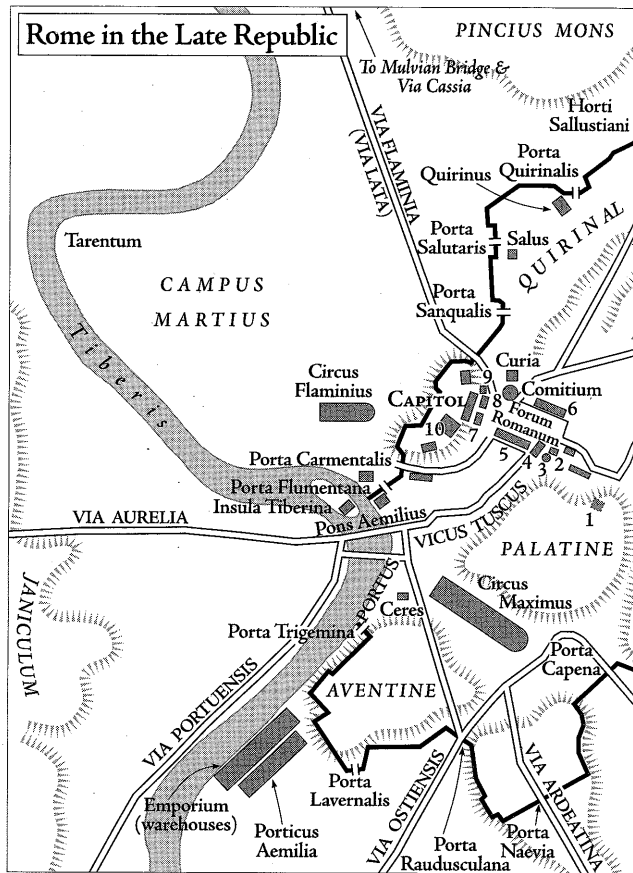
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0 1/2 mile



