

g/n

ABS. I. 75. 273

James Paterson

m

C. CRISPI SALLUSTII

BELLUM

Done
1824

CATILINARIUM et JUGURTHINUM,

Ex optima atque accuratissima GOTTLIEB
CORTII editione expressum.

O R,

SALLUST's History of CATILINE's Con-
spiracy and the War with JUGURTHA,

According to the excellent and accurate edi-
tion of GOTTLIEB CORTIUS.

With an English Translation as literal as possible,
and large explanatory Notes.

Crispus Romana primus in historia. MARTIAL. lib. 14.

By JOHN MAIR, A. M.

The THIRD EDITION.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by DAVID WILLISON,

For A. KINCAID & J. BELL,

MDCCLXX.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BELIUM

CATALOGUE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The volume contains accounts of the
Cottis edition of the

1875

History of the University of Chicago
from its foundation to the present

According to the plan and scheme of
the University of Chicago

With an appendix of the names of the
and their names

The University of Chicago

By John M. A. M.

The Third Edition

EDINBURGH:
Printed by David Wilson,
10, St. Andrew's Place.

1875

P R E F A C E.

TO insist upon the character of SALLUST, as a great genius and a fine historian, is none of my design; his works speak sufficiently for themselves, and have long since procured him such reputation amongst the learned, as sets him far above the need of any encomiums of this kind. All I now propose is, to give some short account of the following translation; and for this purpose it will be necessary to observe, that translations are of two kinds, the one *free*, the other *literal* or *verbal*.

In free translations, the thing chiefly considered, is the sense or thought of the author; which the translator endeavours to express in a just, clear, and elegant manner, without much regard to the precise meaning of every individual word in the original. It is the business of such a translator, accurately to convey his author's ideas, to keep up his spirit and fine turns; to instruct, affect, and charm his reader, in the same manner as his author would do one who thoroughly understands the language he writes in: but he is far from being obliged to have words in his version that shall answer and explain every single word in the original. And such translations of the *classics* may be of excellent use to those who do not understand Latin, and yet want to acquaint themselves with the history given us by the Roman authors. They may too, I grant, be a considerable help to such as are applying themselves to the study of Latin, provided the student be not a mere novice in the language; for in that case a free translation is absolutely unfit, and can be of no manner of service. A learner, in order to receive any benefit from such a translation, must at least have beforehand a pretty general acquaintance with Latin words,

and the nature of the language ; and, even after he is thus prepared, he will find abundance of difficulty still behind : for the liberty taken of departing from the letter of the Latin, in order to make the English smooth and elegant, frequently renders the version either so general or figurative, as leaves the learner much in the dark, nay, often altogether at a loss, as to the proper import of the Latin expression : and a little experience will convince any one, that a translation of this kind cannot be near so helpful to a learner as a literal one will.

For in a literal translation, the Latin is rendered word for word into the English, or the sense and meaning of every word in the original is expressed in the translation ; and it must be much easier for a boy, or any body else, to come at the meaning of a Latin author by such a help as this, than by one of the former kind. We have several free translations of Sallust, but none that I know of has ever attempted a literal one. Whether this be owing to an apprehension, that a literal version is a dress too mean and sordid for such a great historian, or to the difficulty of the task, for difficult it is, as any one, by trying to translate but two or three chapters in this manner, will soon be convinced ; or whether it has been thought, that Sallust was not to be read by boys till they had gone through a good many other authors, and acquired a considerable skill in the language, and that then a free translation would serve their purpose : which of all these, or whether any of them, be the true reason why we have not hitherto had a literal translation of this author, I shall not pretend to determine. But as he is an author commonly taught in schools, I cannot but think it a piece of good service done the public, to accommodate him, as much as possible, to the capacity of youth : and it is with this view I have made out the following translation ; which is not, I acknowledge, precisely

precisely or strictly literal in every sentence : and indeed it was impossible it could be so ; for the Latin idiom differs so widely from the English, and particularly in Sallust, whose Latin is truly pure and classical, that a great many sentences cannot be translated literally, and at the same time such a measure of justness and propriety in the style preserved, as the English may bear a reading, and not appear absolutely stiff and barbarous. I may however affirm, that it is more literal, and consequently better adapted to the use of learners, than any translation of Sallust yet published : and in this I am supported by the testimony of several gentlemen of skill and judgment, who took the trouble to examine it carefully, and to whom I am obliged for several amendments. Sometimes, to render the sense more clear, or the English more smooth, I found it convenient to insert words in the translation that have none to answer them in the Latin ; and these are in a different character.

Besides what I have already observed, there is another consideration that makes a new translation of Sallust necessary ; and that is, all the translations hitherto published, are done from very faulty and incorrect editions of the Latin : Sallust has suffered prodigiously, and has been strangely abused, through the ignorance and carelessness of commentators and transcribers. The blunders and corruptions that have crept into the text are very numerous, and several of them very gross, and different too in different copies ; insomuch that, if you compare two copies of different editions, you will find very few chapters exactly agree. These corruptions in the original must of course occasion blemishes and imperfections in the translations formed from them ; and as several of the false readings in the Latin are such as scarcely admit of any consistent meaning, one may observe them flurred over in the translations in such a superficial manner, as plainly discovers the translators had been

puzzled what to make of them. And if two translations be compared together, they will be found to differ in many places as to the very sense; which no doubt is owing chiefly to the different readings in the Latin copies from which the translators made their versions. But as the learned, judicious, and accurate Gottlieb Cortius, by comparing a great many of the oldest manuscripts with one another, has lately, with immense labour and pains, furnished the world with a correct edition of the Latin, the following translation is done from it; which, as it is a great, so it is a peculiar advantage.

And as Cortius has not only restored the writings of Sallust in a great measure to their original purity, by clearing them of many spurious interpolations; and other corruptions, with which for several ages they had been sullied and deformed, but has also illustrated and adorned them by a great many judicious comments and explications; I have thought proper to cull out the most material and useful of them, and have added a few more collected from other writers, which will, in my opinion, contribute greatly to a right understanding of Sallust. And here the reader is desired to notice, that all the Latin notes, except a very few that have their authors quoted, are taken from Cortius; the English notes are partly gathered from him, and partly made out from other authors. The reader will perhaps wish that all the notes had been in English; and this at first indeed was my design: but I found that some few of them would not appear in an English dress with the same advantage they do in Latin; the rest, which make by far the greatest number, are adduced purely to show, that I have translated Sallust in the same sense in which the learned Cortius understood him. In both these cases therefore I dropt my first intention; and as all the Latin notes come under one or other of these heads,

heads, I hope the reasons given will be looked upon as a sufficient apology for their being in Latin.

In some few editions the *Jugurthine War* is placed before the *Catilinarian*; which the editors have no doubt done purely out of regard to the order of time in which they happened: for the war with Jugurtha broke out about thirty-three years after the destruction of Carthage, and in the year of Rome 641; whereas *Catiline's Conspiracy* happened not till fifty years after, in the consulship of Cicero, and year of Rome 691. However, in most editions *Catiline's Conspiracy* is placed first, as having been first written by the author, which appears from what is said in the fourth chapter; and this is the order I have followed.

The orthography or spelling, in a good many words of the following Latin, besides those taken notice of in the notes, is a little different from that which obtains in the common editions of Sallust. This the reader must look upon not as casual, but as the consequence of their being conformed by Cortius to the most ancient and authentic manuscripts. And this edition has with such care been adjusted to that of Cortius, not only in this, but in all other respects, that, I hope, it shall be found to want nothing of the accuracy of that excellent pattern. And in some few things, I may say, it is more perfect and correct: for the *ablatives of the first declension*, and other *doubtful cases*, are here ascertained, by having their proper mark placed over the final vowel, or the vowel of the final syllable; and such *adverbs* as are of an ambiguous nature, or which a *tyro* may be ready to take for *adjectives* or other *parts of speech*, have the mark of the *adverb* super-inscribed. Again, several typographical escapes or other blunders have crept into Cortius's edition, which are not taken notice of amongst his *Errata*: these are here rectified from the authority of his notes; as the
reader

reader may see, Cat. cap. xviii. n. 2. Jug. cap. xli. n. 2. cap. lxxxvii. n. 2. cap. xcvi. n. 5. cap. cii. n. 2.

Encouraged by the favourable reception the following performance met with, on its first publication, and especially by the approbation some gentlemen of skill have on different occasions been pleased to express, I have with great care revised the whole. Some typographical mistakes, that had escaped observation in the first edition, are now rectified; several new notes are added, and some expressions in the translation altered; and nothing is omitted, or neglected that I could think had a tendency to improve the book, or render it more useful and acceptable to the reader.

I shall conclude by observing, that at Leipſick, where Cortius's Salluſt was printed, and in other places of Germany, and in Holland too, they use two kinds of *points*: the one, called *punctum majusculum*, or *the great point*, is affixed to the end of a complete or perfect sentence, being the same as the *point* or *punctum* used in Britain and France, and is always followed by a capital; the other, called *punctum minusculum*, or *the little point*, is a kind of middle interpunction betwixt the *great point* and the *colon* or *semicolon*, its strength or force being less than that of the *great point*, and somewhat greater than those of the other two, and is known by the word following, which always begins with a small letter, and never with a capital. This little point, for the sake of uniformity in the text and version, is adopted in the translation.

CATI CRISPI SALLUSTII

BELLUM CATILINARIUM,

SIVE

DE CONJURATIONE CATILINÆ

EJUSQUE SOCIORUM.

I. **O**MNIS homines, qui sese student præstare ceteris animalibus, summâ ope niti decet, vitam silentio ne transeant, veluti pecora, quæ natura prona atque ventri obedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita: animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur. alterum nobis cum dis, alte-

I. **I**T becomes all men, who aspire to excel other animals, to labour with the utmost might, not to pass their life in silence, as cattle, which nature has formed groveling and subject to the belly. Now all our ability is seated in the soul and body. In most cases we use the direction of the soul, the service of the body. the one is common to us with the gods, the other with the brutes. Where-
rum

1. *1. Omnis*] According to the orthography that obtained in the days of Sallust, who flourished about the year of Rome 702. and in the time of the civil wars betwixt Pompey and J. Cesar, he writes *omnis* for *omnes*, *alacris* for *alacres*, *communis* for *communes*, *civis* for *cives*, *hostis* for *hostes*, *urbis* for *urbes*, and so of other nouns that have *um* in the genitive plural. This too is frequently to be met with in Cesar and Cicero; as also, in Livy, Virgil, Horace, and other writers in the reign of Augustus.

2. *Prona atque ventri obedientia*] *Prona* here properly signifies looking downward to the earth; and *ventri obedientia* may be rendered slaves to the belly, i. e. to appetite and lust.

3. *Sed nostra*] Sallust frequently uses the conjunction *sed*, not as an adversative, but as an inceptive or introductive particle.

4. *Magis utimur*] *Hoc est, animus plerumque et justius imperat, corpus servit.*

5. *Cum dis*] Sallust, in imitation of the ancients, whose manner he

rum cum bellis commune est. Quo mihi rectius videtur, ingenii, quam viri-um opibus gloriam quære-re; et, quoniam vita ipsa, quâ fruimur, brevis est, me-moriam nostrâ quàm maxu-mè longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et formæ gloria fluxa atque fragilis: virtus clara æternaque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vi-ne corporis, an virtute ani-mi, res militaris magis pro-cederet. Nam et prius, quàm incipias, consulto; et, ubi consulueris, maturè facto opus est. Ita utrum-que per se indigens, alte-rum alterius auxilio eget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen im-periî id primum fuit) di-versi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant: et jam tum vita hominum sine cu-piditate agitabatur, sua

fore to me it appears better to pursue glory by the abilities of the mind, than of bodily strength; and, since the life itself, which we enjoy, is short, to make our memory as lasting as possible. For the splendour of riches and beauty is fleeting and frail: vir-tue is glorious and everlasting. But for a long time it was a great dispute among men, whe-ther warlike atchievements suc-ceeded more by strength of body, or ability of mind. For before you enter upon action, there is need of deliberation; and, when you have deliberated, there is need of a speedy exe-cution. Thus both being defici-ent by themselves, the one needs the assistance of the other.

II. Wherefore in ancient times, kings (for that was the first title of empire in the world) were di-vided in their sentiments; part cultivated the mind, others the bo-dy: at that time the life of men was led without covetousness, e-

much affects, writes commonly *dis* for *diis*, *is* for *iis*, *islem* for *iislem*, *idem* for *iidem*, *quis* for *quibus*, &c.

6. *Memoriam nostrâ*] *Nostrâ* is in this place the genitive plural of the pronoun *ego*. And *memoria nostrâ* has a very different significa-tion from *memoria nostra*. The former denotes the memory of us among posterity, the latter imports the memory or remembrance we ourselves have of predecessors, or things past.

7. *Quàm maxumè*] Observe again our author's attachment to the old orthography. He scarcely ever fails to write *maxumus* for *maxi-mus*, *minumus* for *minimus*, *optumus* for *optimus*, *pulcherrimus* for *pulcherrimus*, *labido* for *libido*, *estimo* for *estimo*, *faciundum* for *fa-ciendum*, *petundi* for *petendi*, &c.

II. 1. *Vita—agitabatur*] Our author loves to express himself by fre-quentatives, and often uses them much in the same sense as their pri-mitives; as *ductare exercitum*, *agitare letitium*, *adventare cum exer-citu*, *mœnia defensare*, *objectare periculis*, &c.

cuique

cuique satis placebant. Postea verò quàm in Asia Cyrus, in Græcia Lacedæmonii et Athenienses cœpere urbes atque nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putare : tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum est, in bello plurimum ingenium posse. Quòd si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita, uti in bello, valeret, æquabili s atque constantius seferes humanæ haberent ; neque aliud aliò ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneres. Nam imperium facilè his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verùm ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et æquitate lubido atque superbia invasere ; fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque à minus bono transfertur. Quæ

very one was sufficiently satisfied with his own. But after Cyrus in Asia, the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in Greece, began to subdue cities and nations ; and to account the lust of sovereignty a sufficient ground of war, and to reckon the greatest glory consisted in the greatest empire : then at length by trial and experience it was found, that a judicious head was most serviceable in war. And if the virtue of the minds of kings and rulers were as vigorous in peace as in war, human affairs would keep themselves more uniform and fixed ; nor should you see the property of things shifting from one to another, nor all things changed and put in confusion. For dominion is easily maintained by the same arts, by which at first it was acquired. But when instead of industry, idleness ; instead of moderation and equity, ambition and pride come in ; fortune is changed together with manners. thus empire always passes from the less worthy to the most excellent. In agriculture, navigation, and

2. *Periculo atque negotiis*] Some take this to mean the same as *periculosi negotiis*, by dangerous enterprises. This kind of figure, or mode of expression, is used by Justin, II. ii. *Lame iis usus ac vestium ignotus est*, i. e. *linearum vestium*.

3. *Verùm ubi*] Sallust commonly puts *ubi* for *cum*, *quando*, or *postquam* ; and sometimes *ibi* for *tunc* or *tum*, as Jug. cap. xlix. *Ibi commutatis ordinibus*.

4. *Et æquitate*] The word *æquitas*, as it stands here opposed to *superbia*, signifies one's behaving as on a level with others, and not aspiring above them : but the English language affords no proper word, that I know of, to render it by.

homines arant, navigant, ædificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam, sicuti peregrinantes, transgere: quibus, profectò contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. eorum ego vitam mortemque juxtà æstumo, quoniam de utraque siletur. Verùm enim vero is demum mihi vivere atque frui animà videtur, qui aliquo negotio intentus, præclari facinoris, aut artis bonæ famam quærit. Sed in magna copia rerum aliud alii naturà iter ostendit.

III. Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ: etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est: vel pace, vel bello clarum fieri licet: et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum

architecture, all things are the prize of virtue. But many men abandoned to eating and sleeping, illiterate and unpolished, have spent their life like people in a strange country: to whom, contrary indeed to nature, the body was a pleasure, the soul a burden. I reckon the life and death of these much the same, since silence prevails over both. But indeed he appears to me truly to live, and enjoy life, who, engaged in some business, pursues the glory of an illustrious action, or profitable art. But in the great multitude of employments, nature has pointed out a different road to different persons.

III. 'Tis a fine thing to act well for the commonwealth: and to speak well is not despicable: one may become famous either in peace or war: many are celebrated, as well they who

5. *Que homines arant, &c.*] This place will not admit of a literal translation; but the meaning is, that the arts of agriculture, navigation, and architecture, are all the offspring and produce of virtue, i. e. of the powers of the mind well conducted. That this is the sense our author intends, is obvious, by considering, that all along he has been pointing out the excellency of the intellectual powers; such as, 1. Their preference to riches and beauty. 2. Their being more conducive to success in warlike affairs, than bodily strength. 3. The useful influence they may have in matters of policy and government. And now, 4. He observes, that it is to them we owe the invention, the various improvements, the numberless advantages of agriculture, navigation, architecture, and all the other arts of life. Apuleius de mundo, p. 72. *Omne humane vite presidium ingenio ejus est paratur: cultus agrorum, usus frugum, artificum solertia, proventus artium, commoditatesque vite humane.*

Virtuti parent is much like that of Horace, II. sat. iii. ver. 94. *Omnis enim res, Virtus, fama, decus, divina humane pulcris Divitiis parent. scripsere*

scripsere multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tamen et si haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem et auctorem rerum; tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum quod facta dictis sunt æquanda: dehinc, quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malivolentiâ et invidi putant: ubi de magna virtute et gloria bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit; supra ea, veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adolescentulus initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad rem publicam latus sum, ibique mihi adversa multa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinence, pro virtute; audacia, largitio, avaritia vigeant. Quæ tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium; tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla ætas ambitione corrupta tenebatur: ac me, cum ab

have acted, as they who have wrote the actions of others. And to me indeed, though by no means an equal glory attends the historian and the hero: yet, I say, it seems eminently difficult to write a history: first, because the actions are to be equalled by the expression: and next, because a great many think your censuring miscarriages, whatever they be, proceeds from malice and envy: when you speak of the great bravery and glory of worthy men, what any one thinks easy for himself to do, he receives with an unprejudiced mind; what you advance beyond this, he reckons for false, as if forged by you. But I at first, when a young man, like a great many others, was carried by inclination to state affairs, and there many things were cross to me. For instead of modesty, instead of moderation, instead of merit; impudence, bribery, and avarice universally prevailed. Which though my mind, unaccustomed to vile practices, abhorred; yet amidst so

III. 1. *Tamen etsi*] This was the ancient manner of writing, which authors, in after times, contracted into *tametsi*: and Sallust sometimes does so too.

2. *Adversus*] Here again Sallust follows the ancients, who wrote *adversus*, *adversutur*, *versus*, *vortex*, &c. for *adversus*, *advertitur*, &c.

3. *Audacia, largitio, avaritia*] In such sentences as this the posterior words do not always refer, or are not always opposed to the preceding ones, according to the order of their position. For here *audacia* is opposed to *pudor*, *largitio* to *virtus*, and *avaritia* to *abstinentia*. Cap. xiv. *Quos manus atque lingua, perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat*. Where *perjurio* refers to *lingua*, and *sanguine* to *manus*. Cic. *Coplis. tunicis, frumentoque suppeditato exercitus nostros vestivit, aluit, armavit.*

reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido, eadem, quæ ceteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam ætatem à republica procul habendam decrevi; non fuit consilium secordiâ atque defidiâ bonum otium conterere: neque verò agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis intentum, ætatem agere: sed à quo incepto studio me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quæque memoriâ digna videbantur, perscribere; eò magis, quòd mihi à spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ

great vices my tender age was insuared and caught by the baits of ambition: and though I was disengaged from the vicious customs of others, yet the same itch for preferment, the obloquy too and odium that disquieted the rest, made me uneasy.

IV. Therefore when, after many perplexities and dangers, my mind got rest, and I resolved the rest of my time should be spent at a distance from public business; it was not my intention to waste a valuable retirement in sloth and idleness; nor yet, employed in servile offices, to spend my life in tilling the ground or hunting: but returning to the same study, from which, after it was begun, pernicious ambition had diverted me, I resolved to write a history of the Roman people picking and culling, as any thing appeared worthy of record; and the rather, because my mind was free from hope, fear, and the factions of the animus

4. *Honoris cupido, &c.*] Et quamvis supra dictis malis moribus minus infectus essem, tamen honores affectabam in republica, et quia affectabam, malignâ famâ istis hominibus adnumerabar, inque eandem invidiam incidebam. Me vexabat honoris cupido, et vexabat propterea etiam eadem, quæ ceteros, fama atque invidia.

IV. 1. *Servilibus officiis*] Our author does not mean, by this expression, that agriculture and hunting are business proper only for slaves, since princes, and great men in all ages, have been thus employed; but that they are exercises in a great measure corporeal, and consequently mean or low, when compared to the more noble exercises of the mind: and therefore, we are to take *servilia officia* here, in opposition purely to *artes animi*; as in cap. i. *Imperio animi, corporis servitio magis utimur.*

2. *A spe, metu, partibus*] Another author would perhaps have said, à *spe, metu, et partibus*; but Longinus de sublimi observes, that the

animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinæ conjuratione, quàm verissime potero, paucis absolvam. nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo, iceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quàm initium narrandi faciam.

V. LUCIUS CATILINA nobili genere natus, magnâ vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis grata fuere: ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, vigiliæ, alioris, supra quàm cuique credibile est. Animus audax, subdolanus, varius, cujus rei libet simulator ac dissimulator, alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus: fati loquentiæ, sapientiæ parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat.

state. Accordingly; I shall discuss briefly the story of Catiline's conspiracy, with as great a regard to truth as I can. for I reckon that enterprise eminently remarkable for the strangeness of the wickedness and danger that attended it. Concerning the character of which man, a few things are to be premised, before I enter upon the narration.

V. LUCIUS CATILINE, descended of a noble family, was a man of great vigour, both of mind and body, but of a wicked and perverse disposition. Intestine wars, bloodshed, robberies, civil broils were agreeable to him from his tender years: and in these he employed his youth. His body was able to endure hunger, want of sleep, and cold, above what is credible to any one. His mind daring, crafty, could assume any shape, forge any falsehood, and dissemble any truth, was covetous of what belonged to others, lavish of his own, eager in his desires: had abundance of talk, but little judgment. His insatiable soul was ever pursuing extravagant,

the frequent use of copulatives renders the style flat and languid. Sallust, sensible of this, uses them very sparingly. Cap. xi. *Gloriam, honorem, imperium bonus, ignavus æque sibi exoptant.* Cap. xiv. *Omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabant.* Jug. cap. li. *Arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti.* Cap. lx. *Gloria permixtus hortatione, letitia, gemitu.* And so in a hundred other places.

3. *Paucis absolvam*] To make the sentence full and grammatical, we may understand *narrationem, historiam*, or some such word, as in the translation.

V. 1 *Varius*] *Hic versipellem* quem dicunt, denotat, et cui ingenium versatile ad omnia fuerit,

Hunc

Hunc post dominationem Lucii Sullæ libido maxima invaserat reipublicæ eapiundæ: neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox inopiâ rei familiaris, et conscientiâ scelerum: quæ utraque his artibus auxerat, quas suprà memoravi. Incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia vexabant. Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, suprà repetere, ac paucis instituta majorum domi militiæque, quomodo rempublicam habuerint, quantamque reliquerint: ut paulatim immutata, ex pulcherruma pessuma ac flagitiosissima facta sit, differere.

VI. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego aeeperi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui, Aeneâ duce, pro-

incredible, and too lofty projects. After the tyrannical usurpation of Lucius Sulla, a very great desire of seizing the government had possessed him: nor had he any regard by what means he might compass that, so he he could procure the sovereign power to himself. His haughty spirit was disquieted more and more every day, by the narrowness of his fortune, and a sense of guilt: both which he had increased by those practices which I mentioned above. Moreover, the debauched manners of the state spurred him on, which luxury and avarice, vices of the worst kind, and opposite to one another, had corrupted. Since this occasion has put us in mind of the manners of the state, the subject itself seems to advise us to run back, and in a few words recount the usages of our ancestors at home and in war, how they managed the commonwealth, and how great they left it: how by degrees it has been changed, and of the most glorious is become very bad, and scandalously vitious.

VI. The Trojans, as I have heard, first built and inhabited the city Rome, who flying their country, under the conduct of Æ-

2. *Civitatis mores, quos*] The pronoun *quos* refers not to *mores*, but to *civitatis*, and is, by virtue of the sense, put masculine and plural, as if the antecedent had been *civium*. Other instances of the like nature occur in Sallust, cap. xvii. *Simul consum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos se principem fore.* Where *illos* refers to *conjuratio*, and *apud illos* signifies the same as *apud conjuratos*. Cap. xxxix. *Plebis animos eorum arceat.* Jug. cap. xiv. *Familia nostra cum populo Romano amicitiam instituit, quorum progeniem nolite pati si usura à vobis auxilium petere.*

fingi,

fugi, 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 linguâ, alius alio more viventes: incredibile memoratu est, quomodo facile coaluerint. Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur; sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello tentare: pauci ex amicis auxilio esse. nam ceteri metu percussi à periculis aberant. At Romani domi militiæque intenti festinare,

ne as strolled about, without any settled habitation: and with them the Aborigines, a wild sort of people, without laws, without government, free from the curb of authority, and under no restraint from penal sanctions. After these came into one city, though of a different descent, of a different language, each living after a different manner; it is incredible to relate how easily they incorporated. But when their state, enriched with citizens, institutions, and territories, seemed abundantly prosperous, and sufficiently powerful; as is the fate of almost all human enjoyments, envy sprung out of affluence. Accordingly the neighbouring princes and states attacked them by war: a few only of their friends were assisting. for the rest, struck with

VI. 1. *Aborigines*] Commentators are divided about this word. Some few think it may be taken appellatively, and signify the old natives, or first inhabitants of Italy: but most are of opinion, that it is a proper name of some people, who came into Italy in the early ages of the world, but from what country is uncertain.

2. *Alius alio more viventes*] That is, *alius vivens hoc more, alius vivens alio more*. And hence *alius* in such concise expressions, because of its partitive, and consequently plural signification, is frequently joined with nouns and verbs plural. Cap. xxii. *Alius alii tanti facinoris conscii*. Cap. lii. *Alius alium expectantes*. Liv. II. cap. x. *Dum alius alium circumspiciunt*. *Alter* admits of the same construction, Senec. epist. vii. *Hæc vitia ceteri imitantur, et alter alteri tradunt*. And so of several other partitives.

3. *Bello tentare*] *Tentare* is here put for *tentabant*; a mode of expression familiar not only to Sallust, but usual in most historians; who, to render their periods smooth and glib, and make their language keep pace, in some sort, with the quickness of the actions they would express, and with the fire of their own imagination, generally affect the use of infinitives, and neglect the indicatives as more clogged and heavy. It is needless to adduce instances; the next sentence is one, presently after you have five, and almost every chapter will afford more.

parare.

parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem, patriam, parentisque armis tegere. post, ubi pericula virtuti propulerant, focis atque amicis auxilia portabant: magisque dandis, quàm accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant. Imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regium habebant: delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientiâ validum, rei publicæ consultabant. hi vel ætate, vel curæ similitudine, PATRES appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandæ libertatis, atque augendæ rei publicæ fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque convertit; immutato more, annua imperia, binosque imperatores sibi fecere. eo modo minumè posse putabant per licentiam inolescere animum humanum.

fear, kept at a distance from dangers. But the Romans, watchful at home and in war, were active, made preparations, animated one another, marched out against their enemies, and with their arms protected their liberty, country, and parents. afterwards, when they had repelled the dangers by their bravery, they carried assistance to their neighbours and friends: and procured alliances more by conferring than receiving favours. They had a government bounded by laws, and the form of that government monarchic. Select persons, whose bodies were in decay by years, but their minds in their prime for wisdom, acted as council of state for the public interest. these, either from their age, or in allusion to their charge, were called FATHERS. Afterwards, when the kingly government, which had been erected at first for the preservation of liberty, and advancing the republic, turned into haughtiness and tyranny; changing that model, they made for themselves two magistrates with annual authority. by that means, they thought the minds of men could least of all turn insolent thro' excess of power.

4. *Parentesque*] By *parentes* is chiefly meant, in this place, the people that were superannuate, and thereby rendered unfit for the service.

5. *Conservandæ libertatis*] Some of the commentators understand here *gratiâ* or *causâ*; but Cortius is positive that there is no occasion for this, and maintains that it is the same kind of construction, as *vir multe lationis, puer probe indolis*, and the like: and may be resolved thus, *ubi regium imperium, quod initio fuerat imperium conservandæ libertatis*, i. e. *ad conservandam libertatem computatum*. An expression of the same kind we meet with, Jug. cap. lxxxviii. *Que postquam gloriosa malò, neque belli patrandi cognovit.*

VII. Sed eâ tempestate cœpere se quisque extollere, magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam re-gibus boni quàm mali sus-pectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formido-losa est. Sed civitas, in-credibile memoratu est, adeptâ libertate, quantum brevi creverit. tanta cu-pido gloriæ inceserat. Jam primum juvenus, simul laboris ac belli patiens e-rat, in castris per usum militiam discebat: ma-gisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis, quàm in scortis atque conviviis lubidinem habebant. I-gitur talibus viris non la-bos insolitus, non locus ulius asper, aut arduus e-rat, non armatis hostis formidolosus: virtus o-mnia domuerat. Sed glo-riæ maximum certamen inter ipsos erat: sese quis-que hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspici, dum tale facinus faceret, pro-

VII. Now at this time every-one begun to rouse themselves, and in a more open manner to ex-ert their faculties. For men of worth are more suspected by kings than fellows that are good for no-thing, and great abilities in o-thers are always matter of dread to them. But the state, having obtained its liberty, it is incredi-ble to say, how great it grew in a short time. Such an appetite for glory had now prevailed. Now for the first time the youth, as soon as they were capable of ex-ercise and arms, learned the art of war by practice in the camp: and had more pleasure in hand-some armour and war-horses, than in courtesans and gorman-dizing. Wherefore to such men hardship was not strange, no place rugged or difficult, an arm-ed enemy not terrible: magnani-mity had surmounted everything. But there was a very great e-mulation for glory among them: every one was in haste to wound an enemy, to scale the walls, and to be seen whilst he was performing such an action: they

VII. 1. *Cœpere se quisque*] Here again observe the partitive *quisque* taking the plural verb *cœpere*, Jug. cap. lviii. *Sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt.*

2. *Adeptâ libertate*] *Adeptâ* is here used passively: thus Jug. cap. ci. *Dum prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit.* Plaut. Trin. act. ii. sc. 11. ver. 82. *Non etate, verum ingenio adipiscitur sapientia.* Cic. de senect. cap. ii. *Senectutem ut adipiscantur omnes opant: eandem accu-sant adeptam.* Suet. Tib. cap. xxxviii. *Post adeptam imperium pedem porta non extulit.*

3. *In castris per usum*] The Romans had other ways of learning the art of war, namely, by the exercises to which the youth were trained in the *campus Martius*, in the *gymnasium* or schools, and by books of military instructions written for this purpose.

perabat:

perabat: eas divitias, eam bonum famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant: laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberales erant: gloriâ ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parvâ manu fuderit, quas urbis, naturâ munitas, pugnando ceperit; nî ea res longius ab incepto traheret.

VIII. Sed profectò Fortuna in omni re dominatur: ea res cunctas ex lubricine magis, quàm ex vero celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestæ, sicuti ego æstumo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuere; verùm aliquanto minores tamen, quàm famâ feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum, qui fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis eam potuere extollere præclara ingenia. At populo Roma-

accounted that riches, that true honour, and great nobility: they were covetous of praise, liberal of their money: they desired great glory, but moderate wealth. I could relate, in what places the Roman people routed very great forces of the enemy with a small handful, what cities fortified by nature they took sword in hand; were it not that this would carry us too far from our purpose.

VIII. But indeed Fortune has a mighty sway in every thing: she exalts and depresses all things out of caprice, rather than according to truth. The actions of the Athenians, as I imagine, were great and glorious enough; but yet somewhat less than they are represented by fame. But because authors of great genius were produced there, the exploits of the Athenians are celebrated for the greatest throughout the world. Thus the conduct of those who acted is accounted as great, as these bright wits could magnify it in their writings. But the Roman people never had that ad-

4. *Eas divitias*] i. e. eas divitias esse veras divitias, eam famam esse bonam famam, eamque nobilitatem esse magnam nobilitatem putabant.

5. *Nî ea res*] Some authors would have said *nî id*; but Sallust places an elegance in joining *res* with the relative pronoun. Cap. ix. *Quarum rerum ego maxima documenta habeo.* Cap. xviii. *Ea res consilium dixerunt.* Jug. cap. lxxiii. *Ea res frustra fuit.* Cap. lxxv. *Eaque res multum animis eorum adhibuit.* Cap. lxxix. *Eam rem locus admonuit.* Cap. lxxxii. *Quam rem alii in superbum vertebant.* Cap. lxxxiv. *Sed ea res frustra sperata,* &c. And therefore, it is hoped, the reader will not be surprised to find such expressions sometimes enigmatised by *this* or *which*.

no numquam ea copia fuit: quia prudentissimus quisque negotiosus maxime erat: ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat: optumus quisque facere, quam dicere; sua ab aliis benefacta laudari, quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

IX. Igitur domi militæque boni mores colebantur. concordia maxima, minuma avaritia erat: jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis, quam naturâ valebat. Jurgia, discordias, similitates cum hostibus exercebant: cives cum civibus de virtute certabant. in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicis fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audaciâ in bello, ubi pax evenerat æquitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxima documenta hæc habeo, quod sæpius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in ho-

vantage: because every wisest man was most engaged in business: no body improved his mind without regard to his body: every brave soul chose rather to act than write; and that his own merits should be celebrated by others, rather than that he should relate those of other men.

IX. Good morals therefore were cultivated both at home, and abroad in the wars. very great was their unanimity, very small their desires: justice and kind offices prevailed amongst them, not more by force of laws, than inclination. They had quarrels, differences, feuds, only with enemies: citizens with citizens contended about virtue. they were pompous in the worship of the gods, frugal at home, faithful to their friends. According to these two virtues, viz. bravery in war, and equity when peace happened, did they regulate themselves and the public affairs. Of which conduct I have these very great proofs, that punishment was oftener inflicted on them, who had

VIII. *Copia fuit*] *Copia* non solum abundantiam, sed et opportunitatem, et presentiam, et facultatem notat, quod ex locutione copiam rei alicui facere apparet. Et hoc posteriori significato hic accipiendum est.

IX. 1. *In amicis fideles*] i. e. erga amicos. The preposition *in* with the ablative in this sense is frequent, not only in Sallust, but in other authors. Cap. xi. *Fæda crudelitæque in civibus facinora facere.* Cap. li. *Quid in illis jure fieri posset.* Cap. lii. *Quid in illis statuimus.* *Sunt misericordes in furibus ararii.* Jug. cap. lviii. *Pauci in pluribus minus frustrati.* Cæf. B. G. ii. cap. 32. *Se id, quod in Nerviiis fuisse, facturum.* Justin. xxxviii. cap. 6. *Neque in se uno, sed in aliis omnibus, hac semper arte grassatus.* Ovid. v. Trist. eleg. ii. yer. 36. *Sepe suo victor lenis in hoste fuit.*

stem pugnauerant, quique tardius, revocati, bello excefferant, quàm qui signa relinquere, aut pulsi, loco cedere ausi erant. In pace verò, quod beneficiis, quàm metu imperium agitabant, et, acceptâ injuriâ, ignoscere, quàm persequi malebant.

fought against the enemy contrary to orders, and them, who came off from battle too late when recalled, than upon those who had adventured to abandon their standards, or, when beat, to quit their post. And, in peace, they managed the administration more by methods of mildness than terror; and, an injury being received, they chose rather to forgive, than revenge it.

X. Sed ubi labore atque justitiâ respublica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes feræ et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, æmula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terræque patebant: sævire Fortuna ac miscere omnia cœpit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res faciliè toleraverant, iis otium, divitiæ, optandæ aliis, oneri miseræque fuere. Igitur primò pecuniæ, deinde imperii cupido crevit: ea quasi materics omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, ceterasque artis bonas subvertit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos negle-

X. But when by industry and justice the republic became great, mighty princes were subdued in war, savage nations and potent states reduced by force, Carthage, the rival of the Roman empire, utterly destroyed, all seas and lands laid open: Fortune began to rage and confound all. Peace and plenty, things desirable to others, were a burden and plague to them, who formerly had endured fatigue, dangers, straitening and distressing circumstances, with ease. Accordingly first the love of money, and then of power grew upon them: these were in a manner the source of all evils. For avarice destroyed faith, honesty, and other good qualities; in room of these it taught them pride, cruelty, to despise the gods, to make sale of

2. *Beneficiis, quàm metu*] The suppressing of *magis* is an usual and elegant ellipsis, not only in Sallust, but in other classic authors. Cap. xx. *Nisi vos servire, quàm imperare parati essis.* Cap. xlviii. *Tanta res hominis leniunda, quàm exagitanda, violatur.* Cap. lii. *Res autem monet, cavere ab illis, quàm quid in illis statueret, consultare.* Terent. And. prolog. *Qui placere se sudeat bonis, quàm plurimis.*

X. 1. *Carthago, æmula imperii Romani*] See Jug. cap. xix. note 4.

2. *Deos neglegere*] This is old orthography; the modern authors write *negligere*. In places of the like nature we have, Jug. cap. xxxi. *intellegetis* for *intelligetis*. Cap. cviii. *dilegeret* for *diliget*.

gere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promtum habere; amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re, sed ex commodo æstumare; magisque vultum, quam ingenium bonum habere. Hæc primò paullatim crescere, interdum vindicari. postubi, contagio quasi, pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium ex justissimo atque optimo crudele intolerandumque factum.

XI. Sed primò magis ambitio, quam avaritia, animos hominum exercebat: quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, bonus, ignavus æquè sibi exoptant: sed ille verà viâ nititur; huic quia bonæ artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniæ studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit. ea, quasi venenis ma-

every thing. Ambition obliged a world of people to be false; to have one thing locked up in their breast, another ready on their tongue; to value friendship and enmity not by their worth, but according to interest; and to keep rather a fair countenance, than an honest heart. These vices grew up insensibly at first, and were sometimes punished: afterward when, by a kind of infection, the plague had spread, the state was altered, the government, of the most just and best, became cruel and intolerable.

XI. But at first ambition influenced the minds of men more than avarice: which vice however was nearer to virtue. For the brave and the base spirited equally wish for to themselves glory, honour, and power: but the former pursues them in the right way; because good qualities are wanting to the latter, he aspires to them by trick and deceit. Avarice imports the love of money, which no wise man ever coveted. this, tinctured

3. *Multos falsos*] *Falsus* is here to be understood actively for *fallentes*, i. e. cheats or rogues; and *false* in the English admits of the same sense. There are a good many adjectives and participial words of the like ambiguous nature, which, though properly passive, are yet frequently used in an active sense. Cap. v. *profusus* is used for *profundens*. *Nescius* denotes him who knows not, or him who is not known. *Surdus* is he who hears not, or he who is not heard. *Infectus* and *innoxius* are often active, and many others.

4. *Contagio quasi*] *Contagio* is in this place not the nominative, but ablative; and signifies the same as *contactu*, denoting the manner in which the vices here mentioned, were propagated, and became universal. Flor. I cap. xv. *Sabini quodam contagio belli se Latinis adjunxerant*.

lis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat: semper infinita, insatiabilis, neque copiâ, neque inopiâ minuitur. Sed postquam L. Sulla, armis receptâ republicâ, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere: neque modum, neque modestiam victores habere, fœda crudeliaque in civibus facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asiam ductaverat, quod sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat. loca amœna, voluptaria facilè in otio ferocis militum animos moliverant. Ibi primum infuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cœlata mirari; ea privatim ac publicè rapere; delubra

as it were with poisonous drugs, enervates the body and manly spirit: ever boundless and insatiable, is reduced neither by plenty nor want. But after L. Sulla, having recovered the commonwealth by force of arms, brought things to a pernicious issue, from fair beginnings; every one snatched and plundered, one coveted a house, another lands: the conquerors observed neither measure nor moderation; but practised abominable and cruel outrages upon their fellow-citizens. To this was added, that L. Sulla, contrary to the usage of our ancestors, had indulged the army, which he commanded in Asia, in dissolute practices and too much affluence, that he might render them trusty to himself. The pleasant voluptuous country of Asia had easily effeminated the rugged minds of the soldiers, in the time of peace. There first the army of the Roman people learned to wench, to drink; to admire statues, pictures, spoliare;

XI. 1. *Receptâ republicâ, &c.*] The reader, in order to understand what Sallust here intends, must know, that Marius and his party had got the management of public affairs into their hands. This, Sulla wrested from them by force of arms, which is the thing meant by the words *receptâ republicâ*. And his conduct thus far was good and laudable, and approved of by our author as such, in the words *bonis initiis*. But afterwards, as if he had conquered for himself, and not for his country, he ingrossed the whole power into his own hands, slaughtered, proscribed, and banished most of the Marian faction, and tyrannized over the state: and this is what the words *malos eventus* point at. See the history in Florus, III. cap. xxi. and in Eutrop. V. cap. iv. vii. viii. ix.

2. *Quem in Asiam ductaverat*] i. e. *intra Asiam*. See cap. xix. note 3.

3. *Privatim ac publicè*] *Publicè* refers to the depredations that were made

spoliare; sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant: ne illi corruptis moribus victoriæ temperarent.

moderately use a victory, after their morals were debauched.

XII. Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœpere, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur: hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentia duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia, cum superbia invasere: rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi atque moderati habere. Operæ pretium est, cum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exædificatas, visere templa deorum, quæ nostri majores, religiosissimi

fine wrought plate; to make plunder of them privately and publicly; to pillage temples; to violate every thing sacred and profane. Wherefore these soldiers, after they obtained the victory, left nothing to the conquered. For success intoxicates even the minds of wise men; much less could they

XII. After riches begun to be an honour, and glory, command, and power attended them: virtue begun to languish, poverty to be reckoned a disgrace, innocence to be taken for ill nature. In consequence of their riches therefore, luxury and avarice, with pride, over-ran the youth: they ravaged, they wasted; valued their own little, coveted what belonged to others; they had no regard for modesty, chastity, things divine and human, made no difference, and kept no bounds in things. It is worth while, after you have viewed houses and manors reared up to the size of cities, to visit the temples of the gods, which our ancestors, a most devout set of men, built.

made by the army in a regular manner, and in consequence of the general's order; *privatim* points at the rapine committed by the soldiers in a pilfering way, and without any such command.

XII. *Innocentia pro malivolentia*] By *innocentia* in this place we are to understand abstinence from the base, oppressive, and wicked methods of amassing riches then in fashion. Such was the degeneracy of the times, that any person who did abstain and keep himself clear from these prevailing corruptions, was thought to do so, not from a love of virtue, or principle of integrity; but out of spite against, and in opposition to those who fell in with them; and that in order to cast reproach upon them and their way, and blacken their character by the lustre of his example. And this I take to be the import of the word *malivolentia*.

mortales, fecere. Verùm illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suâ gloriâ decorabant; neque victis quidquam præter injuriæ licentiam eripiebant. At hi contrà, ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus, omnia ea focis adimere, quæ fortissimi viri victores reliquerant: proinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti.

XIII. Nam quid ea memorem, quæ nisi iis, qui videre, nemini credibilia sunt: à privatis compluribus subverfos montes, maria constructa esse. quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiæ; quippe, quas honestè habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed libido stupri, ganeæ ceterique cultûs non minor inceserat: viros pati muliebria, mulieres pudicitiam inpropatulo habere; vescendi causâ terrâ marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius, quàm somni cupido esset; non famem, aut sitim; neque frigus, neque lassitudinem operiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Hæc juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad faci-

But they graced the temples of the gods with devotion, their houses with personal glory; nor did they take any thing from the conquered except the power of doing mischief. But these, on the contrary, most worthless fellows, by the highest wickedness, took all those things from their allies, which these heroes, their ancestors, when conquerors left them: just as if to do an injury, that truly were to exercise authority.

XIII. For why should I mention these things, which are credible to none but those who saw them: mountains levelled, seas built up, by several private persons. to whom riches seem to me to have been a matter of sport; for, what they might have employed honourably, they made all haste to abuse in a shameful manner. But no less an itch for amours, debauchery, and other such practices prevailed: the men prostituted themselves like women, the women exposed their chastity in an open manner; they ransacked land and sea to gratify their palate; went to rest before they had an inclination to sleep; did not wait for hunger, or thirst; nor cold nor weariness; but anticipated all these by a voluptuous indulgence. These things pushed on the youth to villanous enterprises, when their private for-

XIII. *Honestè habere*] *Habere non possidere hic notat, ut volunt interpretes. Nulla enim in possessione et coacervatione divitiarum honestas, sed in usu. Quare honestè habere intellige tractare, uti, hoc est, bene impendere. Tacit. IV. Ann. cap. xliv. Lentulo fuerat bene tolerata paupertas, dein magnæ opes innocenter paratæ et modeste habitæ.*

nora incendebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus haud facillè lubricibus carebat : eo profusiùs omnibus modis quæstui atque sumtui deditus erat.

XIV. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id, quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum, cattervas habebat. Nam quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo ; manu, ventre, pene, bona patria lacera-verat ; quique alienum æs grande conflaverat, quo flagitium, aut facinus redimeret ; præterea omnes undiquè parricidæ, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis, aut pro factis iudicium timentes ; ad hoc, quos manus atque lingua, perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat ; postremò omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat : ii Catilinæ proximi familiaresque erant. Quòd si quis etiam à culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat ; quotidiano usu atque illecebris facillè par similisque ceteris

tunes had failed them. Their mind habituated to vile practices could not easily be restrained from licentious desires : and was so much the more excessively by all means addicted to getting and spending.

XIV. In so great and so debauched a city, Catiline kept about him, a thing that was very easy to be done, troops of all the rakes and ruffians, as so many life-guard men. For whatever catamite, adulterer, whore-monger, had squandered away his patrimony by profusion, luxury, or lewdness ; and any who had contracted huge debts, to purchase a pardon for their knavery or villany ; besides, all parricides from every quarter, sacrilegious rascals, persons convicted on legal trials, or fearing a trial because of their crimes ; and further, they whom their hand or tongue maintained by perjury, or bloodshed of citizens ; finally, all whom wickedness, want, or a guilty conscience disquieted : these were Catiline's nearest and intimate friends. And if any as yet free from a fault fell into his acquaintance ; by daily converse, and enticements, he was easily made equal and like to the rest. But he courted chiefly the

XIV. 1. *Flagitiorum atque facinorum*] are here put for *flagitiosorum* and *facinorosorum* ; as cap. xxiv. *servitii* is put for *servi*, and cap. xxxvi. *vicinitas* for *vicini*, cap. xlviii. *conjuratio* for *conjurati*, and commonly *nobilitas* for *nobiles*, *juventus* for *juvenes*, &c. i. e. the abstract for the concrete.

2. *Quicumque impudicus*] *Patheus*, sive qui patitur muliebria sic propriè vocatur. Justin. VIII. cap. vi. *Alexandrum ad supri consuetudinem perpulit, et impudicum fecit antequam regem.*

efficiebatur.

efficiebatur. Sed maxumè adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat: eorum animi molles et ætate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiabantur. Nam uti cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat, aliis scorta præbere; aliis canes atque equos mercari; postremò neque sumtui, neque modestiæ suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque faceret. Scio, fuisse nonnullos, qui ita æstimarent, juventutem, quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabat, parum honestè pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis, quàm quòd cuiquam compertum foret, hæc fama valebat.

XV. Jam primum adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestæ, alia hujusmodi contra jus fasque. postremò captus amore Aureliæ Orestillæ, cujus præter formam, nihil um-

friendship of the young men: their minds being soft and pliable by reason of their age, were caught with no difficulty by his stratagems. For as every one's fancy, according to his age, was fired, he furnished whores to some; bought dogs and horses for others; in fine, he spared neither cost, nor his own reputation, provided he could make them subject and trusty. I know there were some, who were of opinion, that the youth, who frequented Catiline's house, were engaged in unnatural lewdness; but this rumour prevailed, more on account of other things, than that it was discovered for certain by any one.

XV. In the first place, Catiline, when a young fellow, had committed many abominable whoredoms, with a lady of quality, with a Vestal nun, and other pranks of this nature, contrary to law and religion: at last, smitten with a passion for Aurelia Orestilla, nothing

3. *Obnoxios fidosque*] *Arbitrio suo subjectos, et fideles, ut ibi timor, hic amor esset obsequii causa.* Both these words denote an attachment to one's interest; the former, such as proceeds from fear; in this place, that arising from Catiline's knowledge of their guilt; and the latter, such as flows from the motive of love.

XV. 1. *Cum sacerdote veste*] The Vestal virgins, four in number, were instituted by Numa. Their office was to attend upon the rites of the goddess Vesta, the chief part whereof was the preservation of the sacred fire. If any of them proved with child, she was buried alive; and the man who violated her honour, was thought guilty of the most wicked and heinous crime. See Kennet's Ant. b. II. chap. vi.

2. *Contra jus fasque*] *Jus lex humana est; fas lex divina.* Isidor. V. orig. cap. ii.

quam

quam bonus laudavit; quòd ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adultâ ætate; pro certo creditor, necato filio, vacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quæ quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, diis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat: ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur colos exfanguis, fœdi oculi, citus modò, modò tardus in cessus; prorsus in facie vultuque recordia inerat.

XVI. Sed juventutem, quam, ut suprà diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere; post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat: si causa peccandi in præsens minùs suppetebat, nihilo minus infontes, sicuti fontes, circumvenire, jugulare. scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potiùs malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis fociis-

in whom a good man ever commended but her beauty; because she scrupled to marry him, for fear of his son now at man's estate; it is believed for certain, that he made an empty house for the impious match, by murdering his son. Which thing, to me indeed, seems chiefly to have been the reason of his hastening in the plot. For his polluted soul, at enmity with gods and men, could neither be quieted by watching nor rest: a guilty conscience so harassed his distracted mind. Accordingly his complexion was pale, his eyes ghastly, his gait sometimes quick, sometimes slow; there was a furious wildness in his face and countenance throughout.

XVI. Now he trained up the youth, whom he had seduced, as we said above, to crimes, by various methods. From among them he furnished out false witnesses, and signers of forged deeds; taught them to set light by their honour, estates, and danger: afterward, when he had rubbed off any regard they had to character and modesty, he enjoined them other greater villanies; if an occasion of doing mischief did not offer at present, nothing the less of this, he set them on to waylay and murder those who had done him no injury, as much as if they had. that is, lest their hands

XVI. 1. *Circumvenire, jugulare*] These words, as to their construction, depend upon *imperabat*, which is here understood.

que

que confusus Catilina, simul quòd æs alienum per omnis terras ingens erat, et quòd plerique Sullani milites, largiùs suo usi, rapinarum et victoriæ veteris memores civile bellum exoptabant; opprimundæ rei publicæ consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus: Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat: ipsi consulatum petundi magna spes: senatus nihil fanè intentus: tutæ tranquillæque res omnes; sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinæ.

or mind should soften through disuse, he was rather wicked and cruel for nought. Catiline, confiding in these friends and accomplices, withal knowing, that the debts through all countries were great, and that most of Sulla's soldiers, having spent what they had of their own too prodigally, and mindful of their spoils and former success, were wishing for a civil war; entered into a design of ruining the commonwealth. There was no army in Italy: Cn. Pompey was carrying on a war in very remote countries: he himself had big hopes of standing candidate for the consulship: the senate was breeding nothing at all: all things were secure and quiet; now these circumstances were exceedingly favourable for Catiline.

XVII. Igitur circiter Kalendas Junias, L. Cæ-

XVII. Wherefore, about the first of June, L. Caesar and C. fare

2. *In extremis terris*] In Pontus and Armenia, carrying on the war against Mithridates and Tigranes.

3. *Consulatum petundi magna spes*] Every one was not at liberty to stand candidate for this high office: and probably there was something in Catiline's case which disqualified him at present, and which he was in hopes of getting removed, and so be in condition to set up for the consulate. This conjecture is strongly supported by what is said to this purpose in cap. xviii.

XVII. 1. *Kalendas Junias*] The Romans had three remarkable days in each month, from which all the rest were denominated and computed, viz. the Kalends, Nones, and Ides.

In every month the first day was called *kalende*. In the months March, May, July, and October, the seventh day was called *nonæ*, and the fifteenth *idus*. But in all the other months of the year the fifth day was called *nonæ*, and the thirteenth *idus*.

In reckoning they went backward in this manner. The day preceding the *kalends*, *nones*, or *ides*, was called *pridie kalendas* or *pridie kalendarum*, *pridie nonas* or *nonarum*, *pridie idus* or *iduum*. The day before this was called *tertio kalendas*, *nonis*, *idus*, i. e. *tertio die ante kalendas*, *nonas idus*, reckoning inclusively: or it was expressed thus, *tertio kalendarum*, *nonarum*, *iduum*, i. e. *tertio die kalendarum*, &c.

Thus

fare et C. Figulo Consuli-
bus, primò singulos adpel-
lare: hortari alios, alios
tentare: opes suas, impa-
ratam rempublicam, ma-
gna præmia conjurationis
docere. Ubi satis explo-
rata sunt, quæ voluit; in
unum omnis convocat,
quibus maxuma necessitu-
do, et plurimum audaciæ.
Eò convenere senatorii or-
dinis P. Lentulus Sura,
P. Autronius, L. Cassius
Longinus, C. Cethegus,
P. et Servius Sullæ, Ser-

*Figulus being Consuls, at first he
addressed each apart: encour-
aged some, tried others: in-
formed them of his strength, of
the government's being unpro-
vided, and the great advanta-
ges of the conspiracy. When the
things were sufficiently searched
into, which he designed; he
summons all to one meeting, who
were under the greatest difficul-
ties, and had most courage.
Thither assembled, of the sena-
torian order, P. Lentulus Sura,
P. Autronius, L. Cassius Lon-
ginus, C. Cethegus, P. Sulla*

vii

Thus January 1st was called *kalende Januarii*, or, using the month's name adjectively, *Kalende Januariæ*. The last of December was called *pridie kalendas*, or *calendarum Januarii*, or adjectively, *pridie kalendas Januariæ*. December 30th was *tertio kalendas Januarii* or *Januariæ*. December 29th was *quarto kalendas Januarii*; and so backward to December 14th, which was *decimo nono kalendas Januarii*. The 13th was *idus Decembris*, the 12th was *pridie idus* or *i'uum Decembris*, the 11th was *tertio i'us Decembris*; and so on to the 5th, which was *nonæ Decembris*. The 4th was *pridie nonas* or *nonarum Decembris*, the 3d was *tertio nonas* or *nonarum Decembris*, the 2d was *quarto nonas Decembris*, and the 1st was *kalende Decembris*. The last of November was *pridie kalendas Decembris* or *Decembris*, &c. Here observe, that the names of all the months are used either substantively or adjectively, except *Aprilis*, which is used substantively only.

In leap-year, which is every fourth year, February hath 29 days, and both the 24th and 25th are called the *sixth of the kalends of March*: and hence this year is called *bisextilis*.

The following verses shew the number of days in each month, and contain a summary of what has been said. The table represents the manner of computation: in which observe, that the numbers refer to the words below them.

*Iunius, Aprilis, Septemque, Novemque tricenos,
Unum plus reliqui; Februus tenet octo viginti;
At si bisextus fuerit, superabitur unus.
Tu primæ mensis lucem dic esse kalendas,
Sex Maius nonis, October, Julius, et Mars,
Quatuor ut reliqui; Idus i'us quilibet octo.
Omnes post idus lucem dic esse kalendas,
Nomen sortiri debent à mense sequenti.*

A TABLE

vii filii, L. Vargunteius, *and Servius Sulla, the sons of*
 Q. Annius, M. Porcius *Servius, L. Vargunteius, Q.*
 Læca, L. Bestia, Q. Cu- *Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L.*
 rius :

A TABLE of the KALENDS, NONES, and IDES.

Days of the month.	April, June, Sept. Nov.	Jan. August, December.	Mar. May, July, Octob.	February.
1	Kalendæ.	Kalendæ.	Kalendæ.	Kalendæ.
2	IV.	IV.	VI.	IV.
3	III.	III.	V.	III.
4	Prid. Non.	Prid. Non.	IV.	Prid. Non.
5	Nonæ.	Nonæ.	III.	Nonæ.
6	VIII.	VIII.	Prid. Non.	VIII.
7	VII.	VII.	Nonæ.	VII.
8	VI.	VI.	VIII.	VI.
9	V.	V.	VII.	V.
10	IV.	IV.	VI.	IV.
11	III.	III.	V.	III.
12	Prid. Id.	Prid. Id.	IV.	Prid. Id.
13	Idus.	Idus.	III.	Idus.
14	XVIII.	XIX.	Prid Id.	XVI.
15	XVII.	XVIII.	Idus.	XV.
16	XVI.	XVII.	XVII.	XIV.
17	XV.	XVI.	XVI.	XIII.
18	XIV.	XV.	XV.	XII.
19	XIII.	XIV.	XIV.	XI.
20	XII.	XIII.	XIII.	X.
21	XI.	XII.	XII.	IX.
22	X.	XI.	XI.	VIII.
23	IX.	X.	X.	VII.
24	VIII.	IX.	IX.	VI.
25	VII.	VIII.	VIII.	V.
26	VI.	VII.	VII.	IV.
27	V.	VI.	VI.	III.
28	IV.	V.	V.	Prid. Kal.
29	III.	IV.	IV.	Martii.
30	Prid. Kal.	III.	III.	
31	Menf. seq.	Prid. Kal. Menf. seq.	Prd. Kal. Menf. seq.	

Romulus began his months always upon the first day of the new moon, and on this day one of the inferior priests used to assemble the people in the Capitol, and call over as many days as there were between that

rius : præterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius : ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant præterea complures paulò occultius consilii hujusce parti-

Bestia, Q. Curius : moreover, of the equestrian order, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius : besides, many out of the colonies and free towns, men of figure in their own country. There were likewise a good many noblemen, a little more co-

that and the *nones* : and so from the old verb *calo*, derived from the Greek *καλλῶ*, to call, the first day of the month had the name of *kalende*. But this custom continued only till the year of Rome 450, when Cn. Flavius, the *curule ædile*, ordered the *fasti* or *calendar* to be fixed up in public places, that every body might know the times, and the return of the festivals.

The *nones* were so called, because, reckoning inclusively, there are nine days from them to the *ides*.

The *ides* fell near about the middle of the month; and the word is derived from *idare*, an obsolete verb, borrowed from the Etrurian language, which signifies to divide.

The Greeks had no *kalends* in their way of reckoning; and hence the Latin proverb *ad kalendas Græcas*, is used to signify a time that never will happen: particularly Augustus, when speaking of desperate debtors, used, in a facetious manner, to say, *ad kalendas Græcas festuros*, as we learn from Sueton. Aug. cap. 87.

2. *Ex equestri ordine*] The *equites* or Roman knights were at first no other than the life-guards of Romulus, consisting of 300 young men, and called *celerès*, à *ministerii celeritate*. Tarquinius Priscus afterward increased their number to 600. But they had no authority, and made no figure in the state till A. U. 631, when C. Gracchus, tribune of the commons, found means to transfer the power of judging corrupt magistrates from the senate to the *equites*. This produced a remarkable change in the government. The Roman citizens came now to consist of three orders, viz. the *senatorian*, *equestrian*, and *plebeian*. And persons were admitted into the two former according to their fortunes. One that was worth 800 *sestertia* was capable of being chosen a senator; one that had 400 might be taken into the equestrian order. These *equites* or knights had a gold ring and a horse allowed them at the public charge.

3. *Ex coloniis et municipiis*] *Coloniae* were towns, states, or communities, where the chief part of the inhabitants had been transplanted from Rome, who, mingling with the natives, obtained the chief authority, and managed the administration according to the Roman laws. *Municipia* (commonly rendered free towns, enfranchised towns, hanse towns, or borough towns) were corporations or cities, who, for their good services, or upon other considerations, were allowed the use of their own laws, and at the same time honoured with the immunities and privileges of Roman citizens. See Kennett, b. iv. ch. 18.

cipes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quàm inopia, aut alia necessitudo. Ceterùm juvenis pleraque, sed maxumè nobilium, Catilinæ inceptis favebat. quibus in otio vel magnificè, vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum, quàm pacem, malebant. Fuere item eâ tempestate, qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius invisus ipsi magnum exercitum ducebat, cuiusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere: simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, faciliè apud illos principem se fore.

XVIII. Sed antea item conjuravere pauci contra rempublicam, in quibus Catilina. de qua quàm verissimè potero dicam. L. Tullo, M. Lepido Consulibus, P. Autronius et P. Sulla, designati Consules, legibus ambitiûs inter-

vertly associates in this plot, whom the hopes of power prompted more than want, or any other necessity. Moreover, most of the youth, but especially those of quality, favoured Catiline's enterprise. they who had it in their power to live in quiet, either splendidly or delicately, preferred uncertainties to certainties, war to peace. There were too, at that time, who believed that M. Licinius Crassus was not ignorant of the design; because Cn. Pompey, a man odious to him, had the command of a great army, and he would have been pleased that any one's interest should be increased in opposition to his power: without trusting, if the conspiracy succeeded, that he might easily be chief amongst them.

XVIII. But likewise before this, a few had entered into a conspiracy against the state, among whom Catiline. of which I shall give an account with as much truth as I can. When L. Tullus, and M. Lepidus were Consuls, P. Autronius and P. Sulla, Consuls elect, being tried,

rogati

XVIII. 1. *De qua*] sciz. conjuratione, referring to the verb conjuravere.

2. *Designati Consules*] The Consuls were chosen about the end of July or beginning of August, but did not enter on their office till the first of January following: during which time they were called *Consules designati*, and in point of honour had the precedence of all the senators: N. B. These words have been omitted in Cortius's edition through inadvertency, as appears from his notes; and therefore I have restored them.

3. *Legibus ambitûs*] *Ambire* is to go about and caress the people for their votes; and *crimen ambitûs* was when any one made use of bribes,

or

rogati pœnas dederant. Post paullò Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere; quòd intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summæ audaciæ, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rempublicam inopia atque mali mores simulabant. Cum hoc Catilina et Autronius, consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Januariis L. Cottam et L. Torquatum Consules interficere; ipsi, fascibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. Eâ re cognitâ, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium cædis transtulerant. Jam tum non Consulibus modò, sed plerisque Senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. Quòd nî Catilina maturâset pro curia signum sociis dare; eodè die,

by the laws against bribery in suing for offices, had undergone the penalties. A little after this Catiline, being accused of extortion in the provinces, was not allowed to stand candidate for the consulate; because he could not enter his name within the days prescribed by law. There was at the same time one Cn. Piso, a young nobleman, of great boldness, needy, and factious, whom poverty, and vitious morals, excited to disturb the government. With him Catiline and Autronius entering into a cabal, came to a resolution to assassinate in the Capitol, upon the first of January, L. Cotta and L. Torquatus the Consuls; and they, seizing the fasces, were to send Piso with an army to take possession of the two Spains. The matter being discovered, they again put off the assassination plot till the nones of February. At which time they intended a violent death, not only for the Consuls, but for most of the Senators. And if Catiline had not been over hasty to give

or other base and corrupt methods for this end; against which many severe laws were made, called *leges ambitus*, or *leges de ambitu*.

4. *Pecuniarum repetundarum*] Extortion or oppression committed in the provinces by the provincial magistrates, was called *crimen pecuniarum repetundarum*; as being a case wherein repetition and restitution was allowed by the senate to the people or party so injured.

5. *Intra legitimos dies*] Thirty days before the day of election.

6. *In Capitolio Kalendis*] This being the day the Consuls entered upon their office, they went, attended by their friends, in procession to the Capitol, to perform their devotion to the gods, and implore their favour.

7. *Duas Hispanias*] The Citerior and Ulterior; or *Terraconensis* and *Betica*.

post conditam urbem Romanam, pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant; ea res consilium diremit.

no great number of the conspirators had yet got together; that circumstance broke their measures.

XIX. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam Quæstor pro Prætore missus est, adnitente Crasso; quod eum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat: quippe fœdum hominem à republica procul esse volebat: simul, quia boni quamplures præsidium in eo putabant: et jam tum potentia Cn. Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso, in provinciam ab e-

the signal to the accomplices before the senate-house; that day an outrage had been committed the most execrable that ever happened since the building of the city Rome. But because

XIX. Afterwards Piso was sent Quæstor with the authority of Prætor into hither Spain, Crassus making interest for him; because he knew him to be an implacable enemy to Cn. Pompey. Nor yet did the senate unwillingly bestow the province: because they inclined such a scandalous fellow should be at a distance from the seat of government: also because a great many worthy men placed a security in him: for even, by this time, the power of Cn. Pompey was formidable. But this Piso, as quitibus

XIX. 1. *Quæstor*] The Quæstor was a kind of Lord Treasurer, who attended the army, had the charge of the public money, and of the plunder that was not given to the soldiers. This was the first and lowest office in the commonwealth; persons were admitted to it about the age of twenty-five years.

2. *Pro Prætore*] The Prætors at Rome were superintendents of the courts of justice: of whom there were two; the one applied himself wholly to the distribution of justice among the citizens, and had the name of *Prætor urbanus*; the other appointed judges in all matters relating to foreigners, and was called *Prætor peregrinus*. The provincial Prætors (and most of the provinces, except the two allotted for the Consuls, were governed by Prætors) were not only supreme judges in all matters within their own provinces, but had, when occasion required, the command of armies; and were in all respects invested with the same authority in their own provinces and armies as the Consuls were in theirs. A person sent to officiate in lieu of the Consul or Prætor, was called Proconsul or Proprætor; or writing separately, he was said to be *missus pro Consule* or *pro Prætore*.

3. *In provinciam*] must be explained here *intra provinciam*, or *in provincia*; for we are assured from other authors, that Piso was killed in

quitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens, occisus est. Sunt, qui ita dicunt, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia, barbaros nequivisse pati: alii autem, equites illos, Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes, voluntate ejus Pisonem adgressos: numquam Hispanos præterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia sæva multa antea perpeffos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiori conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. Catilina ubi eos, quos paullo antè memoravi, convenisse videt: tametsi cum singulis multa sæpe egerat; tamen in rem fore credens universos adpellare et cohortari, in abditam partem ædium sece-

he was upon a journey, was assassinated in the province by the Spanish horse, whom he had in his army. There are who say, that the barbarians could not endure his unreasonable, haughty, cruel orders: but others say these horse, being old and trusty clients of Cn. Pompey, did attack Piso at his desire: that the Spaniards had never committed such a fact in time past, but born with many severe orders before now. We shall leave the matter undetermined. There is enough said of the first conspiracy.

XX. Catiline, when he sees these assembled, whom I mentioned a little before; though he had often dealt much with each of them separately; yet believing it would be for his interest to bespeak and encourage all of them together, retires into a private

in Spain, and not upon the road thither. This appears too from Sallust himself, cap. xxi. where Catiline tells the conspirators, *esse in Hispania Pisonem*; which he could not have said, had he been murdered by the way. Nor need the construction surprise us; for not only Sallust, but several other authors, especially the ancients, make frequently the preposition *in* govern the accusative or ablative promiscuously, without regard to grammatical motion and rest. Cap. xi. *Exercitum, quem in Asiam ductaverat*. Jug. cap. cxii. *Cum talem virum in potestatem haberet*. Plaut. Cas. act. ii. sc. iii. ver. 26. *Ubi in lustra jacuisti*. Terent. Eunuch. act. ii. sc. ii. ver. 29. *In tantum honorem esse*. Quintil. VI. cap. ii. p. 523. *Neque enim sunt motus in nostram potestatem*.

4. *Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes*] This is a pure hexameter. It is not probable that Sallust calls these Spaniards here *clientes Pompeii* in the common sense of the word, because Pompey was their patron. The meaning rather is, that Pompey had attached them to his interest by special favours. And such Cæsar, 1. Civ. cap. lxxv. calls *beneficarii*. See cap. xxxi. note 6.

5. *In medio relinquemus*] *Nec affirmabimus, nec negabimus, ita ut suum cuique liberum sit judicium.*

dit: atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujusmodi habuit.

“ Nî virtus fidesque vestra spectata mihi forent, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio in manibus frustra fuissent: neque ego per ignaviam, aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis capterem. Sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortes fidosque mihi: eò animus ausus maxumum atque pulcherum facinus incipere: simul quia vobis, eadem mihi, bona malaque intellexi. nam idem velle atque nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed ego quæ mente agitavi, omnes jam antea diversi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cum considero, quæ conditio vitæ futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam respublica in paucorum jus atque ditionem concessit; semper illis reges, tetrarchæ vestigales esse: populi, nationes stipendia pendere: ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, no-

part of the house: and there, all witnesses being removed at a distance, he made a speech to this purpose.

“ *Unless your courage and fidelity were known to me, this lucky opportunity had fallen out in vain: vast hopes and dominion had been in our hands to no purpose: nor would I grasp at uncertainties in place of things certain, by the help of men of unactive and fickle tempers. But because I have found you valiant and faithful to me upon many and important occasions: therefore my mind has dared to set on foot a very great and very glorious enterprise: and also, because I understood that the things that were good and bad for you, were the same to me. for to like and dislike the same thing, that above all is false friendship. But all of you before now have heard separately, what I have projected in my mind. Moreover my resolution is more animated from day to day, when I consider, what our state of life will be, unless we restore ourselves to liberty. For since the government came under the power and management of a few: kings, tetrarchs are tributary to them: states and nations pay them taxes: all the rest of us, brave men, worthy men, nobles*

XX. 1. *Populi, nationes*] *Natio* denotes a whole country or province; *populus*, a city or state regulated by the same laws; so that *natio* is a word of a more extensive signification, and may include several *populi*, as *natio Teutonen* comprehends the *populi* called *Alemanni, Bavari, et Saxones*.

biles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, sine gratia, sine auctoritate, his obnoxii, quibus, si respublica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiæ apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt: repulsas nobis reliquere, pericula, judicia, egestatem. Quæ quousque tandem patiemini, fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem præstat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienæ superbiæ ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verum enim vero pro deum atque hominum fidem! victoria nobis in manu. viget ætas, animus valet: contrà illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. tantummodo incepto opus est: cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas profundant in exstruendo mari et montibus cœquandis; nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas, aut amplius, domos continuare; nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Cùm tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt; nova diruunt, alia ædificant;

and commoners, have been treated as mob, without interest, without authority, in a slavish subjection to those, to whom, if the administration were in its proper state, we should be a terror. Wherefore all interest, power, honour, riches, are with them, or where they please: to us they have left repulses, dangers, impeachments, and poverty. Which indignities how long, pray, will you, the bravest of men, tamely suffer? Is it not better to die by bravery, than by disgrace to lose a miserable and inglorious life, after you have been the sport of other mens insolence? But surely, by the faith of gods and men! we have the victory in our hands. our age is fresh, our minds are vigorous: on the other hand, all things are decayed to them, by reason of their years and riches. there is need only of a beginning: the undertaking, once set on foot, will itself execute all the rest. For what mortal, that has the spirit of a man, can endure, that they should have an excess of wealth, to squander away in building up the sea, and in levelling mountains; and that a private estate is wanting to us even for necessities? that they should erect lodgings in pairs or more; that we should have a private house of our own nowhere? though they purchase

2. Domos continuare] est domos domibus adstruere, to add house to house.

postremò omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant; tamen summâ lubricine divitias vincere nequeunt. At nobis domi inopia, foris æs alienum: mala res, spes multò asperior. denique, quid reliqui habemus, præter miseram animam? Quin igitur expetiscimini? En illa, illa, quam sæpe optâstis, libertas, præterea divitiæ, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt! Fortuna omnia victoribus præmia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica, magis quàm oratio, hortentur. Vel imperatore, vel milite me utimini. neque animus, neque corpus à vobis aberit. Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum Consul agam: nisi fortè animus fallit, et vos servire, quàm imperare, parati estis."

with you, as I hope: unless perhaps my mind deceives me, and you be disposed rather to serve, than command."

XXI. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res, neque spes bona ulla, tamen etsi illis quicquid movere, magna merces videbatur; tamen postula-

pictures, statues, and vessels of fine workmanship; pull down new fabrics, build others; finally by all methods waste, and consume their money; yet with the highest extravagance they are not able to get the better of their wealth. But we have poverty at home, debts abroad: our condition bad, our expectations much more desperate. to conclude, what have we left, except a wretched life? Why then don't you rouse? Lo! that liberty, that glorious liberty, which you have often wished for, moreover riches, honour, glory, are placed full in your view! Fortune hath proposed all rewards to the conquerors. May the case, the opportunity, dangers, want, and the noble spoils of war excite you more than my speech. Use me either as your leader, or fellow-soldier. neither heart nor hand shall be wanting to you. In quality of Consul shall execute these things

XXI. After the men heard these things, who had all calamities in abundance, but neither fortunes, nor any good expectation, though to disturb the public tranquillity, appeared to them a mighty gratification; yet

3. *Pecuniam trahunt, vexant*] A moribus belli tracta translatio, quam eleganter exsequitur, ubi mox etiam *vincere* adjicit. Erit igitur *pecuniam trahere* idem, quod modis indignis *disfrabere*; et *vexare* idem quod *suprà*, cap. xiv. *lacerare*, ita ut summam libidinem et profundendi arbitrium designet. Idem genus elegantiae est, quando Seneca, *agitare pecuniam*, Statius, *strangulare opes*, Martialis *flagellare dixit*

re plerique, uti proponeret, quæ conditio belli foret: quæ præmia armis peterent: quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quæ bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Præterea esse in Hispania citiore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes: petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem, et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum: eò Consulem initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc maledictis increpat omnis bonos: suorum unumquemque nominans laudare; admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suæ, complures periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriæ Sullanæ, quibus ea

most of them desired, that he would declare, what were to be the terms of war: what rewards they might propose by their arms: what help or hope they might reckon upon, and where. Upon that Catiline promised remission of debts, a proscription of the rich, posts in the magistracy, places in the priesthood, plunder, and all other advantages which war and the uncontroulled pleasure of conquerors comprehend. Moreover that there was Piso in hither Spain, P. Sittius Nucerinus in Mauretania with an army, both privy to his design: that C. Antonius stood candidate for the consulate, who he hoped would be colleague to himself, a man both his intimate friend, and embarrassed with all manner of difficulties: that therefore he, when chosen Consul, would begin the execution of his design. Moreover he inveighs against every man of integrity with virulent language: and naming each of his own party, he commended them; put one in mind of poverty, ano-

XXI. 1. *Quid ubique*] Sallust not only here, but in several other places, puts *ubique* for *et ubi*. Cap. xxvii. *Quem ubique opportunum credebat*, i. e. *quem et ubi illum opportunum credebat*. Jug. cap. lii. *Neque remittit, quid ubique hostis ageret, explorare*, i. e. *quid, et ubi ageret*.

2. *Tabulas novas*] Intellige tabulas debiti et crediti, quæ novæ dicuntur, quando debitoribus æs alienum remittitur.

3. *Proscriptionem*] "Proscription, first practised by Sulla, was a posting up persons names in public places, with a promise of a certain reward to any who should murder them. And the estates and goods of the persons thus proscribed were confiscated and seized.

4. *Nucerinum*] His father was born in the town of Nuceria in Italy, and hence the son got this surname.

prædæ fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt; cohortatus, ut petitionem suam curæ haberent, conventum dimisit. *advising them to take care of his suit for the consulate, he dismissed the meeting.*

XXII. Fuere cā tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habitā, cū ad iusjurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem, vino permixtum, in pateris circumtulisse; inde, cū post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, atque eò, dictitare, fecisse, quò inter se fidi magis forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta hæc, multa præterea existimabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quæ postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

evidence, considering the extraordinary nature of it.

ther of his covetousness, several of danger or shame, and many of the victory of Sulla, who had got booty by it. After he perceives all their spirits elevated; of his suit for the consulate, he

XXII. There were at that time, who said, that Catiline, after making his speech, when he obliged the accomplices of his wicked enterprise to take an oath, handed about in bowls the blood of a human body, mingled with wine; and then, when after the oath all had tasted of it, as was wont to be done in solemn sacrifices, opened up his design, and they gave out, that he did it for this end, that they might be the more trusty to one another, each of them being privy to one another of so foul a fact. Some thought this, and many things besides, were invented by those, who imagined the odium against Cicero, which afterward broke out, to be allayed by the heinousness of the villany of those, who had suffered punishment. As to this affair I have not found sufficient

XXII. 1. *Vino permixtum*] The ancients called this kind of potion *assiratum*.

2. *Post execrationem*] *Exsecratio* was the pronouncing of a solemn oath, wherein they bound themselves, under heavy imprecations and curses, to secrecy and mutual fidelity. Liv. X. cap. xxxviii. *Jurare cogebatur diro quodam carmine in execrationem capitis familiæque et stirpis composito, nisi esset in prælium, quo imperatores duxissent: et si ipse ex acie fugisset, aut si quem fugientem vidisset, non extemplo occidisset.* Just. III. cap. iv. *Gravissimā se execratione obstrinxerunt, non prius, quā Messenam expugnassent, reuersuros.*

3. *Ciceronis invidiam*] See cap. lv. note 3.

XXIII. Sed

XXIII. Sed in ea conventionē fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus co-opertus; quem Censores senatu probri gratiā amoverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas, quā audacia; neque reticere, quæ audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare. prorsus neque dicere, ne-

XXIII. Now in this meeting was Q. Curius, descended of no mean family, but immersed in debauchery and villany; whom the Censors had expelled the senate, on account of his scandalous behaviour. In this man there was no less vanity, than impudence; he could neither keep secret what he heard, nor conceal his own crimes. nor did he at all regard, what he either said

XXIII. 1. *Flagitiis atque facinoribus*] Quod agit indomita cupiditas, ad corrumpendum animum et corpus suum, *flagitium* vocatur: quod autem agit, ut alteri noceat, *facinus* dicitur. Augustin. de doctrin. Christ. cap. x.

2. *Censores*] These were persons of the highest dignity in the state; their station was reckoned more honourable than even that of the Consuls themselves. Every fifth year they made a survey of the people, took an account of the estates and goods of every person, their name, their wife's name, the names, number, and age of their children, the number of their slaves; and this was called *censum agere* or *censum habere*. The other part of their office was the censure of manners. They had power to punish an immorality in any person, of what rank soever. The word *notare*, not *punire*, was used to denote the exercise of their discipline; and the punishment or censure was called *ignominia*, not *pœna*. A Senator they could degrade, and *expel the house*, which was done by striking his name out of the roll. The *equites* they punished by *taking away the horse* allowed them at the public charge. The *commons* they might either *remove* from a higher tribe to a less honourable, or quite *disable* them to give their votes in the assemblies, by erasing their name out of the *album*, i. e. the register or roll belonging to their century. These several ways of punishing were shortly expressed in Latin thus, *Senatu ejicere, equum adimere, tribu movere, in Ceritum tabulas referre*. The *Cerites* were the people of Cere, a town in Etruria, who, for their good services to the Romans in the Gallic war, were honoured with the freedom of the city, but without the right of voting at the elections. And when any citizen was deprived of his right of voting by the Censors, his name, as it was struck out of the rolls of his own century, so it was entered in the *tabule* or register of the *Cerites*. Hence too the proverb, *Cerite cerâ digni*, Hor. l. epist. vi. ver. 62. of those that deserve to be censured and lose their privilege.

The Censors, after the quinquennial survey, made an expiatory sacrifice in a very solemn manner, in the name of all the people. It consisted of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, whence it got the name of *suovetaurilia*. This ceremony they called *lustrum condere*, and hence *lustrum* came to signify the space of five years.

que facere quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo; cui cum minùs gratus esset, quia inopiâ minus largiri poterat, repentè gloriâs maria montesque polliceri cœpit; minari interdum ferro, nisi obnoxia foret: postremò ferociùs agitare, quàm solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiæ Curii causâ cognitâ, talè periculum reipublicæ haud occultum habuit; sed, sublato auctore, de Catilinæ conjuratione quæ quoque modo audierat compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidiâ æstuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia pòst fuere.

XXIV. Igitur comitiis habitis, Consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius. quod factum primò popularis conjurationis

or did. He had an old amorous intrigue with one Fulvia, a lady of quality; to whom when he was less acceptable, because by reason of his poverty he was less able to make her presents, all on a sudden boasting he begun to promise seas and mountains; sometimes threatened her with his sword, unless she would be obsequious: in short he behaved more huffily than he had been wont to do. But Fulvia, having discovered the ground of Curius's unusual carriage, made no secret of such a danger to the state; but, concealing her author, told to several, what, and what way, she had heard of Catiline's conspiracy. That discovery in the first place kindled a zeal among the people for conferring the consulate on M. Tullius Cicero. For before this most of the nobility were fying for spite, and thought the consular dignity in a sort sullied, if an upstart, though an extraordinary person, should obtain it. But when danger approached, envy and pride were dropt.

XXIV. Accordingly the courts of election being held, M. Tullius and C. Antonius were declared Consuls. which procedure first gave a shock to the accom-

3. *Maria montesque polliceri*] a proverbial expression, denoting whatever is grand and in great abundance.

4. *Pleraque nobilitas*] See Jug. cap. liv. note 4.

5. *Homo novus*] Cujus parentes atque majores non fuere honoribus in republica cogniti. A man who was the first in his family, that had bore some curule office; that is, had been Curule Aedile, Censor, Praetor, or Consul. See Curule, cap. xlvii. note 6.

concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinæ furor minuebatur; sed in dies plura agitare; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare; pecuniam suâ, aut amicorum fide sumtam mutuam, Fæfulas ad Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Eâ tempestate plurimos cuiusque generis homines adscivisse dicitur; mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primò ingentis sumtus stupro corporis toleraverant: post ubi ætas tantummodo quaestui, neque luxuriæ modum fecerat, æs alienum grande conflaverant. per eas se Catilina credebatur posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adungere sibi, vel interficere.

XXV. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque formâ, præterea viro, liberis, satis fortunata: litteris Græcis atque Latinis docta: psallere, saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probæ:

plices of the conspiracy. Nevertheless Catiline's fury was not abated; but every day he was hatching more contrivances; he provided arms in convenient places all over Italy; conveyed borrowed money, taken up on his own or his friends credit, to Fæfulæ, to one Manlius, who afterwards was the first that began the war. At this time he is said to have drawn in a great many men of every rank; also some women, who formerly had supported a vast extravagance by the prostitution of their body: afterwards, when age had put an end to their gain, and to it only, not to their luxury, they had contracted huge debts. by their means Catiline expected to draw over the city-slaves, to fire the town, and either engage their husbands to himself, or murder them.

XXV. Now amongst these was Sempronia, who had often done many exploits of a manly hardiness. This woman was abundantly happy in her parentage and person, also in a husband and children: she was a skilled mistress in the learning of Greece and Italy: could play on musical instruments, and dance

XXIV. 1. *Amicorum fide*] His friends became Surety for him. Sureties on such occasions were interrogated by the lender in a set form of words, to this purpose, *Centum à me Catilina tuâ fide credita esse iubes? Jureo.*

2. *Fæfulas*] a town in Etruria.

XXV. 1. *Litteris Græcis*] *Litteræ* sunt historiæ, scripta, doctrinæ.

D

multa

multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ. Sed ei cariora semper omnia, quàm decus atque pudicitia fuit: pecuniæ an famæ minùs parceret, haud facile decerneres: lubido sic accensa, ut sæpiùs peteret viros, quàm peteretur. Sed ea sæpe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, cædis conscia fuerat, luxuriâ atque inopiâ præceps abierat. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum; posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci. prorsus multæ facetiæ multusque lepos inerat.

either modest, or smutty, or wanton. in short, she had a great deal of jocular humour, and abundance of graceful wit.

XXVI. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minus in proximum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus, aut astutiæ deerant. Namque à principio consulatûs sui, multa pollicendo per Fulviam, effe-

more nicely than was needful for a virtuous matron: and dexterous at many other things, which minister to luxury. But every thing was always more precious to her, than honour and chastity: you could not easily have determined, whether she was less sparing of her money or her reputation: her lust was so furious, that she oftener made advances to the men, than she was sought to. But frequently before this she had broke promises, forsworn trusts, had been privy to murder, and by profusion and poverty had been carried headlong into wickedness. But her parts were far from being mean; she could make verses, be facetious, use discourse ei-

ther modest, or smutty, or wanton. in short, she had a great deal of jocular humour, and abundance of graceful wit.

XXVI. Matters being thus prepared, Catiline notwithstanding set up for the consulate against the next year; hoping, if he should be chosen, that he would easily manage Antonius according to his mind. Nor in the mean time was he idle, but all manner of ways laid traps for Cicero. Nor yet was cunning or craft wanting on his part to avoid them. For from the beginning of his consulship he had brought it about, through Fulvia's means, by making large

2. *Multa alia*] Understand *doctræ*, on which *psallere* and *saltare* depend, also, as to their construction, depend. See Jug. cap. vi. note 1.

3. *Vel molli, vel procaci*] *Sermo mollis* est voluptuarius et cui insunt occultæ quædam illecebræ, quæ capiunt animum; at *procax* est liberior et impudens.

cérat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paullò antè memoravi, consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet. Ad hoc collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciæ perpulerat, ne contra rempublicam sentiret. circum se præsidia amicorum atque clientium occultè habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinæ neque petitio, neque insidiæ, quas Consulibus in campo fecerat, prosperè cessere; constituit bellum facere, et extrema omnia experiri: quoniam quæ occultè tentaverat, aspera fœdaque evenerant.

XXVII. Igitur C. Manlium Fæsulas atque in eam partem Etruriæ, Septimium quemdam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Ju-

promises, that Q. Curius, of whom I made mention a little before, discovered Catiline's measures to him. And further, he had prevailed upon his colleague Antonius, by the grant of a province, not to entertain thoughts against the government. about his own person he kept privately guards of friends and dependents. After the day of election came, and neither Catiline's suit for the consulate, nor the plot which he had laid for the Consuls in the field of Mars, succeeded; he resolved to make war, and try all extremities: since what he had attempted privately, had happened to be galling and disgraceful to him.

XXVII. Accordingly he dispatched C. Manlius to Fæsulæ, and that part of Etruria next it, one Septimius a Camertian to the territory of Picene, C. Julius

XXVI. 1. *Paßiene provinciæ*] The senate always allotted two provinces for the new Consuls, which they commonly divided by lot betwixt them. The consular provinces this year were Macedonia and Gallia; and as Antonius was fond to have Macedonia, Cicero, to oblige him, and attach him firmly to his interest, generously gave him his choice, and took Gallia to himself.

2. *Quis Consulibus in campo fecerat*] As Sallust does not say *Consuli*, but *Consulibus*, it would seem the disappointment Catiline met with at the election had put him upon a desperate resolution of cutting off not only Cicero, but the Consuls-elect; who had carried their point, and were preferred before him. By *Campus* we are to understand *campus Martius*, the place where the *comitia* were commonly held.

XXVII. 1. *Camertem*] *Camers* a gentile or patrial noun, derived from *Camerinum*, a town situated upon the confines of Umbria and Picenum.

2. *In agrum*] *Ager*, commonly rendered *territory* or *district*, was a kind of small province or little county, denominated generally from the metropolis or chief town in it. We meet with numbers of them in old Italy. They may be compared to the *pagi* or *cantons* in Helvetia, and to the *civitates* or *states* in Gallia.

lium in Apuliam dimisit; præterea alium aliò, quem ubique opportunum credebatur. Interea Romæ multa simul moliri; Consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere: ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere: hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent: dies noctesque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremò, ubi multa agitantinihil procedit, rursus intempestâ nocte conjurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Læcam: ibique multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet, “se Manlium præmisisse 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 obsistere.”

XXVIII. Igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, C. Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L.

into Apulia; others likewise he sent off one to one place, and another to another; whom and where he thought proper. In the mean time at Rome he attempted many projects at once; laid snares for the Consul, prepared to fire the city, secured proper places with armed men: he was always provided with a sword about him, and likewise ordered others to be so too: he desired, that they would be always looking out, and in readiness: he was in a hurry day and night, got little sleep, and yet not wearied out with watching or fatigue. Finally, when nothing succeeded with him, attempting many things, again in the dead of the night he convenes the ring-leaders of the conspiracy by M. Porcius Læca: and there, after complaining much of their want of spirit, he informs them, “that he had dispatched Manlius to that party, which he had prepared to take up arms; also others to other proper places, who were to begin the war; and that he inclined to go to the army, if once he had taken off Cicero: for that he much obstructed his designs.”

XXVIII. Whereupon C. Cornelius, a Roman knight, the rest being dispirited and hesitating, having promised his assistance, and with him L. Vargunteius a

3. *Cum telo esse*] This is old Latin, being the very words of the XII. Tables, by which the wearing of swords or other weapons within the city was forbid. The expression occurs again cap. xlix.

4. *Dies noctesque*] Plus est quàm diu nocteque, et notat continuationem.

Vargunteius Senator, constituere eâ nocte paullo post cum armatis hominibus, sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improviso domi suæ impetratum confodere. Curius ubi intelligit, quantum periculi Consuli impendeat, properè per Fulviam domum, qui parabatur, enunciat. Ita illi januâ prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul, ac dolore injuriæ novarum rerum cupidam: quòd, Sullæ dominatione, agros bonaque omnia amiserat; præterea latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat; nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus libido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

to whom lewdness and luxury had left nothing of all their rich plunders.

XXIX. Ea cum Ciceroni nunciarentur; ancipiti malo permotus, quòd neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exerci-

Senator, they agreed to go in to Cicero that same night a little afterwards with armed men, as it were to pay their respects, and unawares at his own house to stab him unprepared. Curius, when he understood how great danger threatened the Consul, instantly gives him notice by Fulvia, of the plot that was laid. Thus they being refused admittance at the gate, engaged themselves to so great a villany in vain. In the mean time Manlius in Etruria solicits the populace, fond of a revolution in the state, both by reason of their poverty, and from resentment of wrongs: because, under the tyranny of Sulla, they had lost their lands and all their effects; moreover, he engaged the highwaymen of every kind, of whom there was great plenty in that country; and some of the soldiers that had been settled in the possession of lands by Sulla,

XXIX. When these things were told Cicero; being much startled at the double danger, because he could neither any longer by private measures secure the city against the plot, nor had he

XXVIII. 1. *Ea nocte paullo post*] The conspirators met in the dead of the night, and may be supposed to have spent two or three hours in conference; and therefore the time here pointed at must be early in the morning, which was the time when the Consuls and other great men had their levee or salutatio.

2. *Latrones*——*nonnullos*] To both these words understand *sollicitare*.

XXIX. 1. *Ancipiti malo*] Quasi duplici, intra et extra urbem; intra, ab insidiis Catilinæ sociorumque; extra, ab exercitu Manlii.

tus Manlii quantus, aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, jam antea vulgi rumoribus exagitata. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, DARENT OPERAM CONSULES, NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET. Eâ, potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxuma permittitur: exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis: domi militiæque imperium atque iudicium summum habere; aliter, sine populi jussu, nulli earum rerum consuli jus est.

XXX. Post paucos dies L. Sænius Senator in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Fæsulis adlatas sibi dicebat: in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse, cum magna multitudine, ante diem vi. Kalendas Novembris. Simul id, quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia

sufficient intelligence how numerous Manlius's army was, or what their design might be; he lays the matter before the senate, tossed before now by the talk of the common people. Whereupon the senate decreed, what generally in a desperate juncture is usual, That the consuls should do their endeavour that the public might not receive any harm. By this, a most extensive power, according to the Roman constitution, is granted to the magistrate by the senate: namely, to raise an army, to levy war, to exercise all compulsive authority over allies and citizens: to have the supreme command and jurisdiction both at home and in the war; otherwise, without the people's commission, no Consul has power in these matters.

XXX. A few days after this L. Sænius a Senator read a letter in the senate, which he said was brought him from Fæsulæ: in which was writ, that C. Manlius had taken up arms, with a vast number of people, upon the sixth day before the Kalends of November. At the same time, a thing that is usual in such a case, some brought news

2. *Vulgi*] This is old orthography. In like manner, cap. lxi. *vulneribus* for *vulneribus*. Jug. cap. cxiii. *vultu* for *vultu*.

3. *Eâ, potestas*] Intellige *formula, sententia, re*, vel quidvis, dummodo cum Gronovio *eâ* sexto casu accipias. *Decretio*, si antiquis in usu fuisset, facillimè adsumeretur.

XXX. 1. *Ante diem vi. Kalendas*] Concisa ista et consuetudine confirmata locutio ita *evolvenda* est, ut *diem* vel *die vi. ante Kalendas* significet.

nunciabant,

nunciabant, alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuæ atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Fæfulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque loca missi: ii utrique ad urbem Imperatores erant; impediti, ne triumpharent, calumniâ paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Sed Prætores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum; iisque permissum, “ uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent.” ad hoc, “ si quis indicavisset de conjuratione, quæ contra rempublicam facta erat, præmium servo libertatem et sestertia

of omens and prodigies, others of meetings being held, arms conveyed, that at Capua and in Apulia an insurrection of the slaves was on foot. Whereupon, by order of the senate, Q. Marcius Rex was sent to Fæfulæ, and Q. Metellus Creticus into Apulia, and the places thereabout: both these were Generals waiting nigh the city; and were hindered from obtaining a triumph, by the detraction of a few, whose manner it was to make sale of every thing honourable and dishonourable. But the Prætors were sent, Q. Pompeius Rufus to Capua, and Q. Metellus Celer into the territory of Picene; and to them a commission granted, “ to raise an army suitable to the occasion and the danger.” and further, “ if any would make a discovery of the conspiracy, which was made a-

2. *Ad urbem Imperatores erant*] i. e. *prope urbem*; for when ever a General demanded a triumph, he was obliged to resign the command of his army; was not allowed to enter Rome, nor approach it but at a certain distance, till this honour had been granted or refused him by the senate.

3. *Sestertia*] *Sestertius* was the fourth part of a *denarius*, and was equal in value to two pounds and a half of brass; and hence in authors it is frequently denoted by LLS. (id est, *due libræ et semi*), or, which is the same in a contracted form, by HS. or IIS. In numbering by *sestertii* the following rules are to be observed.

I. The *sestertium* (neut. gen.) contained a thousand *sestertii*, and is in value of our money about 7 l. 16 s. 3 d.; so that the reward here offered, of *sestertia centum*, amounts to 781 l. 5 s. and *sestertia ducenta* to be 1562 l. 10 s. Sterling.

II. If a *numeral noun* be joined with any of these words, it denotes precisely as many as the numeral expresses. Thus *decem sestertii* is 10 *sestertii*, and *decem sestertia* is 10 *sestertia*, or 10,000 *sestertii*; and *decem sestertiûm* (for *sestertiorum*) denotes the same number.

III. If a *numeral adverb* be added, it raises the value 100 times. Thus *decies sestertiûm* signifies ten hundred *sestertia*, or, which is the same thing, ten hundred thousand *sestertii*.

centum :

centum: libero impunitatem ejus rei, et seclertia ducenta." item [decrevere] "uti gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuarentur, pro cuiusque opibus: Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur, iisque minores magistratus praessent."

watches should be kept through the whole city, and that the inferior magistrates should have the charge of them."

XXXI. Quibus rebus permota civitas, atque immutata urbis facies: ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna quies

gainst the government, a reward was offered, to a slave, his freedom and 100,000 sesterces, to a free man, pardon of the crime and 200,000 sesterces." they likewise [ordered], "that the families of the gladiators should be dispersed thro' Capua, and other franchised towns, according to their several abilities: that at Rome

XXXI. By which things the city was put into a consternation, and the appearance of the town changed: after the greatest jollity and wantonness, which a

4. *Decrevere*] Such words or sentences, as Cortius, in clearing Sallust of the false readings, strongly suspected to be spurious, but could not with absolute certainty throw out, he has inclosed in crotchets or brackets thus, [*decrevere*].

5. *Gladiatoriae familiae*] The gladiators were a set of wretches, being mostly condemned persons, malefactors, captives, untoward slaves, or other ruffians, who were trained up by a *lunista* or fencing master, on purpose to furnish diversion to the people on public days, by engaging before them in mortal combats. Gladiators were first introduced by D. Junius Brutus at his father's funerals, about the year of Rome 489. And this he did in imitation of the ancient Heathens, who imagined the ghosts of deceased persons were appeased and rendered propitious by human blood. But as the Roman people were much pleased with these bloody entertainments, they were not long confined to funeral solemnities, but soon became common on almost all public occasions. Every great man, to ingratiate himself with the people, would exhibit shows of gladiators, (*munera gladiatoria*). Julius Caesar in his aedileship presented them with three hundred and twenty pair. Trajan the Emperor exhibited no less than a thousand pair. See a further account in Kennett, b. v. chap. iv.

6. *Distribuarentur*] There were vast numbers of gladiators at this time in Rome, and it was thought prudent to have them separated and dispersed, lest getting together in a body they should join Catiline.

7. *Pro cuiusque opibus*] Prout municipium quodque gladiatores capere, tenere, et custodire posset.

8. *Minores magistratus*] The Consuls, Praetors, and Censors were called *magistratus maiores*, and all the rest were named *minores*, such as, the Aediles, Quaestors, Tribunes, Triumphs, &c.

pepererat,

pepererat, repentè omnis tristitia invasit. festinare, trepidare; neque loco, nec homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere: suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus, reipublicæ magnitudine, belli timor insolitus, affligere sese, manus supplices ad cælum tendere; miserari parvos liberos; rogare, omnia pavere; superbiâ atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriæque diffidere. At Catilinæ crudelis animus eadem illa movebat: tamen etsi præsidia parabantur, et ipse lege Plautiâ interrogatus ab L. Paullo. Postremò, dissimulandi causâ atque sui expurgandi, sicuti jurgio lacesitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius Consul, sive præsentiam ejus timens, seu irâ commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicæ: quam postea scriptum edidit. Sed,

long quiet had produced, all on a sudden a dismal concern seized every one. they were in a bustle, in a confusion; they could scarcely trust neither any place nor any person; neither had they war, nor had they peace: every one measured the danger by his own fears. Moreover, the women, to whom, by reason of the grandeur of the state, the terror of war was an unusual thing, most dismally bemoaned their case, spread out their hands in prayer to heaven; bewailed their little children; were full of inquiry after news, afraid of every thing; and dropping their pride and pleasures, gave up themselves and their country for lost. But the cruel soul of Catiline pursued the very same designs: notwithstanding that measures were taking for defence against him, and he himself was impeached upon the Plautian law by L. Paullus. At last, in order to cloke his villany, and clear himself, as if he had been provoked by defamation, he came into the senate. Upon this M. Tullius the Con-

XXXI. 1. *Rogitare*] Interrogare et sciscitari de conjuratione apud alios post alios.

2. *Legge Plautiâ*] The author P. Plautus, Tribune of the commons, A U. 675, against those that attempted any force against the state or senate, or used any violence towards the magistrates, or appeared armed in public. The punishment assigned to the person convicted was, *aque et ignis interdictio*.

3. *In senatum venit*] Sed nemo eum appellavit, nemo salutavit, et subselliorum partem, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam senatores reliquerant. Cic. ii. Cat. cap. vi.

4. *Præsentiam ejus timens*] as not thinking himself absolutely secured against Catiline's plots, even when in the senate.

ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso voltu, voce supplicis postulare, "Patres conscripti ne quid de se temerè crederent: eà familiâ ortum, ita ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet: ne æstumarent, sibi patricia homini, cuius ipsius, atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perditâ republicâ opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius inquilinus civis ur-

ful, whether dreading his presence, or transported with passion, made a flaming speech, and of mighty service to the state: which afterward he put in writing and published. But, when he sat down, Catiline, as he was prepared to dissemble every thing, with a dejected look, and humble tone, begged, "that the Honourable Fathers would not believe any thing of him rashly: that he was descended of such a family, and had so led his life from his youth, that he had ground to expect all preferments: that they would not sup-

5. *Patres conscripti*] Romulus, soon after the building of Rome, chose, out of the graver and more elderly citizens, 100 persons, to assist him in the administration. These made up his senate, and were, by a solemn appellation, called PATRES, as Sallust informs us, cap. vi. But after an alliance was entered into with Tatius, and the Sabines came and settled in Rome, Romulus enlarged the senate by adding another hundred to it. And this last hundred, as being co-elected, and superadded to, or put in joint commission with the former, were properly called PATRES CONSCRIPTI. But the appellation came in a short time to be common, and was given to all the Senators without distinction; who, in the senate, were constantly addressed under this honourable title.

6. *Patricio homini*] Romulus divided his people, according to their honour and dignity, into Patricians and Plebeians. The Patricians, *i. e. patribus orti*, were persons of rank and quality, bore offices of state, assisted in the administration, and took care of religious rites. The Plebeians or commons were to plow the ground, feed cattle, and follow trades. Every Patrician took so many of the Plebeians under his protection, was their counsellor or adviser in difficult cases, their advocate in judgment, and on this account was called their *patron*, and they his *clients*. On the other hand, the clients paid a great deference to their patrons, waited upon, served, and assisted them, as they were required. On some pressing occasions they furnished them with money; but this was rarely practised; for it was thought dishonourable for a patron to take money of his client.

7. *Inquilinus civis*] One not born in Rome, but who came to it from the country. This Catiline says satyrically, upbraiding Cicero with the place of his birth, which was Arpinum, a small and mean town in Italy. See Jug. cap. lxiii. note 1.

his Romæ." Ad hoc maledicta alia cum adderet; obtrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus: "Quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, "ab inimicis præceptus agor, incendium meum ruinâ restinguam."

And then as he was adding other opprobrious reflections; all bawled out against him, called him traitor and parricide. Upon which he, in a furious rage, said: "Since then thus beset, I am doomed to destruction by enemies, I shall extinguish the flame kindled against me, by demolition, i. e. by the ruin of his adversaries."

XXXII. Dein se ex curia domum proripuit. ibi multa secum ipse volvens, quod neque insidiæ Consuli procedebant, et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factum credens, exercitum augere, ac prius, quam legiones scriberentur, antecapere, quæ bello usui forent; nocte intempestâ cum paucis in Manliana

pose, that he a nobleman, whose own good services, and those of his ancestors to the people of Rome had been very many, was under any necessity of ruining the commonwealth to make himself great, when M. Tullius, an adventitious citizen of the town of Rome, took care to preserve it."

And then as he was adding other opprobrious reflections; all bawled out against him, called him traitor and parricide. Upon which he, in a furious rage, said: "Since then thus beset, I am doomed to destruction by enemies, I shall extinguish the flame kindled against me, by demolition, i. e. by the ruin of his adversaries."

XXXII. Then in great haste he flung out of the senate-house away home. there revolving many things with himself, since his plot against the Consul had not succeeded, and since he understood the city was secured against fire by the watches, thinking the best thing to be done was, to reinforce the army, and, before the legions were levied, to secure beforehand what might be of use for the war;

8. *Præceptus agor*] A figurative expression, taken probably from the punishment called *dejectio de Tarpeia rupe*, where the criminal was pushed headlong from a precipice.

9. *Ruinâ restinguam*] A metaphor taken from houses on fire, where, the flames being so violent that they cannot be extinguished in the ordinary way by water, the neighbouring houses are pulled down, in order to put a stop to the burning.

XXXII. 1. *Insidiæ Consuli procedebant*] We might here suppose *Consuli* governed by *factæ* understood. But there is no occasion for being so nice, for it is nothing strange to see a substantive noun governing a dative. Jug. cap. vii. *Qui tum Romanis Imperator.* Cap. lxxxv. *Benefacta mea reipublicæ procedunt.* Virg. *Erit ille mihi semper Dens.* Senec. *Rebus humanis Præses.* Cic. *Non hominibus, sed virtutibus hostis.*

2. *Optimum factum credens*] i. e. Credens exercitum augere, &c. esse optimum factum.

castra profectus est. sed Cethego atque Lentulo, ceterisque quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus posset, opes factionis confirmarent, cædem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora parent: sese prope diem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur C. Manlius ex suo numero ad Marcium Regem mittit, cum mandatis hujuscemodi.

XXXIII. "Deos hominesque testamur, Imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quod periculum homini faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent; qui miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate sceneratorum plerique patriæ, sed omnes famâ atque fortunis expertes sumus: neque cuiquam nostrum licuit, more majorum, lege uti, neque, amisso patrimonio, liberum corpus habere: tanta

he set forward with a few attendants in the dead of the night for Manlius's camp. but recommends to Cethegus and Lentulus, and others, whose pushing boldness he was acquainted with, by whatever means they could, to strengthen the interest of their party, to hasten on a plot against the Consul, to prepare for a massacre, burning, and other exploits of war: that he within a few days would come to the city with a great army. Whilst these things are doing at Rome, C. Manlius dispatches some of his number to

XXXIII. "General, we call gods and men to witness, that we have taken up arms neither against our country, nor that we might occasion danger to any man, but that our own persons might be secured against ill usage; who being distressed and beggared by the oppression and inhumanity of usurers, are most of us bereft of our country, but all of credit and estates: nor was it allowed to any of us, according to the manner of our forefathers, to take the benefit of the law, nor, after our fortunes were lost, to enjoy the liber-
tævitia

3. *Prope diem*] In vetustis divisim scribitur. *Prope diem* dixere pro brevi, statim.

XXXIII. 1. *Plerique patriæ, sed omnes famâ atque fortunis expertes sumus*] See Jug. cap. vi. note 1.

2. *Liberum corpus*] The laws of the XII. Tables allowed creditors a very extensive power over even the persons of their debtors, so that they could imprison them, beat them, and every way use them as slaves.

favitia fœneratorum atque Prætoris fuit. Sæpe majores vestrûm, miseriti plebis Romanæ, decretis suis inopiæ opitulati sunt: ac novissimè memoriâ nostrâ, propter magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, argentum ære solutum est. Sæpe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbiâ magistratum, armata à patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus; quarum rerum causâ bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt; sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus, nisi cum anima simul, amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris

erty of our persons: such was the rigour of the usurers and the Prætor. Frequently your forefathers, taking pity on the commons of Rome, by their decrees have relieved their poverty: and very lately in our own times, because of the greatness of the debts, silver was paid with brass, every good man going frankly into it. Often the populace themselves, set on either by a desire of rule, or the arrogance of their magistrates, taking arms have divided from the fathers. But we do not aim at power nor riches; for the sake of which things all wars and contentions among mankind are raised; but at liberty, which no brave man parts with, but together with his life. We adjure you and the senate, that you

slaves. These hardships had been several times and several ways mitigated; but they pretend here, that they had not enjoyed, or could not obtain the benefit of these mitigations.

3. *Fœneratorum*] These were a set of rich fellows at Rome, not unlike the pawnbrokers in London, who lent out their money on interest or usury.

4. *Argentum ære solutum*] Commentators are not agreed as to the precise import of these words. Some take *argentum* to be put in general for *debitum*, and *ære* for *æarium*: and then the meaning would be, that the private debts of these poor people were ordered to be paid out of the public treasury. Some again take the words to import, that brass was made to pass in payment for silver, weight for weight. But others, with more probability, think that there is here an allusion to the two coins *as* and *sestertius*; and imagine that the discount allowed by the government was such, that a creditor to whom a *sestertius* (which was a silver coin) was due, should be obliged to discharge his debtor upon receiving an *as*, which was a brass coin, and of far less value; and that the same proportion of discount was to be observed in greater sums. And Velleius Pat. ii. cap. xxiii. informs us, that Valerius Flaccus, who was Consul the year after the death of Marius, and about 23 years before this time, made a law, *quæ creditoribus quadrantem solvi jufferat*; i. e. the creditors were obliged to discharge their debtors upon receiving a fourth part of the principal.

E

civibus;

civibus; legis præsidium, quod iniquitas Prætoris eripuit, restituat; neve eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quæramus, quoniam modo, ultimum maxime sanguinem nostrum, peramus."

XXXIV. Ad hæc Q. Marcius: "Si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur: eam mansuetudine atque misericordiam senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo unquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit." At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, præterea optimo cuique litteras mittit: "se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunæ cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci: non quod sibi tanti sceleris conscius; sed uti res publica quietaret; neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur." Ab his

show a regard for distressed citizens; that you restore the protection of the law, which the injustice of the Prætor hath taken away: and not lay the necessity upon us of enquiring what way we may perish, best revenging our own blood."

XXXIV. To these things Q. Marcius replied: "If they had a mind to petition any thing of the senate, they should lay down their arms, repair in a submissive manner to Rome: that the senate and the Roman people had been always of that compassion and clemency that none ever desired help from them in vain." But Catiline in his journey sent letters to most of the consular gentlemen, and also to all persons of highest distinction, signifying, "That being intrapped by false accusations, since he was not able to stand against the faction of his enemies, he gave way to fortune, and was going for Marseilles into exile: not that he was conscious to himself of such a crime; but that the government might be at ease; and that an insurrection might not

XXXIV. 1. *Consularibus*] *Consulares, Prætorii, Ædilitii, Quæstorii*, &c. denote such persons as had formerly been Consuls, Prætors, &c.

2. *Massiliam*] An ancient and much celebrated city in Gallia Narbonensis, now called Marseilles, famous for its early and constant alliance with the Romans, for the liberal arts and sciences flourishing there, and for the gallant behaviour of the inhabitants in times of war. It was first built by a colony of the Phœnicians, as related by Justin. xliii. cap. iii.

3. *Quod sibi tanti*] *Quo*, etiam si eo non addatur, tamen per se, et vi sexti casus notat propter quod, h. e. quia, æque, ac quod, ea ratione sapissime ponitur; Cic. vi. epist. iii. *Superioribus literis benevolentiam magis adductus, quam quo res ita postularet, fui longior.*

longè diversas [litteras] Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinæ redditus dicebat. earum exemplum infra scriptum.

XXXV. " L. Catilina Q. Catulo S. Egregia tua fides re cognita, gratam in magnis periculis fiduciam commendationi meæ tribuit. Quamobrem defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare: satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi: quam ine Dius fidius veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriæque meæ privatus, statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum causam, pro mea consuetudine suscepi: non quin æs alienum meis nominibus

spring out of his quarrel." But Q. Catulus read in the senate [a letter] quite different from this, which he said was delivered him in Catiline's name. a copy whereof follows.

XXXV. " L. Catiline to Q. Catulus, greeting. Your singular fidelity known to me by experience, gives me an agreeable confidence in times of great danger, to recommend my affairs to you. For which reason I never intended to prepare a formal defence of the new measures I have taken: only I resolved, as being under no consciousness of any fault, to offer an apology for my conduct: which upon my honour you will find to be just. Provoked by injuries and indignities, because robbed of the fruit of my labour and my industry, I did not obtain the place of honour due to my merit, I have undertaken, according to my manner, the pu-

XXXV. 1. L. Catilina Q. Catulo S.] i. e. L. Catilina Q. Catulo Salutem dicit.

2. Quamobrem defensionem in novo consilio] Propterea, quod fides tua mihi satis cognita, me apud te non defendere, sed excusare tantum debui. Præpositio in statum denotat; erit igitur quasi, cum novum consilium secutus sum.

3. Ex nulla conscientia de culpa] Propter conscientiam de nulla culpa, sive, inde quod mihi nullius culpæ sim conscius. Ex pro per et propter ponitur.

4. Dius filius] Dius is the same as Deus, and Dius filius the same as Deus filii, the god of honour. i. e. Hercules. The phrase imports, Ita me Dius filius juret.

5. Meis nominibus] Nominibus solvere est propriè ex nominibus sive propterea solvere, quod nomen tuum et summam creditur in tabulis suis scripserit, et ipse in tuas retuleris, cui et quod debeas. Et alienis nominibus solvere est ea debita aliorum solvere, pro quibus fidem tuam interposuisti.

ex possessionibus solvere possent; cum alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillæ suis filiæque copiis persolveret: sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, meque falsâ suspicione alienatum sentiebam. Hoc nomine satis honestas, pro meo casu, spes reliquæ dignitatis conservandæ sum secutus. Plura cum scribere vellem, nunciatum est, vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo, tuæque fidei trado. eam ab injuria defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. habeto."

Orestilla, and commit her to your protection; beseeching by the regard you have for your own children, that you defend her from ill usage. adieu."

XXXVI. Sed ipse paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium Flammam in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem, antea sollicitatam, armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Hæc ubi Romæ comperta; senatus "Catilinam et Manlium hostes judicat; ceteræ multitudini diem statuit, antè quàm sine fraude

hlic cause of the miserable: not but I could have paid the debt due on my own account out of my possessions, whilst the generosity of Orestilla would have paid out of her own and her daughter's provisions what was due on the account of others: but because I saw worthless men honoured with preferment, and found myself set aside upon a groundless jealousy. On this score I have pursued means of preserving my remaining dignity, sufficiently honourable considering my circumstances. When I was designing to write more, word was brought, that I was going to be attacked. Now I recommend

XXXVI. But he having tarried a few days with C. Flaminius Flamma in the Arretine territory, till he provided the neighbourhood, that had been formerly drawn over to his cause, with arms, marches for the camp to Manlius with the fasces and other ensigns of authority. When these things were known at Rome; the senate declared Catiline and Manlius rebels; but appointed a day for the rest of the party, before liceret

6. *Vim mihi parari*] *Vim cui parare*, idem est ac *violenter aliquem aggredi velle*.

XXXVI. 1. *Agro Arretino*] The country about Arretinum, a town in Etruria.

2. *Sine fraude*] *Sine fraude* is used in two different senses. 1. Sometimes it signifies *without trick or dissimulation*, i. e. *sincerely* or *in good earnest*.

liceret ab armis discedere, præter rerum capitalium condemnatis." Præterea decernit, " uti Consules dilectum habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet; Cicero urbi præsidio sit." Eâ tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multò maxumè miserabile visum: cui cùm ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis patrent; domitium atque divitiæ, quæ prima mortales putant, adfluerent; fuere tamen cives, qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque duobus senati decretis, ex tanta multitudinè, neque præmio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinæ quicumque omnium discesserat. tanta vis morbi, uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. Neque solùm illis aliena mens erat, qui

which it was allowed to lay down their arms with impunity, except those convicted of capital crimes." Moreover they decreed, " *that the Consuls should hold a muster; that Antonius should make all haste to pursue Catiline with an army; and that Cicero should protect the city.*" At that time the Roman state seemed to me to be in a most deplorable condition: to which when all kingdoms subdued by their arms were laid open, from the rising of the sun to his setting; when at home ease and wealth abounded, which mankind account the chiefest blessings; yet there were citizens, who with inflexible resolution went on to ruin both themselves and the commonwealth. For upon the two decrees of the senate, of so great a number, not one of them all tempted by the reward discovered the conspiracy, nor deserted Catiline's camp. such a violent distemper, like a plague, had seized the minds of most of our citizens.

XXXVII. Nor were the minds disaffected of those only;

earnest. Cæs. ii. Civ. cap. xxii. *Se se dedere sine fraude constituunt.* 2. Sometimes, as here, it signifies *without guilt, without danger, without loss, without hurt, or without punishment.* So Liv. xxvi. cap. xii. *Ut qui civis campanus ante certam diem transisset sine fraude esset.*

3. *Præter—condemnatis*] *Præter* is here put adverbially for *præterquam*; and *condemnatis* is the dative, being governed by *liceret*.

4. *Dilectum habeant*] When a Consul or General, by order of the senate, assembled the youth, and picked out such persons as they thought proper for the service, obliging them to insist and take the military oath; this was called *dilectum habere*, and was only used in cases of necessity.

conficii conjurationis; sed omnino cuncta plebes novarum rerum studio Catilinæ incepta probabat. Id adeò more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quæ opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turbâ atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur: quoniam egestas faciliè habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea verò præceptis ierat multis de causis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulentiâ maxumè præstabant; item alii per dedecora patrimonii amissis; postremò omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, in Romam, sicuti in sentinam, confluerant. Deinde multi memores Sullanæ victoriæ, quòd ex gregariis militibus alios Senatores videbant, alios ita divites, uti regio victu atque cultu ætatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis forent, ex victoria talia sperabant. Præterea juvenus, quæ in agris, manuum mercede,

who were concerned in the conspiracy; but indeed all the populace, out of a fondness for a revolution in the administration, approved of Catiline's design. So much in this case did they seem to act according to their usual manner. For always in a state they who have no wealth, envy those in stations of honour, cry up the worthless; hate what is old, wish for things new; and out of a dislike of their own circumstances are fond that all be changed; in a time of public disorder and confusion they get a subsistence without pains: since poverty is easily kept without loss. But the populace of the city were indeed from many causes become extremely corrupt. First of all, they who every where were most noted for infamy and insolence; likewise others after losing their estates by debauchery, finally all, whom disgrace or villany had chased from home, these had flocked to Rome, as to a common sewer. And further many mindful of Sulla's success, because they saw some of the common soldiers now Senators, others so rich that they lived in princely plenty and pomp, every one hoped for such things to himself from a victory, if he were in arms. Besides the

XXXVII. 1. *Bonis invident*] *Boni* is often used by the classic writers to signify the same persons as *divites* and *beati*, the rich, wealthy, and prosperous: and frequently too it is put for *potentes* or *optimates*, the great men or grandees of the state.

2. *Præceptis ierat*] Eleganter denotat perditas eorum hominum cupiditates.

inopiam

inopiām toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori prætulerant. eos atque alios omnes malum publicum alebat. Quò minùs mirandum, homines egentis, malis moribus, maximâ spe, reipublicæ juxta ac sibi consuluisse. Præterea quorum, victoriâ Sullæ, parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sanè alio animo belli eventum expectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque aliarum atque senati partium erant, conturbari rempublicam, quàm minùs valere ipsi malebant. Id adeò malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.

ved in confusion, than have little sway themselves. So much bad that mischief, after having lain dormant for many years, returned into the state.

XXXVIII. Nam postquam Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso Consulibus tribunicia potestas restituta; homines adolescentes, [summam potestatem nacti], quibus ætas animusque ferrox, cœpere, senatū criminando, plebem exagitare; dein largiundo, atque pollicitando magis incendere; ita ipsi clari po-

youth, who had kept themselves from starving by the wages of their labour in the country, tempted by the private and public largesses had preferred the city-ease to their hard working. these and all such others the troubles of the state supported. Wherefore it is less to be wondered, that men in want, of bad morals, of high expectations, should have consulted the interest of the public in the same manner they did their own. Moreover they, whose parents upon Sulla's victory had been proscribed, their goods confiscated, and their privilege of freedom taken from them, looked upon the issue of a war, not, to be sure, with a different view. And further, whoever were of any other faction than the senate, chose rather the government should be involved in confusion, than have little sway themselves. So much bad that mischief, after having lain dormant for many years, returned into the state.

XXXVIII. For after the tribunician authority was restored in the Consulship of Cn. Pompey and M. Crassus; young gentlemen, whose age and spirits were full of fire, [having got possession of that high dignity], began, by inveighing against the senate, to stir up the people; and then by largesses and promises inflamed them more; and so came to be in high vogue and great power

3. *Multos post annos*] Since the sedition of the Gracchi, about 69 years before this.

XXXVIII. 1. *Tribunicia potestas*] See Jug. cap. xxvii. note 1.

tentesque fieri. Contra eos summâ ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, senati specie pro sua magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis absolvam, per illa tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii, sicuti populi jura defenderent, pars, quò senati auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant. neque modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

XXXIX. Sed postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus; plebis ope imminutæ, paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere: ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu ætatem agere, ceteros judiciis terere, quò plebem in magistratu placidiùs tractarent.

themselves. Against these most of the nobility strove with their utmost might to maintain their own grandeur, under pretence of supporting the senate. For, that I may dispatch the matter in a few words, whoever disturbed the public in those times, did it under plausible pretexts; some, as though they would defend the rights of the people, some, that the authority of the senate might be maintained as the greatest, pretending the public good, they did stickle every one for their own power. nor had they any modesty or moderation in their quarrels: both sides made a cruel use of their success.

XXXIX. But after Cn. Pompey was sent to the maritime and Mithridatic war; the interest of the commons declined, and the power of a few increased. These ingrossed the public offices, the provinces, and all things else: they themselves out of the reach of hurt, in a flourishing condition, led a life without fear; overawed others with impeachments, to the end they might

Sed

2. *Pleraque nobilitas*] *Pleraque* is here in the singular number. See Jug. cap. liv. note 4.

XXXIX. *Quo plebem in magistratu placidiùs tractarent*] *Tractare plebem placidiùs*, signifies to manage the people in a softer or more pacific manner, so as not to incense them against the nobility. And the meaning of the whole sentence is, that as the few grandees, who had ingrossed the public management, looked upon the Tribunes of the commons as the only persons who formerly did, or now could thwart their designs, and give a check to their growing power by exasperating the people against them, so they took care to make their resentment fall heavy upon all the Tribunes, when out of office, who had exerted themselves that way, and upon all others too, who discovered a spirit of this nature;

ture;

Sed ubi primùm dubiis rebus novandis spes oblata, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quòd si primo prælio Catilina superior, aut æquâ manu discessisset: profectò magna clades atque calamitas rempublicam oppressisset; neque illis, qui victoriam adepti, diutiùs eâ uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus, qui plus posset, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt. in his A. Fulvius, senatoris filius: quem retractum ex itinere parens necari iussit. Isdem temporibus Romæ Lentulus, sicuti Catilina præceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortunâ novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se, aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solum cives, sed cujusque modi genus hominum, quod modò [bello] usui foret. *zens, but any kind of men of whatever sort, that might but be of service [for the war].*

XL. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum re-

less spirit up the commons against the nobility, upon their being in office. But as soon as a view offered of new-modelling this unsettled state of affairs, the old quarrel roused their courage. And if in the first battle Catiline had come off conqueror, or on equal terms: doubtless much bloodshed and trouble had afflicted the commonwealth; nor had it been in the power of those who got the victory to enjoy it long; but a third party, who was more potent, would have wrested power and liberty from them when wearied out and quite spent. There were however several not concerned in the conspiracy, who at first went over to Catiline. amongst these was A. Fulvius, a senator's son, whom his father ordered to be put to death, having been fetched back when upon the road. At the same time Lentulus at Rome, as Catiline had ordered, endeavoured to gain, either by himself or others whom-ever, by their manners or fortune, he supposed fit persons for a rebellion; and not only citi-

XL. Accordingly he gives orders to one P Umbrenus, to sound the deputies of the Allobroges; quirat;

ture; to the end that no person, upon his being made a Tribune of the commons, might dare, for the future, to make any attempts of this kind, or oppose their measures by spiriting up the people against them. See Jug. cap. xxvii. note 1.

XL. 1. *Allobrogum*. A people in Gallia, whose country was bounded by the Alps, the Rhone, the sea, and the lake Lemanus. They were

quirat; eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli: existumans publicè privatimque ære alieno oppressos, præterea, quòd naturâ gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facilè eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quòd in Gallia negotiatus, plerisque principibus notuserat, atque eos noverat: itaque sine mora, ubi primùm legatos in foro conspexit, percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum requirere cœpit, “quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?” Postquam illos videt “queri de avaritia magistratum, accusare senatum, quòd in eo auxilii nihil esset; miseris suis remedium mortem expectare: At ego,” inquit, “vobis, si modò viri esse vultis, rationem ostendam, quâ tanta ista mala effugiatis.” Hæc ubi dixit, Allobroges in maxumam spem adducti, Umbrenum orare, uti sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum, neque

and persuade them, if possible, to a confederacy in the war: supposing that they, being sadly incumbered both with public and private debts, and besides, because by nature the Gallic nation was prone to war, might easily be drawn over to such a design. Umbrenus, in regard he had trafficked in Gaul, was known to most of the leading men, and he knew them: wherefore without delay, as soon as he saw the deputies in the forum, after asking a few things concerning the state of their country, and as it were condoling its case, he began to enquire, “what issue they hoped for to so great grievances?” After he sees them “complain of the covetousness of their magistrates, blame the senate, because there was no redress from it; and expect death as the remedy to their miseries: But I,” says he, “will shew you a way, by which you may escape these so great misfortunes, if you will only be men.” When he said this, the Allobroges, buoyed up to very big hopes, begged of Umbrenus, that he would take pity on them: assured him that there was nothing so harsh, nor so dis-

were at this time a province of the Roman empire, and governed by magistrates sent from Rome.

2. *Negotiatus*] Writers are not agreed about the nature of the employment of these *negotiatores* we meet with in the classics: the most probable opinion is, that they were a sort of chapmen, who took up their residence for a time in some of the provinces, in order to purchase, either for money or barter, such commodities as they expected the best sale for at Rome on their return.

3. *Si modò viri esse vultis*] Si fortiter, ut viros decet, agere vultis. tam

tam difficile, quin cupidissime facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem ære alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit; quòd foro propinqua, neque aliena consilii, propter Semproniam: nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Præterea Gabinium arcessit, quò major auctoritas sermoni inesset: eo præsentente conjurationem aperit: nominat socios, præterea multos cujusque generis innoxios; quò legatis animus amplior esset: dein eos pollicitos operam suam dimittit.

XLI. Sed Allobroges diù in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altera parte erat æs alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriæ: at in altera majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe, certa præmia. Hæc illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna reipublicæ. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangæ, cujus patrocínio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam [consilio] cognito, legatis præcepit, studium conjurationis ve-

ficult, but they would do most gladly, provided that matter would relieve their state from debt. He carries them to the house of D. Brutus; because it was nigh the forum, and not unfriendly to the design, thro' means of Sempronia: for at that time Brutus was absent from Rome. Moreover he sends for Gabinus, that his discourse might have the greater weight: in his presence he unfolds the conspiracy: names the accomplices, and also many innocent persons of every rank; that the deputies might have the greater courage: and then dismisses them after they had promised their concurrence.

XLI. But the Allobroges for a long time were in suspense, what course they should take. On the one side there was debt, an inclination to war, and great advantage in view of victory: but on the other, greater strength, safe measures, certain rewards instead of uncertain hopes. Whilst they pondered these things, at length the fortune of the commonwealth prevailed. Accordingly they disclose the whole matter, as they had learned it, to Q. Fabius Sanga, whose patronage their country very much used. Cicero, having got notice [of the matter] by Sanga, ordered the deputies strongly to pretend a

XLI. *Cujus patrocínio*] All the Roman colonies, provinces, and allies, had some of the great men at Rome for their patron: and they had liberty to chuse whom they pleased. The patron was a kind of agent or doer, who appeared as advocate for his clients, and took care to support their interest when their cause came before the senate.

hementer

hementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur; dentque operam, uti eos quàm maxumè manifestos habeant.

XLII. Isdem ferè temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia motus erat. Namque illi, quos antea Catilina dimiserat, inconsultè ac veluti per dementiam [cuncta simul] agere: nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris, quàm periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer Prætor, ex senati consultu, causâ cognitâ, in vincula coniecerat; item in ulteriore Gallia C. Murena, qui ei provinciæ legatus præerat.

XLIII. At Romæ Lentulus, cum ceteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut videbantur, magnis copiis, constituerant, uti, Catilina in agrum Fæsulân timerat, L. Bestia tribunus plebis, concione habitâ, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique

great liking for the conspiracy, to get into the company of the rest, promise fair; and do their endeavour, to have them as much as possible laid open to a proof.

XLII. Much about the same time there were commotions in hither and further Gaul, also in the country of Picene, Bruttium, and Apulia. For these, whom Catiline formerly had dispatched thither, acted inconsiderately and like madmen [all things at once]: by their night-consultations, the carriage of arms and weapons, their hastening and hurrying every thing, they caused more of fright than danger. The Prætor Q. Metellus Celer clapt in chains a good many of that number, after trying their cause, according to a decree of the senate; as likewise did C. Murena in further Gaul, who, as deputy-governor, presided over that province.

XLIII. But at Rome Lentulus, with the rest, who were the ringleaders of the conspiracy, having provided, as appeared to them, considerable forces, had agreed, that, when Catiline should come into the country of Fæsulæ, L. Bestia tribune of the commons, calling an assembly of the people, should complain of the proceedings of Cicero, and

XLII. *Armorum atque telorum*] When these two words are joined in a sentence, as here, the former denotes defensive arms, such as the shield, the breast-plate, the helmet, &c.; the latter denotes offensive ones, such as swords, spears, darts, lances, javelins, and all missile weapons.

XLIII. 1. *Ut videbantur*] i. e. ut copiæ videbantur.

gravissimum

gravissimi invidiam optimum Consuli imponeret; eo signo, proxima nocte cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequerentur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius, Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilius aditum ad Consulem, ceteros, quibus insidiæ parabantur, fieret: Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, eum vi adgrederetur, alius autem alium; sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxima pars, parentes interficerent; simul, cæde et incendio percussis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter hæc parata atque decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse: seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus,

lay the odium of this dangerous war upon the best of Consuls; upon that signal, next night the rest of the gang of conspirators were to execute every one their proper parts. Now these were said to be allotted in this manner: that Statilius and Gabinius with a considerable party were to fire at once twelve convenient places of the city, that in the confusion there might be easier access to the Consul, and the rest, against whom the plot was laid: that Cethegus should lie in wait at Cicero's gate, set upon him by force, and the rest upon others; but the sons of some families, of whom the greatest part was of the nobility, were to murder their fathers; and at once, whilst all were in a consternation with the massacre and burning, to sally out to Catiline. Amidst these preparations and resolves, Cethegus was always complaining of the backwardness of his associates: that they by hesitating and putting off the time marred great opportunities; that there was need of action, not of deliberation, in such a dangerous case: and that he, if a few would assist him, though others were faint-hearted, would make an assault upon the senate-house.

2. *Optimo Consuli*] It would appear by the elevated epithets given here and elsewhere to Cicero, that Sallust and he, before the writing of this history, had been reconciled: for formerly they were at great enmity.

3. *Sid ea divisa*] *Ea negotia, quæ quisque exsequerentur.*

F

maximum

maximum bonum in cele-
ritate putabat.

thought very great advantage lay in dispatch.

XLIV. Sed Allobroges,
ex præcepto Ciceronis, per
Gabinium ceteros conveni-
unt; ab Lentulo, Cethego,
Statilio, item Cassio, po-
stulant jusjurandum, quod
signatum ad civis perfe-
rant: aliter haud facile eos
ad tantum negotium im-
pelli posse. Ceteri nihil
suspicientes dant: Cassius
semet eò brevi venturum
pollicetur, ac paulò ante
legatos ex urbe proficisci-
tur. Lentulus [cum his]
T. Volturcium quemdam
Crotoniensem mittit; uti
Allobroges, prius quàm
domum pergerent, cum
Catilina, datâ et acceptâ
fide, societatem confirma-
rent. Ipse Volturcio lit-
teras ad Catilinam dat,
quarum exemplum infra
scriptum:

“ Quis sim, ex eo, quem
ad te misi, cognosces. Fac
cogites, in quanta calami-
tate sis, et memineris te
virum; consideres, quid
tuæ rationes postulent: au-
xilium petas ab omnibus,
etiam ab infimis.”

Ad hoc, mandata ver-
bis dat: “Cum ab sena-
tu hostis judicatus sit,
quo consilio servitia repu-

*By nature he was bold, impe-
tuous, brisk in action, and*

XLIV. *But the Allobroges,
according to Cicero's direction,
procure a meeting with the rest
of the conspirators by means of
Gabinus; they require an oath
of Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius,
as also of Cassius, which being
written they might carry under
seal to their countrymen: other-
wise they would not easily be
persuaded to engage in such an
affair. The rest suspecting no-
thing grant it: Cassius promises
he would come to their country
in a short time, and goes out of
town a little before the deputies.
Lentulus sends [with them] one
T. Volturcius a Crotonian; that
the Allobroges, before they went
home, might ratify the confede-
racy with Catiline, by giving
and taking an oath. He gives
a letter to Volturcius for Cati-
line, of which a copy is here
subjoined:*

“Who I am, you will learn
from him, whom I have sent to
you. See you reflect in how
great danger you are, and re-
member you are a man; consider
what your affairs require: seek
assistance from all, even from
the meanest.”

Moreover, he gives verbal
instructions: to ask Catiline,
“Upon what design he rejected
the slaves, since he was declared

XLIV. *Crotoniensem*] A patrician noun, derived from Croto a town
of the Bruttii, upon the Tarentine bay, now called Crotone.

diet?

diet? in urbe parata esse, quæ jufferit: ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere." *a rebel by the senate?" and to tell him "the things were prepared in town, which he had ordered: that he should not delay to advance nearer to the city."*

XLV. His rebus ita actis, constitutâ nocte, quâ profiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino Prætoribus imperat, uti in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant: rem omnem aperit, cujus gratiâ mittebantur: cetera, uti factu opus sit, ita agant, permittit. Homines militares, sine tumultu præsidii collocatis, sicuti præceptum erat, occultè pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venêre, et simul utrimque clamore exortus est; Galli, citò cognito consilio, sine mora Prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primò, cohortatus ceteros, gladio se à multitudine defendit; dein, ubi à legatis desertus est, multa priùs de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quòd ei notus erat; postremò timidus, ac vitæ diffidens, veluti hostibus, sese Prætoribus dedit.

in a timorous manner, and in doubts of safety, he surrendered himself to the Prætors, as a man surrenders himself to his enemies.

XLV. *These matters thus managed, the night being fixed, on which they were to take journey, Cicero, having been informed of every thing by the deputies, orders the Prætors, L. Valerius Flaccus and C. Pomptinus, to seize the retinue of the Allobroges by an ambuscade upon the Mulvian bridge: he unfolds the whole affair, on account whereof they were sent: as to other things, he allows them to manage as need should require. The men having been acquainted with military affairs, planting the ambush without any noise, as was ordered, privately beset the bridge. After the deputies with Volturcius were come to this place, and a shout was set up at once on both sides; the Gauls, quickly understanding the design, without delay surrender themselves to the Prætors. Volturcius at first, encouraging the rest, defends himself with his sword against the party; afterward, when he was abandoned by the deputies, having first made many earnest requests to Pomptinus for his life, because he was acquainted with him; at last*

XLV. *Ponte Mulvio*] A bridge upon the Tiber, about two miles up the river from Rome, on the road leading to Etruria, now called *ponte Mollè*. Here the *via Flaminia* begins.

XLVI. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuncios Consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitia simul occupavere nam latabatur, conjuratione patefactâ, civitatem periculis ereptam esse: porro autem anxius erat, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus; pœnam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundæ reipublicæ credebat. Igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item Q. Cæparium quemdam Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt: Cæparius, paullo antè domo egressus, cognito indicio, [ex urbe] profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod Prætor erat, ipse manu tenens perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in ædem Concordiæ venire jubet. Eò senatum advocat, magnâque frequentia ejus ordinis, Volturcium cum legatis introducit: Flaccum Prætorem serinium cum litteris, quas à le-

XLVI. *Which things being accomplished, instantly all are notified to the Consul by messengers. But a vast concern and joy seized him at once. for glad he was, that the city was rescued from danger, the conspiracy being discovered: but then he was full of disquieting doubts, what was proper to be done, citizens of so great note being caught in the most enormous crime; he thought the punishing of them would be a burdensome task for himself, their impunity ruinous to the public. Wherefore assuming courage he orders to be summoned before him Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinus, likewise one Q. Cæparius of Terracina, who was preparing to go for Apulia to raise the slaves. The rest come without delay: Cæparius, having gone out of his house a little before, upon getting notice of the discovery, had fled [out of town]. The Consul taking Lentulus by the hand, because he was Prætor, conducts him; he orders the rest to come with a guard into the temple of Concord. Thither he summons the senate, and, in a full meeting of that body, introduces Volturcius with the deputies: orders the Prætor Flaccus, to bring to the same place*

XLVI. 1. *Perdunde reipublicæ*] Cortius is of opinion these words are in the genitive rather than the dative, and that the construction is the same as that of *conservande libertati atque augendæ reipublicæ*, cap. vi.

2. *Terracinensem*] Terracina was a town in Latium, anciently called Anxur, and hence the patrician *Terracinenfis*.

gatis

gratis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVII. Volturcius interrogatus "de itinere, de litteris, postremò quid, aut qua de causa consilii habuisset?" primò fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi fide publicâ dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit: "Paucis antè diebus à Gabinio et Cæpario socium adscitum, nihil ampliùs scire, quàm legatos: tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos præterea in ea conjuratione esse." Eadem Galli fatentur: ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt, præter litteras, sermonibus, quos habere solitus: "Ex libris Sibyllinis, regnum Romæ tribus Cornelis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea:

the box with the letters, which he had got from the deputies.

XLVII. *Volturcius being questioned "about his journey, about the letters, and in short what design he had in view, or what his motive was?" at first pretends other things than what was fact, prevaricates concerning the conspiracy; afterward, when he was desired to tell the truth upon the public faith of a pardon, he made a discovery of all things, as they had been transacted: "That a few days before he had been taken in as an associate by Gabinus and Cæparius, that he knew no more than the deputies: only he used to hear of Gabinus, that P. Autronius, Servius Sulla, L. Vargunteius, and many besides, were in that combination." The Gauls acknowledge the same things: and they convict Lentulus prevaricating, besides the letters, by expressions which he had been wont to use: "That, according to the books of the Sibyls, the sovereign-*

XLVII. 1. *Quid, aut qua de causa*] Expone: *Quid consilii, aut qua de causa id consilii habuisset.*

2. *Fide publicâ*] *Introduxi Volturcium sine legatis: fidem ei publicam jussu senatus dedi.* Cic. iii. Cat. cap. iv.

3. *Ex libris Sibyllinis*] A strange woman called *Amalthæa*, who was a Sibylla or prophetess, is said to have brought nine books to Tarquinius Superbus last King of Rome; but he refusing to buy them at her price, she burnt three of them, and asked the same price for the remaining six. He looked upon her as distracted; upon which she burnt three more, and came and demanded the same sum for the rest. The King, surprised at the woman's conduct, consulted the augurs, and by their advice bought the remaining three at the full price. The woman went off, and was never more seen. These books were deposited in a stone chest in the Capitol. They were said to contain the fate of the empire; and were consulted as oracles in times of public calamity.

se tertium, cui fatum foret urbis potiri; præterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore." Igitur perlectis litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, "uti abdicatus magistratu Lentulus, item ceteri in liberis custodiis haberentur." Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum Ædilis, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Cæsari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Coeparius (nam is paullò antè ex fuga re-tractus) Cn. Terentio se-

ty of Rome was destined to three Cornelii; that Cinna and Sulla had been before: that he was the third, whose fate it would be to be master of the city; besides, that from the burning of the Capitol this was the twentieth year, which the haruspices often from prodigies had foretold would be bloody with a civil war." Wherefore the letters being read, when once all had owned their seals, the senate voted, "that Lentulus, after being deposed from his office, and also the rest, should be kept in free ward." Accordingly Lentulus is delivered to P. Lentulus Spinther, who at that time was Ædile, Cethegus to Q. Cornificius, Statilius to C. Cæsar, Gabinius to M. Crassus, Cæ-

4. *Haruspices respondissent*] These were a religious order at Rome, whose business it was to interpret prodigies, and foretell events by observations on beasts offered in sacrifice. *Respondissent* is here a word of proper style. Cic. i. de div. cap. xxxvi. *Pater ad haruspices retulit, qui responderunt, nihil illo puero clarius fore.* See Kennett, b. ii. chap. iv.

5. *In liberis custodiis*] It was a compliment sometimes paid to criminals of high birth and distinction, that they were not sent to the common prison, but committed to the custody of the Consuls, Prætors, Ædiles, or persons who became bail for them; and this kind of confinement was called *libera custodia*.

6. *Ædilis*] So called *ab adibus curandis*. These were magistrates, four in number, whereof two were elected out of the commons, and were called *Ædiles plebis*; the other two were chosen out of the nobility, and were named *Ædiles curules*, because they were allowed the honour of using the *sella curulis*, which was a chair of state made of ivory, on which they sat in their chariots. The office of the Ædiles was to inspect the building and reparation of public edifices, such as temples, theatres, baths, &c. to take care the roads were kept in good repair, to rectify weights and measures, to regulate the games and public diversions. Besides these four Ædiles, Julius Cæsar, A. U. 710. added two more out of the nobility, who were called *Ædiles cereales*, because their business was to inspect the public stores of corn, supervise all commodities exposed to sale in the markets, and punish delinquents in matters of buying and selling.

natori

natori traduntur.

back from his flight a little before) to Gn. Terentius a senator.

XLVIII. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefactâ, quæ primò cupida rerum novarum, nimis bello favebat, mutatâ mente, Catilinæ consilia exsecrari, Cicero-nem ad cælum tollere; ve-luti ex servitute erepta gau-dium atque lætitiā agita-bant. Namque alia belli facinora prædæ magis, quàm detrimento; incen-dium verò crudele, immo-deratum, ac sibi maxumè calamitosum putabat; quip-pè cui omnes copiæ in usu quotidiano et cultu corpo-ris erant. Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam profi-ciscentem ex itinere retra-ctum aiebant. Is cum se diceret indicaturum de con-juratione, si fides publica data esset; jussus à Consule, quæ sciret, edicere, eadem ferè, quæ Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hosti-um, senatum edocet: præte-rea “ se missum à M. Cras-so, qui Catilinæ nunciaret, ne Lentulus, Cethegus, alii ex conjuratione deprehen-si terrerent; eoque magis properaret ad urbem acce-dere, quò et ceterorum a-nimos reficeret, et illi fa-ciliùs è periculo eriperen-tur.” Sed ubi Tarquini-

parius (for he had been brought

back from his flight a little before) to Gn. Terentius a senator.

XLVIII. In the mean time the populace, upon the conspira-cy's being discovered; who at first, fond of novelty, wished too well to the war, changing their minds, cursed Catiline's designs, cried up Cicero to the skies; and, as rescued from slavery, made de-monstrations of joy and gladness. For they thought other incidents of war would be rather for boo-ty than damage; but burning cruel, incapable of being restrained to bounds, and very pernicious to themselves; as being such whose whole substance consisted in things of daily use, and clothes for their body. The day after, one L. Tarquinius was brought before the senate, who, they said, was fetched back upon the road, setting out for Catiline. He upon saying he would make a discovery of the conspiracy, if the public faith was given for his indemnity; being ordered by the Consul to declare what he knew, in-formed the senate of the same things almost that Volturcius had done, concerning the intended burning, concerning the massacre of those in power, and concern-ing the march of the rebels: moreover “ that he had been sent by M. Crassus to tell Catiline, that the seizing of Lentulus, Cethegus, and others in the con-spiracy, ought not to fright him; and that so much the more he should hasten to come to the city, whereby he would both revive

us Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maximis divitiis, summâ potentiâ; alii, rem incredibilem rati; pars, tamen etsi verum existumabant, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis leniunda, quàm exagitanda videbatur; plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii conclamant, "indicem falsum," deque ea re postulant uti referatur. Itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit: "Tarquinii indicium falsum videri; eumque in vinculis retinendum; neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem mentitus esset." Erant eo tempore, qui æstumarent, illud à P. Autronio machinatum, quò facilius, appellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium à Cicerone immissum aiebant, ne Crassus, more suo, suscepto malorum patrocinio, rem publicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea prædicantem audiui, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.

lains, as his manner was. I heard Crassus himself openly affirm, afterwards, that this great affront was put upon him by Cicero.

XLVIII. 1. *Uti referatur*] Irones nōnunt, Consulem dici referre, quando rem in senatu proponit sententiasque exquirat.

2. *Neque amplius potestatem*] Intellige potestatem indicii, vel indicandi.

XLIX. Sed

the spirits of the rest, and those might be rescued the more easily out of danger." But when Tarquinius named Crassus, a person of quality, of vast riches, of very great power; some thinking the thing incredible; part, tho' they deemed it true, yet because at such a juncture a man of so great power was rather to be wheedled than provoked; most of them too being under obligations to Crassus in private concerns, they cry out, "the informer was a rascal," and desire that the house might go upon that affair. Accordingly, Cicero presiding, a very full house voted, "That Tarquinius's information appeared to be false; and that he should be detained in chains; and no farther liberty of proceeding in his information granted him, unless he would make a discovery of him, by whose advice he had forged so great a falsehood." There were at that time, who imagined this was contrived by P. Autronius, to the end that, upon Crassus's being named, he might, on account of his sharing in the danger, more easily screen the rest by means of his power. Others said Tarquinius was suborned by Cicero, that Crassus might not imbroid the administration, by undertaking the defence of villains.

XLIX. Sed iſdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piſo neque gratiâ, neque precibus, neque pretio, Ciceronem impellere potuerunt, uti per Allobroges, aut alium indicem, C. Cæſar falſo nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant: Piſo obpugnatus in iudicio repetundarum, propter cujuſdam Tranſpadani ſupplicium iniuſtum: Catulus ex petitione pontificatûs odio incenſus, quòd extremâ ætate, maximis honoribus uſus, ab adoleſcentulo Cæſare victus diſceſſerat. Res autem opportuna videbatur; quòd privatim egregiâ liberalitate, publicè maximis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi Conſulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipſi ſingulatim circummeundo, atque cmentiundo, quæ ſe ex Volturcio, aut Allobrogibus au-diſſe dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conſlaverant; uſque eò, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui præſidii cauſâ cum telis erant cir-

XLIX. But at the ſame time Q. Catulus and C. Piſo could prevail upon Cicero neither by intereſt, nor intreaties, nor money, that C. Cæſar ſhould be falſely named by the Allobroges, or any other informer. For both were at great enmity with him: Piſo having been proſecuted by him in an action of damages, for the unjuſt puniſhment of a certain perſon beyond the Po: Catulus being fired with reſentment, from the time of his ſtanding for the place of high prieſt, becauſe in his old age, after having bore the higheſt offices in the ſtate, he had come off baffled by Cæſar a young man. Now circumſtances appeared favourable for gaining credit to ſuch a charge; becauſe by extraordinary generoſity in private, and very maniſcent ſhews in public, he was owing vaſt ſums of money. But when they could not perſuade the Conſul to ſo great a villany, they themſelves, by going about to ſingle perſons, and forging ſtories, which they ſaid they had heard of Volturcius, or the Allobroges, drew a mighty odium upon him; even to ſuch a height, that ſome Roman knights, who, for the ſake of defence,

XLIX. 1. *Cujusdam Tranſpadani*] Tranſpadani denotes the people who lived on the north ſide of the Po. Cæſar was their patron, and had taken part with them in this caſe againſt Piſo.

2. *Res autem opportuna videbatur*] Hoc vult: Id autem, ut nominaretur inter conjuratos, opportunum videbatur, eò quod, &c.

3. *Maximis muneribus*] Our author means *munera gladiatoria*. See cap. xxx. note 5.

cum

cum Concordiæ, seu periculi magnitudine, seu animi nobilitate impulsus, quò studium suum in rempublicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Cæsari gladio minitarentur.

L. Dum hæc in senatu aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, præmia decernuntur: liberti, et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus, opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant: partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rempublicam vexare soliti. Cethegus autem per nuncios familiam atque libertos suos, exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, grege facto, cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis præfidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu, refert, QUID DE HIS FIERI PLACEAT, QUI IN CUSTODIAM TRADITIE-

were in arms round the temple of Concord, whether moved by the greatness of the danger, or from a nobleness of soul, that their zeal for the government might be the more conspicuous, threatened Cæsar, as he went out of the senate, with their swords.

L. Whilst these things are done in the senate, and whilst rewards are voted for the deputies of the Allobroges and T. Volturcius, their information being approved of: the freed-men and a few of the clients of Lentulus, were soliciting in different quarters, some of them the workmen and slaves in the streets to rescue him: some were seeking out the leaders of mobs, who had been used for hire to disturb the government. And Cethegus by messengers was intreating his servants and freed-men, fellows trained up to bold adventures, that, forming a body, they would break in to him with arms. The Consul, when he understood these things were designed, having placed guards, as the occasion and time required, convening the senate, asks, What they inclined should be done with those who had been committed to

4. *Circum Concordiæ*] An ellipsis, like *ad Juturnæ, in Veneris, à Vestæ, ad Apollinis*, where *ad* or *ade* is understood.

L. 1. *Liberti*] The free citizens of Rome were either *ingenui*, *libertini*, or *liberti*. The *ingenui* were such as had been born free, and of parents that had been always free. The *libertini* were born free, but of parents that had been made free. The *liberti* were such as had been actually made free themselves, and were generally much attached to the interest of their old masters on account of this favour.

2. *Partim exquirebant*] See the note on Jug. cap. lxxxiii.

RANT. Sed eos paullò antè frequens senatus judicaverat, CONTRA REMPUBLICAM FECISSE. Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quòd eo tempore Consul designatus erat, de his, qui in custodiis tenebantur, præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehenso forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat. isque postea, permotus oratione C. Cæsaris, pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum se dixerat; quòd de ea re, presidis additis, rescindendum censuerat. Sed Cæsar, ubi ad eum ventum, rogatus sententiam à Consule hujuscemodi verba locutus est.

LI. " Omnis homines, Patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia; ira atque misericordia vacuos esse delect. Haud facillè animus verum providet, ubi illa obficiunt. neque quisquam omnium lubrici simul et usui paruit. Ubi inten-

LI. " *Conscrip't Fathers, it becomes all men, who deliberate upon difficult matters, to be free from hatred, love; anger and pity. The mind does not easily see the truth, where these stand in the way. nor of all men has any one ever gratified his passion and served his interest at the same time. Where you apply*

3. *Pedilus in sententiam*] There were chiefly three ways by which the members of the senate signified their assent to any thing proposed in the house. 1. *Verbo*, by saying *assentio*. 2. *Nutu et sublata manu*, by nodding the head and lifting up the hand. 3. *Pedilus*, when the house divided, and all those who were of the same sentiment went apart by themselves, and then, upon numbering heads, the point in dispute was determined according to plurality.

4. *Tib. Nero: is*] Qui ad servandos tantisper in custodia, dum Catilina debellaretur, et negotium totum exquisitè pernosceretur, censuerat. Appian. ii. Civ. p. 430.

LI. 1. *Luliliâ simul et usui paruit*] Inservivit cupiditati simul et utilitati; ea fecit, quæ cuperet, et quæ verè utilia essent.

deris ingenium, valet : si
 libido possidet, ea domi-
 natur, animus nihil valet.
 Magna mihi copia memo-
 randi, P. C. qui reges at-
 que populi, irâ, aut mise-
 ricordia impulsî, malè con-
 tuluerint : sed ea malo di-
 cere, quæ majores nostri,
 contra lubidinem animi,
 rectè atque ordine fecerè.
 Bello Macedonico, quod
 cum rege Perse gessimus,
 Rhodiorum civitas, ma-
 gna atque magnifica, quæ
 populi Romani opibus cre-
 verat, infida atque advor-
 sa nobis fuit : sed post-
 quam, bello confecto, de
 Rhodiis consultum est,
 majores nostri, ne quis
 divitiarum magis, quàm
 injuriæ causâ bellum in-
 ceptum diceret, impunitos
 dimisere. Item bellis Pu-
 nicis omnibus, cum sæpe
 Carthaginienfes, et in pace,
 et per inducias, multa ne-
 faria facinora fecissent,
 numquam ipsi per occasi-
 onem talia fecere : magis,
 quid se dignum foret,
 quàm quid in illis jure fieri
 posset, quærebant. Hoc
 idem providendum est, Pa-

*your judgment, it is of force : if
 passion get possession, it rules.
 reason avails nothing. Illu-
 strious Fathers, I have a large
 field for relating, what kings
 and what states, influenced by
 resentment or compassion, have
 taken bad measures : but I chuse
 rather to mention those things,
 which our ancestors, against the
 passion of their own mind, have
 done rightly and judiciously. In
 the Macedonian war, which we
 carried on with King Perse,
 the great and flourishing state of
 the Rhodians, which had been
 raised thro' the interest of the
 Roman people, was treacherous
 and cross to us : but the war
 being finished, after a consulta-
 tion was held concerning the
 Rhodians, our ancestors, lest any
 should say, the war was under-
 taken rather on account of their
 wealth, than any wrong done
 us, dismissed them unpunished.
 Likewise in all the Punic wars,
 when often the Carthaginians
 had committed many detestable
 villanies both in peace and in
 the time of truces, they never
 upon any occasion did such things
 to them : they inquired rather,
 what would be worthy of them-
 selves, than what might in ju-*

2. *Ordine fecere*] Jusse, consilio, in quo est ordo rerum gerendarum.

3. *Item bellis Punicis*] *Punicus* is derived from *Pœni*, with the like change as *punio* from *pœna*, or *munio* from *mœnia*: and *Pœni* is the same with *Phœni*. i. e. the *Phœnicians*, from whom the Carthaginians were originally descended; for they came from Tyre, an ancient city of Phœnicia, first built, says Prideaux, by the Zidonians, 240 years before Solomon's temple; and hence the prophet Isaiah, cap. xxiii. ver. 12. calls Tyre the daughter of Zidon. See Jug. cap. xix. note 4.

tres conscripti, ne plus valeat apud vos P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus, quam vestra dignitas; neu magis iræ, quam famæ, consulatis. Nam si digna pœna pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium adprobo: sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat; iis utendum censeo, quæ legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, compositè atque magnificè casum reipublicæ miserati sunt: quæ belli sævitia, quæ victis acciderent, enumeravere, rapti virgines, pueros: divelli liberos à parentum complexu: matres familiarum pati, quæ victoribus collibuisse: sana atque domos exspoliari; cædem, incendia fieri; postremò, armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis, quò illa oratio pertinuit? an, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? scilicet quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendet. Non ita est: neque cuiquam mortalium injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur: multi eas gravius æquo habere. Sed aliis alia licentia, Patres conscripti, qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundiâ

since be done to them: Illustrious Fathers, the same ought to be minded by you, let not the wickedness of P. Lentulus and the rest weigh more with you than your own honour; and do not consult your resentment more, than your reputation. For if a condign punishment for their deeds is found out, I approve of new measures: but if the greatness of their crime exceed the invention of all; I think we should use those punishments which are provided by the laws. Most of those, who have told their sentiments before me, have elegantly and nobly lamented the case of the commonwealth: they have reckoned up what would be the cruel consequences of a war, what would befall the conquered, that virgins would be ravished, boys abused: children pulled from the embraces of their parents: matrons subjected to whatever should be the pleasure of the conquerors: temples and houses plundered; that there would be massacre and burning; finally, all places filled with arms, dead bodies, blood and lamentation. But, by the immortal gods, to what purpose served that discourse? Was it to make you incensed against the conspiracy? Yes, a speech will inflame him, whom a crime so great and so monstrous has not moved. It is not so: nor do one's own injuries seem small to any man: many have reckoned them greater than what was reasonable. But,

G

deliquere,

deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna pares sunt: qui magno imperio præditi in excelsa ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est. neque studere, neque odisse, sed minumè irasci decet. quæ apud alios iracundia dicitur, in imperio superbia atque crudelitas adpellatur. Equidem ego sic æstumo, Patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores, quàm facinora illorum esse. sed plerique mortales postrema meminere, et in hominibus impiis scelcris obliti de pœna differunt, si ea paullò severior fuit. D. Silanum virum fortem atque strenuum, certè scio, quæ dixerit, studio reipublicæ dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam, aut inimicitias exercere. eos mores, eam modestiam viri cognovi. Verùm sententia non mihi crudelis, quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest? sed aliena à republica nostra videtur. Nam profectò aut metus, aut injuria te subegit, Silanæ, Consulem designatum, genus pœnæ novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est differere, cùm præsentis diligentia clarissumi viri Con-

Illustrious Fathers, a different liberty is allowed to different persons. mean men, who pass their life in obscurity, if they trip in any thing through passion, few know of it; their fame and fortune are alike: all men know the actions of those, who, endued with great power, live in exalted stations. Thus in the greatest fortune there is the least liberty. it becomes them neither to favour, nor hate, but least of all to be in wrath. what is called passion in others, is named pride and cruelty in the government. Truly, my Lords, I reckon thus, that all tortures are less than their crimes. but most men keep in their minds the last things they see, and, in the case of guilty persons, forgetting their wickedness descant upon their punishment, if that was a little more severe than ordinary. I well know, that the brave worthy gentleman D. Silanus said what he said out of zeal for the public, and that he did not practise favour or feud in so weighty a matter. I have found that such are the morals, such the moderation of the gentleman. But his advice appears to me not cruel, for what can be cruel against such men? but improper for our government. For certainly, Silanus, either fear or injury have forced you, now Consul-elect, to vote a new kind of punishment. It is needless to talk of fear, when such power-

4. *Præsenti diligentia*] Præsens est adjuvans, præstans, intenta.

fulis

fulis tanta præsidia sint in armis. De pœna possumus equidem dicere id, quod res habet: in luctu atque miseriis mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultrà neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortalis, quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteretur? an, quia lex Porcia vetat? at aliæ leges item condemnatis civibus animam non eripi, sed in exilium permitti jubent. An, quia gravius est verberari, quàm necari? quid autem acerbum, aut grave nimis in homines tanti facinoris convictos? Sin quia levius; quàm convenit in minore negotio legem timere, cum eam in maiore neglexeris? At enim quis reprehendet, quod in paricidas reipublicæ decretum erit? tempus, dies, fortuna, cuius lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis meritò accidit, quidquid evenit: ceterum vos, Patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex

ful guards are in arms by the effectual care of that most illustrious person the Consul. As to the punishment, we may indeed say that, which the thing implies: that, in mourning and misery, death is a rest from sorrows, not a torment; it puts an end to all the evils of mortals; beyond it there is room neither for anxiety nor joy. But by the gods immortal, why did you not add to your advice, that first they should be punished with stripes? Was it, because the Porcian law forbids it? but other laws likewise injoin life not to be taken from condemned citizens, but that they be sent into banishment. Or was it, because it is a heavier punishment to be scourged, than put to death? but what is severe or too heavy for men convicted of so great a crime? But if it was, because it is lighter; how is it consistent to regard the law in a smaller matter, when you slight it in a greater? But forsooth who will blame what shall be resolved upon against murderers of the commonwealth? I answer, time, days, and fortune, whose pleasure rules nations. Whatever shall fall out, happens deservedly to them: but, worthy Fathers, consider ye what ye determine against o-

5. *Lex Porcia vetat*] The author M. Porcius, Tribune of the commons, A. U. 453, commanding, that no magistrate should execute, or punish with rods, a Roman citizen; but, upon sentence of condemnation, should permit him to go into exile: contrary to their former practice of scourging, and then putting to death.

bonis orta sunt : sed ubi imperium ad ignaros, aut minùs bonos pervenit ; novum illud [exemplum] ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedæmonii, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros imposuere, qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primò cœpere pessimum quémque et omnibus in visum indemnatum necare, ea populus lætari et meritò dicere fieri. Post, ubi paullatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos lubricinosè interficere, ceteros metu terrere. Ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultæ lætitiæ gravis pœnas dedit. Nostrâ memoriâ, victor Sulla cum Damasippum et alios hujusmodi, qui malo reipublicæ creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat ? homines scelestos, faciosos, qui seditionibus rempublicam exagitaverant, meritò necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnæ initium cladis fuit. Nam uti quisque domum, aut villam, postremò aut vas, aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita qui-

thers. All bad examples have their rise from good designs : but when the administration descends to ignorant or less worthy persons, that new [precedent] is transferred from deserving and proper objects, to undeserving and improper ones. The Lacedæmonians, having conquered the Athenians, set over them thirty men, who were to manage their republic. These at first began to put to death every one most wicked and odious to all, without trial. the people rejoiced at this, and said it was done deservedly. Afterwards, when by degrees their licentiousness increased, they cut off equally the good and bad at their pleasure, and daunted the rest with fear. Thus the state, borne down with slavery, suffered heavy punishment for their foolish rejoicing. In our own time, when the conqueror Sulla ordered Damasippus and others of his stamp, who had been raised by the misfortune of the public, to be put to death, who did not commend his deed ? they said that wicked turbulent fellows, who had plagued the state with their mutinous practices, were put to death deservedly. But that procedure was the beginning of a mighty disaster. For as any one coveted a house, or country-seat, at last either a

6. *Damasippum*] The city Prætor, and one of the Marian faction. He had employed all his interest, in a most malicious and cruel manner, against Sulla and his party.

bus Damasippi mors lætitiæ fuerat, post paullò ipsi trahebantur : neque prius finis jugulandi fuit, quàm Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego hæc non in M. Tullio, neque histemporibus vereor ; sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio tempore, alio Consule, cui item exercitus in manus, falsum aliquid pro vero credi. ubi hoc exemplo, per senati decretum, Consul gladium eduxerit, quis finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur ? Majores nostri, Patres conscripti, neque consilii, neque audaciæ unquam eguere : neque superbia obstabat, quò minùs aliena instituta, si modò, proba, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumserunt : postremò, quod ubique apud socios, aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur : imitari, quàm invidere bonis malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore, Græciæ morem imitati, verberibus animadvertabant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Post-

piece of plate, or a fine coat of any one, he did his endeavour, that he might be put in the list of the proscribed. Thus they to whom the death of Damasippus had been matter of joy, a little after were dragged themselves to execution : nor was there an end of butchering, till Sulla glutted all his party with riches. Indeed I do not fear these things in M. Tullius, nor in these times ; but in a mighty state there are many and various humours. Some falsehood may be believed for truth at another time, under another Consul, who likewise may have an army at his command. when upon this precedent, by a vote of the senate, a Consul shall have drawn the sword, who shall set limits, or who shall bound him ? Our ancestors, worthy Fathers, neither at any time wanted conduct nor courage : nor did pride hinder them from imitating foreign customs, provided they were good. They borrowed from the Samnites arms and weapons of war, most of the badges of the magistrates from the Tuscans : in fine they put in practice at home, with the utmost zeal, what every where appeared useful among allies, or enemies : they chose rather to imitate than envy the good. But at the same time, imitating the custom of

7. *Ab Tuscis*] Inde fascēs, trabes, curules, annuli, phaleræ, paludamenta, prætextæ ; inde, quod aureo curru quatuor equis triumphatur : togæ pictæ, tunicæque palmatæ ; omnia denique decora et insignia, quibus imperii dignitas eminet. Flor. i. cap. v.

quam respublica adolevit, et multitudine civium factiones valere, circumvenire innocentes, alia hujusmodi fieri cœpere. tum lex Porcia aliæque paratæ, quibus legibus exilium damnatis permissum. Hanc ego causam, Patres conscripti, quò minùs novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profectò virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quàm in nobis, qui ea bene parata vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti, et augeri exercitum Catilinæ? minumè; sed ita censeo: publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxumè opibus valent: neu quis de is postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat: qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumate, eum contra rempublicam et salutem omnium facturum."

favours: That, who shall do otherwise, the senate judges he shall act against the state, and the public safety."

LII. Postquam Cæsar dicendi fidem fecit, ceteri verbo alius alii variè assentiebantur: at M. Porcius Cato rogatus sententi-

Greece, they beat citizens with stripes, and inflicted capital punishment on condemned persons. After the state grew great, and by the number of citizens factions prevailed, they trepanned the innocent, and other things of this nature began to be practised. upon that the Porcian laws, and others too were provided; by which laws banishment was allowed to condemned persons. Honourable Fathers, I think this a great reason in particular, why we should not take new measures. Certainly there was greater merit and wisdom in them, who made so great an empire out of a small state, than in us, who with much ado retain the things happily acquired. Is it my sentiment then, that they be dismissed, and Catiline's army reinforced? by no means; but thus I give my opinion: That their estates should be confiscated, themselves kept in prison in the free towns, which are of greatest note for strength: That none make application to the senate afterwards concerning them, nor deal with the people in their

LII. After Cæsar made an end of speaking, the rest signified their assent by words, some to one, some to another, variously: but M. Porcius Cato being ask-
am,

8. *Publicandas eorum pecunias*] Publico ærario adjudicandas, quem morem à Græcis Romani acceperunt. Pecunia notat omnia bona.

LII. 1. *M. Porcius Cato*] This is the famous Cato, who, transported

am, hujuscemodi orationem habuit.

“Longè mihi alia mens est, Patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero, et cùm sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo. Illi mihi differuisse videntur de pœna eorum, qui patriæ, parentibus, aris atque focus suis bellum paravere : res autem monet, cavere ab illis, quàm, quid in illis statuamus, consultare. Nam cetera tum persequare, ubi facta sunt ; hoc, nisi provideris, ne accidat ; ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores. captâ urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortalis, vos ego adpello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras pluris, quàm rempublicam fecistis : si ista, cujuscumque modi sint, quæ amplexamini retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere vultis ; expergiscimini aliquando, et capeffite rempublicam. Non agitur de vectigalibus, non de sociorum injuriis ; libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. Sæpenumero, Patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci :

ed his opinion, had a speech to this purpose.

“*Illustrious Fathers, I have a far different judgment, when I consider our circumstances and our danger, and when I recount with myself the sentiments of some. They seem to me to have discoursed concerning the punishment of those, who have raised a war against their country, parents, religion, and properties : but the case advises, rather to guard against them, than deliberate what punishment we should determine for them. For you may punish other crimes, when they are committed ; this you cannot punish, unless you take care that it do not happen ; for you crave sentence in vain, when it falls out. when the city is taken, nothing remains to the conquered. But, by the immortal gods, I address myself to you, who always have valued more your houses, country-seats, statues, and pictures, than the commonwealth : if you would keep those things, of whatever nature they be, which you fondly hug, if you would have leisure for pursuing your pleasures ; rouse at last, and take care of the republic. We are not treating of the revenues, not of the ill usage of our allies ; liberty and our life is at stake. Gentlemen, I*

ed with indignation at the success of Julius Cæsar in the civil wars, stabbed himself, and died at Utica ; and upon that account was ever after surnamed Uticensis. Our writer gives his character, cap. liv. He was the grandson of Porcius Cato, the renowned moralist, who used to conclude his speeches in the senate with this exclamation, Delenda est Carthago.

sæpe

sepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum; multosque mortalis eâ causâ adversos habeo. qui mihi atque animo meo nullius unquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud faciliè alterius lubricini malefacta condonabam. Sed, ea tamen si vos parvi pendebatis; tamen respublica firma, opulencia negligentiam tolerabat. Nunc verò non id agitur, bonis, an malis moribus vivamus; neque quantum, aut quàm magnificum imperium populi Romani: sed cuius hæc cumque modi, nostra, an nobiscum unâ, hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quiscumque mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat? jam pridem equidem nos vera rerum vocabula amissimus; quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitas; malorum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur. eò respublica in extremo sita. Sint sanè, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex fociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus ærarii: ne illis sanguinem nostrum largiantur; et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. Bene et compositè C. Cæsar paullò antè in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit; falsa, credo, existu-

have often made long speeches in this house: I have often complained of the luxury and avarice of our citizens; and I have many men my enemies on that account. I, who had indulged myself and my own humour in no fault at any time, could not easily pardon crimes committed by the extravagance of another. But, though you little regarded this, yet the republic was secure, her opulency did admit of your remissness. But now the question is not, whether we are to live according to good or bad morals; nor how great or how magnificent the empire of the Roman people may be made: but whether these things, whatever they be, are to be our own, or together with ourselves the prey of enemies. Does any one mention to me mildness and mercy in this case? long since indeed we have lost the true names of things; for to lavish away the goods of others, is called generosity; boldness in wicked actions is called bravery. by this means the state is come to be in a desperate situation. Let them be indeed, since the fashions are such, generous out of the fortunes of our allies, let them be compassionate to robbers of the treasury: but let them not make a present of our blood to them; and go on to ruin all good people, whilst they spare a few villains. C. Cæsar a little before discoursed finely and ornately in this house concerning life and
mans,

mans, quæ de inferis memorantur: diverso itinere malos à bonis loca tetra, inculta, fœda, atque formidolosa habere. Itaque censuit PECUNIAS EORUM PUBLICANDAS, IPSOS PER MUNICIPIA IN CUSTODIIS HABENDOS; videlicet timens, ne, si Romæ sint, aut à popularibus conjurationis, aut à multitudine conductæ per vim eripiantur. Quasi verò mali atque scelleti tantummodo in urbe, et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium, si periculum ex illis metuit. sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet; eò magis refert mihi atque vobis timere. Quare cum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinæ et de omnibus conjuratis decernere. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit. si paullulum modò vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt. Nolite existimare, majores nostros armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multò pulcherrumameam nos habere-

death; supposing, I imagine, those things false, which are told about the state of the dead: that bad men, in a region separated from the good, possess dismal, waste, ugly, and frightful places. And therefore he was of opinion, their estates should be confiscated, and themselves detained in custody in the franchised towns; fearing, it seems, lest, if they were at Rome, they should be rescued by force, either by the accomplices of the conspiracy, or by a hired mob. As if indeed rascals and villains were in the city only, and not through all Italy; or a daring temper could not do more in a place where there is less strength for defence. Wherefore this advice is indeed idle, if he fears dangers from them. but if in this so great general consternation he alone be not afraid; so much the more it concerns me to be afraid for myself, and you for yourselves. Wherefore when you shall pass judgment on P. Lentulus and the rest of the prisoners, reckon for certain, that you determine at the same time concerning Catiline's army, and all the conspirators. By how much the more vigorously you shall execute this, so much will their courage be the weaker. if they see you faint but a little, instantly all will advance boldly. Don't imagine, that our forefathers made the republic great of a small one by

2. *Refert mihi atque vobis timere*] is thus to be resolved, *refert me mihi, atque vos vobis timere.*

remus :

remus : quippe sociorum atque civium, præterea armorum atque equorum major nobis copia, quàm illis. Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere ; quæ nobis nulla sunt : domi industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto, neque lubrici obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam ; publicè egestatem, privatim opulentiam ; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam ; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum ; omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum ; ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hîc pecuniæ, aut gratiæ servitis ; eò fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuum rempublicam. Sed ego hæc omitto. Conjurare nobilissimi cives patriam incendere : Gallorum gentem infestissimam nomini Romano ad bellum arcessunt : dux hostium supra caput est : vos cunctamini etiam nunc, quid intra mœnia adprepensis hostibus faciatis ? Misereamini censeo : delinquere homines adolescentuli per ambitionem ; atque etiam armatos dimit-

arms. If the matter were so, we should have it by far the most excellent : for we have greater abundance of allies and citizens, as also of arms and horses, than they had. But there were other things which made them great ; none of which we have : I mean, industry at home, just administration abroad, a mind disinterested in council, under the influence neither of guilt nor passion. Instead of these we have luxury and avarice ; public poverty, private plenty ; we praise riches, we indulge sloth ; there is no distinction between good men and bad ; ambition possesses all the rewards of virtue. Nor is it strange ; when you separately take measures every one for himself, when at home you are slaves to pleasures, here to money, or favour ; hence it comes, that an assault is made upon the abandoned state. But I pass these things. Some very noble citizens have conspired to fire the city : they solicit to the war the nation of the Gauls, the most spiteful enemies to the Roman state : the commander of the enemy is on our top : do you demur as yet, what you should do with rebels caught within the walls ? You should pity them, I suppose : the young men have been misled by the love of power ; and you may send them off armed too. Certainly that mildness and mer-

3. In vacuum rempublicam] Defensoribus or some such word is understood.

tatis. Ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam vertet. Scilicet res aspera est; sed vos non timetis eam. Immo verò maxumè; sed inertiam et mollitiâ animi, alius alium expectantes cunctamini, diis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maximis sæpe periculis servavere. Non votis, neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prospera omnia cedunt: ubi secordiæ te atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequidquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros T. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quòd is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari iussit, atque ille egregius adolescens immoderatæ fortitudinis morte pœnas dedit; vos de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini? Videlicet vita cetera eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verùm parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famæ suæ, si diis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit: igno-

cy, if they get their arms, will turn to your misery. To be sure the case is dangerous; but you are not afraid of it. Nay truly very much; but through a lifelessness and indolence of spirit, you hang back waiting one another, depending upon the immortal gods, who have often saved this republic in the greatest dangers. The assistance of the gods is not procured by vows, nor womanish prayers: by watching, by doing, by taking well-advised measures, all things prove successful: when you have given up yourself to idleness and sloth, you invoke the gods to no purpose; they are angry and enraged. Among our ancestors, T. Manlius Torquatus, in the Gallic war, ordered his own son to be put to death, because he had fought against the enemy contrary to orders. and that excellent youth was punished with death for his ill-governed courage; do you demur, what you should determine with respect to the most barbarous parricides? The other parts of their life, it seems, stand opposed to this crime. Yes, shew regard to the quality of Lentulus, if ever he shewed regard to his chastity, if to his credit, if to the gods, or any man: pardon the youth of Cethegus; unless he has made war upon his

4. *Ne ista vobis mansuetudo*] The particle *ne* in this place, which is the same with the Greek *μή*, and signifies *truly, certainly*, is by the moderns writ with *æ* diphthong, but with *e* vowel by the ancients, and by Sallust, as here, and in Jug. cap. xiv. *Ne ille*—*gravis pœnas reddet.* Cap. lxxxv. *Ne illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissimas res pariter expectant.*

scite Cethegi adolescentiæ; nisi iterum patriæ bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Cæpario loquar? quibus si quidquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de republica habuissent. Postremo, Patres conscripti, si ineherculè peccato locus esset, facilè paterer, vos ipsâ re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis. Sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget: alii intra mœnia, in sinu urbis sunt hostes: neque parari, neque consuli quidquam occultè potest. quò magis propèrandum. Quare ita ego censeo: Cùm nefario consilio sceleratorum civium respublica in maxuma pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturcii, et legatorum Allobrogum convicti, confessique sint, cædem, incendia, aliâ fœda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse; de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum, supplicium sumendum."

LIII. Postquam Cato adfedit; consulares omnes, itemque senatûs magna

country now a second time. For why should I speak of Gabinius, Statilius, and Cæparius? who, if ever they had had any consideration, would not have entertained such designs concerning the state. Finally, Fathers, by heavens, if there were room for the blunder, I could easily suffer you to be set right by the event itself, since you despise words. But we are beset on all sides. Catiline with an army advances to our throats: there are other enemies within the walls, in the heart of the city: nor can any thing be provided, or consulted secretly, on which account we ought to use the greater expedition. Wherefore thus I give my opinion: Since the state has come into the greatest jeopardy by the villanous contrivance of wicked citizens, and they having been convicted by the evidence* of T. Volturcius, and the deputies of the Allobroges, and having confessed, that they had designed massacre, burning, and other foul and cruel outrages against their fellow-citizens and country; that, according to the usage of our ancestors, punishment should be inflicted upon those that have confessed, as upon persons evidently guilty of capital crimes."

LIII. After Cato sat down; all the consular members, and also a great part of the senate, ap-

5. Nisi iterum patriæ bellum fecit] Some think Cethegus had sided with Marius in the civil wars: others take what is here said to refer to the conspiracy of Piso, mentioned cap. xviii. in which they say Cethegus was concerned.

pars, sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad cœlum ferunt: alii alios increpantes timidos vocant: Cato magnus atque clarus habetur: senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat. Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quæ populus Romanus domi militiæque, mari atque terrâ præclara facinora fecit, fortè lubuit attendere, quæ res maxumè tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam, sæpe numero parvâ manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse: cognoveram, parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus: ad hoc sæpe fortunæ violentiam toleravisse: facundiâ Græcos, gloriâ belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitati constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidiâ civitas corrupta est; rursus respublica magnitudine suâ imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac, sicuti effœta parentum, multis tempestatibus haud fanè quisquam Romæ virtute magnus fuit.

plaud his sentiment, extol the bravery of his spirit to the heavens: in an upbraiding manner they call one another Edwards: Cato is celebrated as a great and an illustrious hero: the decree of the senate passes, as he had advised. But I, upon reading many, and hearing of many glorious achievements, which the Roman people did, at home and in war, by sea and land, was accidentally inclined to consider narrowly, what things chiefly had supported so great performances. I was sensible, that often with a small handful they had engaged with mighty armies of their enemies: I had found, that wars had been carried on by small forces with potent kings: and further, that often they had borne the shocks of fortune: that the Greeks for eloquence, the Gauls for reputation in war, were before the Romans. And to me, upon revolving many things, it appeared certain, that the extraordinary conduct of a few citizens had effected all; and hence it came to pass, that poverty vanquished riches, and a handful multitudes. But after the city was debauched with luxury and idleness; the commonwealth in its turn, by its own grandeur, supported the vices of its generals and magistrates; and as happens to a mother past bearing, there has been indeed

LIII. *Ac, sicuti effœta parentum]* Ac, sicuti effœta parens, inter parentes, sese habere solet, ut nullos ampliùs liberos proferat; sic Romæ sese labuit, ubi multis tempestatibus nemo virtute magnus fuit.

Sed memoriâ meâ ingenti virtute, divorsi moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et C. Cæsar: quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio præterire, non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

for many years not any one eminent for a great character at Rome. But in my own time there have been two men, M. Cato and C. Cæsar, of extraordinary abilities, though different in their way: whom, since an opportunity has offered, it was not my design to pass over in silence, but open up the genius and manners of both, as much as, according to my capacity, I am able.

LIV. Igitur his genus,

LIV. *Their extraction then, ætas,*

LIV. 1. *Igitur his genus*] Mr. John Clarke, in his preface to Sallust, is highly offended at the comparison here drawn betwixt Cato and Cæsar; but at the same time he frankly acknowledges, that this is the only material fault he knows of in Sallust. Some of his words are, "It is an outrage upon common sense, to run a parallel betwixt two men of such opposite characters, so as to leave it at last a disputable point, which was the greater and better of the two. Cæsar was indeed a person of vast abilities: but then he had nothing in him that bore any resemblance of a virtue, but what was directly intended to promote the worst and most wicked design that can enter into the heart of man to conceive, the destruction of the liberties of his country. The generosity, easiness, and clemency Sallust celebrates him for, were in him arts or tricks, practised purely with a view to acquire and secure to himself the possession of an arbitrary power over his fellow-citizens. Shall any man be accounted or styled mild and merciful, whose insatiable thirst after power made him wade through seas of blood to come at it? He was not a whit better man than Catiline, but had a great deal more cunning, and much greater abilities, whereby he at length executed with success, what the other attempted only to his own destruction. Cato was a brave and worthy patriot. And to compare two such men together, whose characters were as opposite to one another, as black and white, in the manner Sallust has done, was vile dawbing, setting a gloss upon the most extreme wickedness, to give it the air and lustre of virtue."

As Mr. Clarke looks upon this comparison betwixt Cato and Cæsar with abhorrence and indignation, so he brings a heavy and odious charge against Sallust for being the drawer of it. But I am of opinion, that, upon due examination, it will be found there is no just ground for such a censure. It is far less difficult, as well as much safer, to draw characters of men after their death, than in the time of their life. It is an easy matter for us now, upon looking back to the history of these times, to see a great disparity in these two mens characters: that the one regulated his behaviour by principles of virtue and honour; that a vicious unbounded ambition influenced and directed the conduct of the other: that Cato lived and died a true patriot, and that Cæsar aggrandized him-

ætas, eloquentia propè æqualia fuere : magnitudo animi par, item gloria ; sed alia alii. Cæsar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur ; integritate vitæ Cato. Ille mantuetudine et misericordia clarus factus : huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo ; Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus. In altero miseris perfugium ; in altero malis perniciēs. illius facilitas ; huius constantia laudabatur. Postremò Cæsar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare ; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua neglegere ; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset ; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, novum bellum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiæ, decoris, sed maxumè severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque fa-

their age, their eloquence were almost equal : their greatness of soul was the same, as also their glory ; but in each of a different kind. Cæsar was esteemed great for his kind offices and generosity ; Cato for the integrity of his life. The former became famous by clemency and compassion : rigid strictness gave a mighty reputation to the latter. Cæsar acquired glory by giving, by relieving, by forgiving ; Cato by offering no presents to bribe the people. In the one there was a refuge for the miserable ; in the other certain destruction for the wicked. the frankness of the former was celebrated ; the steadiness of the latter. Finally, Cæsar had put on a resolution to labour, and to watch ; quite taken up with the affairs of his friends, he neglected his own : refused nothing that was worth the giving ; he wished for great command to himself, for an army, for an uncommon war, where his vast abilities might be displayed. But for Cato was the

self upon the ruin of the public. But the case was quite otherwise with Sallust at the time when he wrote this history, which was about the year of Rome 703 or 704, and so about a year or two before the civil wars broke out betwixt Cæsar and Pompey ; as M. Le Clerc, in his life of Sallust, makes highly probable. At this time Cæsar's character was fair ; he was a man of extraordinary abilities, of an insinuating and invincible eloquence, greatly beloved by the people on account of his generosity, was an able minister of state, a glorious and successful General, and had not made the least open attempt upon the liberties of his country. Sallust could not know the secret springs or motives of his conduct, nor foresee what use he would make of his power ; how then is he culpable for comparing Cæsar with another great man of that age, and giving him the character he really had at the time when he wrote ?

2. *Novum bellum*] *Novum est, quod antea non fuit, singulare.*

atione cum fastioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abinentiâ certabat; esse, quàm videri, bonus malebat; ita quò minùs gloriam petebat, eò magis sequebatur,

chose rather to be good than appear so; thus the less he courted fame, the more it followed him.

LV. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, Consul optimum factum ratus, noctem, quæ instabat, ante capere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, Triumviros, quæ supplicium postulabat, parare jubet: ipse, dispositis præfidiis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit: idem fit ceteris per Prætores. Est locus in carcere, quod Tullianum adpellatur, ubi paullulùm escenderis ad lævam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera, lapideis fornicibus vineta: sed incultu, tenebris, odore fœda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum lo-

study of sobriety, of decency, but especially of strict discipline. He did not vie with the rich in riches, nor in faction with the party-man; but in bravery with the brave, in modesty with the modest, in innocence with the guileless; he

LV. After, as I said, the senate went into Cato's opinion, the Consul thinking it best to prevent the night which was coming on, lest, in that space, something new should be attempted, orders the Triumviri to get ready what things the execution required: he himself, after posting the guards, conducts Lentulus to the prison: the same office is done to the rest by the Prætors. There is a place in the gaol which is called Tullianum, or the dungeon, as you advance a little to the left, sunk about twelve feet under ground. Walls environ it on all sides, and above is a roof knit together with stone arches: but its appearance is noisome and frightful for nastiness, darkness, and stench. After Lentulus was let down into this

LV. 1. *Triumviros*] These, so called from their number, were persons appointed to oversee the prison, and execute the sentence of the senate or magistrates on criminals. They were called *capitales* both from the nature of their office, and also to distinguish them from the *Triumviri monetales*, who had the charge of the mint; and from the *Triumviri nocturni*, who had the charge of the watches for preventing fire in the night.

2. *Tullianum*] Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome, enlarged and finished the public prison begun by Ancus Martius, and in it made this dungeon, which from his name was called *Tullianum*. For the construction, see Jug. cap. xix. note 9.

cum postquam demissus Lentulus, quibus præceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregerè. Ita ille patricius, ex clarissima gente Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romæ habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitæ invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cæpario eodem modo supplicium sumtum.

LVI. Dum ea Romæ geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam et ipse adduxerat, et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit; cohortes, pro numero militum, complet:

place, they, to whom orders had been given, strangled him. Thus that patrician, of the most illustrious family of the Cornelii, and who had bore consular authority at Rome, found an end of life suitable to his manners and his deeds. Punishment was inflicted on Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinus, and Cæparius, after the same manner.

LVI. *Whilst these things are doing at Rome, Catiline, out of all the forces which he had carried with him, and those which Manlius had, forms two legions; fills up the cohorts according to the number of his soldiers.*

3. *Supplicium sumtum*] Cicero caused these conspirators to be executed in the prison, upon the bare sentence of the senate, without bringing the affair before the assembly of the people, (as was usual); which was afterwards improved against him by his enemies, and brought such an odium upon him, as Sallust hints, cap. xxii. that at the instigation of Clodius, Tribune of the commons, he was actually banished out of Italy, his houses demolished both in town and country, and his goods set to sale; but was very honourably recalled about sixteen months after. It is related, that Cicero, as he returned from this execution, upon observing a great number of the conspirators friends and accomplices, who did not know that they had been put to death, but were preparing to rescue them in the night, turned towards the multitude, and with a loud voice cried out, *vixerunt*, or, *they have lived*; a soft expression used by him on this occasion, instead of the harsher words, *mortui sunt*, or, *they are dead*. This happened on the 5th of December, A. U. 691.

LVI. 1. *Ex omni copia*] *Copia* even in the singular number is sometimes used to signify forces or an army. Tacit. An. ii. 52. *Mazippæ levi cum copia, incendia et cedes, et terrorem circumferret.* Virg. Æneid. ii. 364. *Respicio, et quæ sit me circum copia lustris.*

2. *Cohortes, pro numero militum*] A legion consisted of ten cohorts, each cohort of three *manipuli*, and each *manipulus* of two *centuriæ*. And this was constantly the form in the Roman armies, whether the legion consisted of a great number or a small: for sometimes a legion had in it 6000 men, and then each *centuria* had 100, and each *manipulus* 200, and each cohort 600. Sometimes the legion consisted only of 3000; and then each *centuria* had 50, each *manipulus* 100, and

deinde, ut quisque voluntarius, aut ex focis in castra venit, æqualiter distribuerat; ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat; cum initio non amplius duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos, aut lanceas, alii præacutas fudes portabant. Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere, ad urbem modò, modò in Galliam versùs castramovere; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare. sperabat prope diem sese habiturum, si Romæ focii incepta patravissent. Interèa servitia repudiabat, cuius initio ad eum magnæ copię concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus; simul alienum suis rationibus [existumans] videri

diers; afterward, as any volunteer, or any of his associates came to the camp, he disposed of them equally; and in a short time completed the legions with their number of men; whereas at first he had not more than two thousand. But of all his army about a fourth part only was furnished with military weapons; the rest, as chance had provided every one, carried spears, or lances, and some sharp stakes. But after Antonius approached with his army, Catiline made his march by the hills, moved his camp sometimes toward the city, sometimes towards Gaul; and gave no opportunity of battle to his adversaries. he hoped he would speedily have a fine occasion of offering them battle, if his associates should once have effected their enterprise at Rome. In the mean time the slaves, of whom great numbers flocked to him at first, he refused, depending upon the strength of the conspiracy; without [thinking] that it would ap-

each cohort 300. Sometimes a legion was made up of 4000, sometimes of 5000, and the number of men in each *centuria*, *manipulus*, and cohort, varied accordingly.

3. *Æqualiter distribuerat*] Equally betwixt the two legions, so that each might consist of the same number of men.

4. *Numero hominum*] Such a number as usually went to a legion in the Roman armies at that time.

5. *Sese habiturum*] Curtius thus supplies the sentence, *Sperabat prope diem sese occasionem pugnandi habiturum*.

6. *Servitia—cujus*] i. e. *cujus servitii*. Relatives in the singular number sometimes refer to collective antecedents in the plural. Plin. Paneg. cap. xi. *Quod hostes invaserant, ejus pulsi fugatique non aliud magis habebatur indicium, quàm quod triumpharetur*. Sueton. Cæs. cap. xxii. *Gallias elegit, ejus emolumento idonea sit materia triumphorum*.

causam

causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

pear improper for his design, to blend the cause of freemen with fugitive slaves.

LVII. Sed postquam in castra nuncius pervenit, Romæ conjurationem patefactam; de Lentulo, Cethego, ceteris, quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumtum: plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum, aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur: reliquos Catilina per montis asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pittoriensem abducit; eo consilio, uti per tramites occultè perfugerent in Galliam. At Q. Metellus Celer, cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno præsidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans, quæ supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra properè movet, ac sub ipsis radicibus montium confedit, quâ illi descensus erat [in Galliam properanti]. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat: utpote qui magno exercitu, locis æquioribus expeditus, in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina postquam videt montibus at-

LVII. But after the news came to the camp, that the conspiracy was discovered at Rome; that punishment was inflicted on Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest, whom I mentioned above: a great many, whom the hopes of plunder, or the love of change had tempted to the war, slip away: Catiline leads off the rest thro' craggy mountains by great marches into the territory of Pistoria; with this design, that thro' by-roads they might escape privately into Gaul. But Q. Metellus Celer was posted with three legions in the territory of Picene, guessing Catiline, from the distress of his affairs, to be driving the same designs which we mentioned just now. Wherefore, when he got intelligence of his rout from deserters, he decamped in all haste, and sat down at the foot of the mountains, where there was a descent for him [hastening into Gaul]. Nor yet was Antonius far off: in regard that with a great army, in a champaign country, and with few incumbrances, he pursued him on his flight. But Catiline, after he sees himself inclosed by the moun-

LVII. 1. *Agrum Pistoriensem*] The country about Pistoria or Pistorium, a town in Etruria, not far from the foot of the Appenines, now called Pistoria.

2. *Præsidebat*] Præsidio erat agro Piceno, ut et illum tueretur, et Catilinæ Gallorumque motus observaret,

que

que copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res ad- versas, neque fugæ, ne- que præsidii ullam spem; optimum factum ratus, in tali re fortunam belli ten- tare, statuit cum Antonio quàm primùm configere. Itaque, concione advoca- tâ, hujuscemodi oratio- nem habuit.

LVIII. " Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere; nè- que ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione impe- ratoris fieri. Quanta cujus- que animo audacia naturâ, aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet. quem neque gloria, neque peri- cula excitant, nequidquam hortere: timor animi au- ribus obfecit. Sed ego vos, quò pauca monerem, ad- vocavi; simul uti causam consilii aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, secor- dia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi cladem no- bisque attulerit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe præ- sidia opperior, in Galli- am proficisci nequiverim. Nunc quo in loco res no- stræ sint, juxtâ mecum om- nes intelligitis. Exer- citus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter à Gallia ob- stant: diutius in his locis esse, si maxumè animus fe- rat, frumenti atque alia-

tains and the enemies troops, things running against him in the city, and neither any hope of escape nor defence; thinking it the best way, in such a case, to try the fortune of war, re- solved to engage with Antonius as soon as possible. Wherefore, calling together his army, he made a speech to this purpose.

LVIII. " Soldiers, I have found that words do not inspire courage; nor an army become active of a spiritless one, nor brave of a cowardly one, by the speech of a general. As much boldness uses to be displayed in war, as is in any one's breast by nature or discipline. you address to no purpose him, whom neither glory nor dangers rouse: the terror of his mind stops his ears. But I have called you to- gether, that I might put you in mind of a few things; as also that I might lay open the reason of my conduct. Soldiers, you well know how great a mischief the indolence and inactivity of Lentulus has brought upon himself and us; and in what manner, whilst I wait for re- inforcements from the city, I have been prevented from getting into Gaul. In what posture our affairs are now, you all under- stand as well as I. Two armies of enemies, one from the city, another from Gaul, stand in our way: the want of corn and other things does not suffer us to be longer in these places,

tum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiundum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis; et, cum prælium inibitis, memineritis, vos divitias, decus, gloriam, præterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta, comatus abundè, colonix atque municipia patebunt. Sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa adversa fiunt: neque locus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. Præterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet. nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus: illis supervacaneum est pugnare pro potentia paucorum. Quò audaciùs adgredimini, memores pristinx virtutis. Licuit nobis cum summa turpitudine in exilio ætatem agere: potuistis nonnulli Romæ, amissis bonis, alienas opes exspectare. Quia illa fœda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, hæc sequi decrevistis. Si relinquere voltis, audaciâ opus est. nemo, nisi victor, pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma, quis corpus te-

though our inclination very much lead to it. To whatever place we design to go, the way must be opened with the sword. Wherefore I beseech you, to be of a daring and resolute spirit; and, when you shall enter upon battle, remember that you carry riches, honour, glory, as also liberty and your country in your right hands. If we conquer, all will be safe for us, plenty of provisions will be had, the colonies and free towns will be open to receive us. but if we shall flinch through fear, these very same things turn against us: neither any place, nor any friend will protect him, whom arms have not protected. Moreover, soldiers, the same necessity does not urge us and them. we fight for our country, for liberty, for life: to them it is unprofitable to fight for the power of a few. Wherefore attack them the more resolutely, mindful of your wonted bravery. We might, with the utmost disgrace, have passed our days in banishment: some of you might at Rome, after losing your estates, have looked for subsistence from others. But because those things appeared dishonourable and insufferable to men of spirit, ye resolved to pursue these measures. If ye incline to quit them, there is need of hardiness. none but a conqueror hath ever exchanged war for peace. For to hope for safe-

LVIII. *Quis corpus tegitur*] *Quis is here put for quibus, more Salustiano.*

gitur,

gitur, ab hostibus avertetur, ea verò dementia est. Semper in prælio maximum est periculum, qui maxumè timent: audacia pro muro habetur. Cum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vestra æstumo, magna me spes victoriæ tenet. Animus, ætas, virtus vestra hortantur; præterea necessitudo, quæ etiam timidos fortis facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae. Quod si virtuti vestræ fortuna inviderit, cavete, inulti animam amittatis; neu capti potius, sicuti pecora, trucidemini, quam virorum more pugnantes, cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquantis."

LIX. Hæc ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus, signa canere jubet; atque instructos ordines in locum æquum deducit: dein, remotis omnium equis, quò militibus, exæquato periculo, animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum, pro loco atque copiis, instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montis, et ab dextra rupe aspera, octo cohortis in fron-

ty in fight, when you have turned your arms, by which your person is protected, from the enemy, that truly is madness. In a battle, always they are in the greatest danger, who are most timorous: boldness is in place of a wall. When I consider you, soldiers, and when I think upon your actions, big hopes of victory possess me. Your spirit, your youth, your bravery encourage me; besides necessity, which makes even cowards valiant. For the narrowness of the ground does not permit the enemies numbers to surround us. But if fortune shall envy your bravery, take care you do not lose your life unrevenge; nor be taken and butchered like cattle, rather than fighting like heroes, leave a bloody and sorrowful victory to your enemies."

LIX. When he had spoken thus, after pausing a very little he gives orders to sound the trumpets; and leads down his troops in proper order to a level ground: and then, removing all their horse, that the soldiers might have the greater courage, their danger being equal, he himself on foot marshals his army, as the nature of the ground and his number of men required. For, as the plain was situate betwixt mountains on the left, and a

LIX. 1. *Inter sinistros montis, et ab dextra rupe aspera*] i. e. *ab dextra existente rupe aspera*, "there being a craggy rock on the right." Some authors would have said, *inter sinistros montes, et ab dextra rupem asperam*; but it is Sallust's way to couple clauses of different construction. See Jug. cap. vi. note 1.

te constituit : reliqua signa in subsidi artius collocat. Ab his centuriones omnis lectos, et evocatos, præterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextera, Fæsulanium quemdam in sinistra parte curare jubet : ipse cum libertis et colonis propter aquilam adfuit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus æger, quod prælio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas tumulti causâ conscripserat, in fronte ; post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans adpellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint, se contra latrones inermes, pro patria, pro liberis ; pro aris atque focis suis *craggy rock on the right, he draws up eight battalions in front : and places the other companies more close for reserves. Out of these he removes all the choice centurions, and honorary veterans, as also all the best armed of the common soldiers, to the foremost rank. He orders C. Manlius, to take charge in the right wing, and a certain Fæsulani in the left : he, with his freed-men, and some old soldiers that had been settled in the possession of lands by Sulla, took up his stand hard by the eagle, which C. Marius was said to have had in his army in the Cimbric war. But on the other side C. Antonius, because he could not be present in the battle, being lame in his feet, gives the charge of his army to M. Petreius his Lieutenant-general. He posts the veteran cohorts, which he had raised on account of this insurrection, in the front ; and behind them the rest of the army for reserves. He himself riding about on horseback, naming each of them, exhorts, en-*

2. *Evocatos*] The *Evocati* were old soldiers, that had served out their legal time in the wars, and could not again be obliged to list ; but were however sometimes prevailed upon by a General, whom they inclined to oblige, to attend him in his expedition.

3. *Optimum quemque armatum*] *Optimum* is here either an adverb, the same as *optimè* ; or it is put for *fortissimum*, and then these words signify, *all the most valiant that had arms.*

4. *Pedibus æger*] Dio xxxvii. p. 47. says this was an *ultronea podagra*, counterfeited by Antony, because he was afraid of meeting with Catiline, lest he should have upbraided him before the army for deserting the conspirators, whom once he had engaged with.

5. *Tumulti causâ*] *Tumultus* Romæ decernebatur, si ab Gallis, aut domesticis subitum periculum exortum esset.

cernere.

cernere. Homo militaris, quod ampliùs annos triginta tribunus, aut præfectus, aut legatus, aut prætor cum magna gloria fuerat, plerisque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat; ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

knew most of the men and their gallant actions; and by recounting them he fired the spirits of the soldiers.

LX. Sed ubi, rebus omnibus exploratis, Petreius tubâ signum dat; cohortis paullatim incedere jubet. idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eò ventum, unde à ferentariis prælium committi posset, maximo clamore,

courages, and begs of them, to remember, they were to fight against unarmed robbers, for their country, for their children; for their religion and properties. This man being an old soldier, for he had been with great reputation either tribune, or præfect, or lieutenant-general, or prætor, more than thirty years,

LX. Now after all things were narrowly inspected, Petreius gives the signal with a trumpet; and orders the battalions to advance gradually. the rebels army does the same. After they came to that nearness, that the battle could be joined by the light-armed soldiers, they

6. *Tribunus*] The *tribuni militum* were officers, of whom at first there were three in each legion; but were afterward increased to six. They were judges of controversies in the army, visited the watch, took care of the works of the camp: they had the honour of wearing a gold ring, in the same manner as the *equites*. Their office being esteemed very honourable, was much coveted, and therefore, to make way for the promotion of as many as possible, their command lasted but six months. See Jug. cap. xlv. note 2.

7. *Præfectus*] There were many kinds of *præfecti*; but when *Præfectus* is put simply by itself, as here, without a restrictive or explanatory word joined with it, then generally it denotes the *Præfectus auxiliarium cohortium atque sociorum*, which was a station much of the same honour and command, among the auxiliaries and allies, as a tribune among the legionaries.

8. *Legatus*] The *Legati* were next to the general in power, and used to command, by his appointment, some part of the army in the day of battle, and the whole in the General's absence. There were several of them in an army, and the General commonly used them as his counsellors or advisers in all cases of importance or difficulty.

9. *Prætor*] See cap. xix. note 2.

LX. 1. *Ferentariis*] The *Ferentarii* were light-armed soldiers, who, before the institution of the *Velites*, used to begin the battle, with the *pila* and other missile weapons. They were so called, *quod ea ferrent, quæ in hostem jacerentur*.

cum

cum infestis signis concurrunt; pila omittunt; gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinae virtutis memores, comminùs acriter instare; illi haud timidi resistunt. maximâ vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro faucibus arcessere: omnia providere: multùm ipse pugnare, sæpe hostem ferire. strenui militis, et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam contrâ, ac ratus erat, magnâ vi tendere; cohortem prætoriam in medios hostis inducit, eos perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit: deinde utrimque ex lateribus adgreditur. Manlius et Fæfulanus in primis pugnautes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias, seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, minor generis atque pristinae dignitatis, in confertissimos hostes incurrit,

rush together with a mighty shout, and with displayed banners; the javelins they lay aside: the action is carried on with the sword. The veterans, mindful of their wonted bravery, press on hotly in close fight; they undaunted resist. the contest is maintained with the greatest keenness. In the mean time Catiline with the light-armed was employed in the first line, he relieved those that were hard put to it, called up fresh men in room of the wounded: provided for every thing: fought himself a great deal, often charged the enemy. performed at once the duties of a valiant soldier, and an excellent commander. Petreius, when he sees Catiline pushing forward with great violence, contrary to what he expected; leads up the prætorian cohort against the main body of the rebels, cuts them to pieces, after they were disordered, and were making resistance here and there in scattered parties: after this he attacks them in the flanks on both sides. Manlius and the Fæfulan fall fighting among the first. After Catiline sees his

2. *Cum infestis signis*] *Signa infesta sunt, in hostem versa, ut solent pugnautes: contrâ, versa signa sunt fugientium.*

3. *Cohortem prætoriam*] A General was anciently called *Prætor*; and hence the battalion or company who attended the General as his guard, was called *Prætoria cohors*, and was made up of the stoutest fellows in the army.

4. *In primis pugnautes cadunt*] *Illud in primis non tam ad locum, ubi pugnaverint, quàm ad tempus et ordinem, quo occubuerint, pertinet.*

ibique pugnans confoditur.

descent and former grandeur, he rushes in among the thickest of the enemy, and there fighting is run through.

LXI. Sed confecto prælio, tum verò cerneret, quanta audacia quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam ferè, quem quisque pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amissâ animâ, corpore tegebatur. Pauci autem, quos cohors prætoria disjecerat, paullò diversius, sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus conciderant. Catilina verò longè à suis, inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paullulùm etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in voltu retinens. Postremò, ex omnī copia neque in prælio, neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus captus. Ita cuncti suæ hostiumque vitæ juxtà pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani lætam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus. Nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in prælio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui de castris visundi, aut spoliandi gratiâ processerant, volventes hostilia ca-

forces routed, and himself left with a few, mindful of his high

LXI. But the battle being ended, then indeed you might have perceived, how great resolution and what a mighty stock of courage had been in Catiline's army. For generally every one, after losing his life, covered with his body that spot, which he had taken possession of in the action. But a few, whom the prætorian cohort broke, had fallen a little more scatteredly, but yet all with wounds before. But Catiline was found far from his own men, among the dead bodies of his enemies, as yet breathing a little, and retaining in his countenance the fierceness of spirit which he had when alive. Finally, of all his army, not one free-born citizen was taken in the battle, nor in the flight. So much had they all spared their own life and that of their enemy alike. Nor yet did the army of the Roman people obtain a joyful victory; or without blood. for all the bravest among them either fell in battle, or came off grievously wounded. And many, who had gone out of the camp, with a design to see or plunder the slain, turning over the dead bodies of the enemies, some found a friend,

davera, amicum alii, pars *others a guest or a relation.*
 hospitem, aut cognatum *there were likewise some, who*
 reperiabant. fuere item, *knew their enemies. Thus joy,*
 qui inimicos suos cogno- *sorrow, grief and gladness,*
 scerent. Ita variè per om- *were diffused variously through*
 nem exercitum lætitia, *the whole army.*
 mœror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

2. *Pars hospitem*] In the early ages of the world, and even in the time of the Roman commonwealth, there being no public inns, persons that travelled lodged in private houses, and returned the favour, when need required, to those that entertained them. This was frequently the occasion of a very intimate friendship betwixt the parties, insomuch that they esteemed and treated one another as relations. Hence the word *hospes* comes to signify, not only a lodger or guest, but an intimate friend or acquaintance; and the word *hospitium*, not only lodging or entertainment, but friendship, founded upon that bottom, and was reckoned one of the most sacred and inviolable ties betwixt man and man.

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

I. **F**ALſū queritur de natura ſua genus humanum, quòd imbecilla atque ævi brevis forte potius, quàm virtute regatur. Nam contrà, reputando, neque majus aliud, neque præſtabilius invenias, magisque naturæ industriam hominum, quàm vim, aut tempus deefſe. Sed dux atque imperator vitæ mortalium animus eſt: qui, ubi ad gloriâ virtutis viâ graſſatur, abundè pollens potensque et clarus eſt, neque fortunæ eget: quippe probitatem, industriam, alias artis bonas neque dare, neque eripere poteſt. Sin captus pravis cupidinibus ad inertiam et voluptatis corporis peſſum datus eſt: pernicioſâ lubricine paullisper uſus; ubi per ſecordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere, naturæ infirmitas accuſatur: ſuam quiſque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. Quòd ſi

I. **M**Ankind complain of their nature unjuſtly, that, being frail and of ſhort duration, it is governed rather by chance than virtue. For on the contrary, upon reflection, you will find neither any thing greater, nor more excellent, and that mens application is wanting to nature more than ability or time. Now the ſoul is the leader and commander of the life of men: which, when it aſpires after glory thro' the paths of virtue, is abundantly prevalent, powerful, and glorious, nor ſtands in need of the aids of fortune: for ſhe can neither give nor take away probity, induſtry, and other good qualities. But if the ſoul, inſlaved to vitious appetites, is plunged into ſloth and the pleaſures of the body: after indulging for a while this pernicious humour; when vigour, time, and parts are waſted thro' indolence, the weakneſs of nature is taxed: the perſons concerned throw the blame due to themſelves, each upon the nature of

I. I. *Peſſum datus eſt*] Some take *peſſum* to be an adverb, derived from *pes*, ſignifying *ſub pedibus*, or *under foot*; but Cortius will have it to be the ſupine of the old verb *petior*. His words are, *Male peſſum pro adverbio habent; non multò melius pro nomine, fundum denotante: cum ſit ſupinum ab antiquo verbo petior, h. e. ſubigor, pedibus calcor*. Dicitur ut *venum, victum, paſſum dare*, et ſimilia.

hominibus

hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multumque etiam periculosa petunt; neque regerentur magis, quam regerent casus, et eò magnitudinis procederent, ubi pro mortalibus gloriæ æterni fierent.

II. Nam uti genus hominum compositum ex anima et corpore; ita res cunctæ studiaque omnia nostra corporis alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur. Igitur præclara facies, magnæ divitiæ, ad hoc vis corporis. alia hujusmodi omnia brevi dilabuntur; at ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. Postremò corporis et fortunæ bonorum, ut initium, finis est: omnia orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt; animus incorruptus, æternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quò magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui, dediti corporis gaudiis, per luxum atque ignaviam ætatem agunt:

their work. But if mens concern for worthy designs were as great, as the keenness with which they pursue things foreign to them, and that will profit nothing, and are even very dangerous; they would not more be subject to, than themselves govern fortune, and to that grandeur they should arrive, that instead of mortals they should become immortal in glory.

II. For as the nature of men is made up of soul and body; so all our concerns and all our pursuits partake of the nature, some of the body, others of the mind. Thus a fine face, great wealth, as also strength of body, and other things of this kind, fade away in a little time; but the noble productions of the mind are immortal, as the soul. Finally there is an end of the goods of the body and fortune, as well as a beginning: all things that rise, set; and things that grow, decay; the soul is incorruptible, eternal, the governor of mankind, manages and is master of every thing, nor is itself under the power of any. On which account the perverseness of those is the more to be wondered at, who, devoted to the pleasures of the body, spend their life in luxury and idleness: but suffer

2. *Ubi pro mortalibus*] *Ubi* is here Englished by *that*, for want of a more proper word: for as there is here a reference to eò magnitudinis, *ubi* must signify, *in quâ magnitudine*.

II. *Agit atque habet cuncta*] *Agit* est regit, disponit omnia ex suo arbitrio. *Habet* est possidet, habet in potestate. Ovid. metamorph. i. ver. 197. *Cum mihi, qui fulmen, qui vos habeoque reoque, Struxerit infolias.*

ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius, neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu atque secordiâ torpescere sinunt: cum præsertim tam multæ variæque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

III. Verum ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum, minumè mihi hâc tempestate cupiunda videntur: quoniam neque virtuti honos datur; neque illi, quibus per fraudem jus fuit, tuti, aut eò magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam, aut parentes, quamquam et possis, et delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est: cum præsertim omnes rerum mutationes cædem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant; frustra autem niti, neque aliud fatigando, nisi odium, quærere, extremæ dementiæ est. nisi fortè quem inhonesta et perniciofa lubido tenet, potentiæ paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

IV. Ceterum ex aliis negotiis, quæ ingenio exercentur, in primis magno uti est memoria rerum gestarum: cujus de virtute, quia multi dixere, præter-

the soul, than which there is not any thing better, nor more noble in the human nature, to waste away through want of improvement, and sloth: especially since there are so many and various employments of the mind, whereby the greatest honour is acquired.

III. But of these offices civil and military, in short, all concern in public affairs, appear to me at this time not at all desirable: seeing preferment is neither conferred on merit; nor are they, who have obtained authority by unfair methods, safe, or the more honourable for it. For indeed to govern your country, or the lieges by violence, tho' you both should have it in your power, and should rectify disorders, is however a troublesome task: especially since every alteration in state-affairs forebodes bloodshed, banishment, and other hostilities; and to struggle in vain, and not get any thing by drudging, but ill-will, is the greatest madness. unless perhaps a base and pernicious humour possess some one, to sacrifice his honour and liberty to the power of a few.

IV. But among other things, which are the work of the mind, the history of past transactions is in a special manner of great advantage: a dissertation concerning the excellency of which,

III. *Aut parentes*] Intellige qui parent, obediunt, h. e. quos vulgò subditos vocant.

eundem

eundum puto; simul, ne per insolentiam quis existimet, inemet, studium laudando, extollere. Atque ego credo fore, qui, quia decrevi procul à republica ætatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertię imponant: certè, quibus maxuma industria videtur, salutare plebem, et convivii gratiam quærere. Qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sum, et quales viri idem adsequi nequiverint, et postea quæ genera hominum in senatum pervenerint; profectò existimabunt, me magis merito, quàm ignaviâ, judicium animi mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo, quàm ex aliorum negotiis reipublicæ venturum. Nam sæpe audiui, Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, CUM MAJORUM IMAGINES INTUERENTUR,

I think, should be omitted here, because many have spoke to it; as also, lest any should imagine that, out of vanity, I magnify myself, by commending my employment. And I believe there will be some, who may give the name of indolence to this so great and so profitable a work of mine, because I have resolved to spend my time at a distance from state affairs: they, to be sure, to whom it seems the greatest industry, to careſs the people, and curry their savour by feasts. Who, if they would consider, both in what times I obtained my posts in the government, and what considerable men were unable to compass the same, and what set of men came into the senate afterwards; surely will think, that I altered the sentiments of my mind more for good reason, than out of indolence; and that greater advantage will redound to the public from my retirement, than from the business of some others. For I have often heard that Q. Maximus, P. Scipio, and other famous men of our commonwealth, used to say,

VEHEMEN-

IV. 1. *Magistratus adeptus sum*] Sallust, when a young man, had been *Questor*; and in the year of Rome 702, when public affairs were in such disorder, that Rome had been eight months without any magistrate, and Pompey had been made Consul without a colleague, he was elected *Tribune* of the commons. When the civil wars broke out, he sided with Cæsar, and was by him made *Questor* a second time, and afterwards *Prætor*. He attended Cæsar in his expedition into Africa, where he acquired the wealth which he afterwards laid out upon the famous gardens called from his name *horti Sallustiani*.

2. *Majorum imagines*] It was a privilege and honour peculiar to the nobility, or such as had bore *cursile* offices, to be allowed to erect statues

VEHEMENTISSUME SIBI ANINUM AD VIRTUTEM ACCENDI. Scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoriâ rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. At contra, quis est omnium his moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industriâ cum majoribus suis contendat? etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius [quàm bonis artibus] ad imperia et honores nituntur. proinde quasi prætura et consulatus, atque alia omnia hujuscemodi per se ipsa clara, magnifica sint; ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum, qui sustinent, virtus est. Verùm ego liberiùs altiùsque processum, dum me civitatis morum piget, tædetque. nunc ad inceptum redeo.

that their spirit was most ardently fired to virtue, when they beheld the statues of their ancestors. *Not, to be sure, that the wax, or its figure, had such efficacy in them; but that this flame was raised in the breasts of those excellent persons by the memory of noble actions, nor was quenched, before their gallant behaviour equalled the reputation and glory of theirs.* But on the other hand, who is there of us all, according to the manners of this age, that vies not with his forefathers in riches and prodigality, not in virtue nor industry? nay, upstart gentlemen, who formerly by their heroic conduct were wont to outstrip the nobility, make their way to posts and preferments more by underhand tricks, and by rogueries, [than honourable methods]. as if the prætorship and consulship, and all other offices of this kind, were glorious and honourable in themselves; and not to be accounted of, just as the behaviour of those is, who possess them. But I have launched too freely and too far, whilst I am vexed and chagrined at the manners of my country. now I come to my purpose.

V. Bellum

tnes for themselves. These statues were set up in the *area* or entrance to their houses, and were kept with great care by their posterity. A nobleman valued himself upon having a great number of them, as being an argument of the antiquity of his family: and such a person is, in cap. lxxxv. called *homo multarum imaginum*.

3. *His moribus*] i. e. moribus hujus temporis. Thus, Cat. cap. li. *Atque ego hæc non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus vereor.* Cap. lviii. *Quia illa fæda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, hæc sequi decrevisis.*

4. *Ad inceptum redeo*] Compound verbs are frequently used much in the

V. Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha, Rege Numidarum, gessit: primum, quia magnum et atrox, variâque victoriâ fuit; dein, quia tum primum superbæ nobilitatis obviam itum est. quæ contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque vecordie processit, uti studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiæ finem faceret. Sed priusquam hujusmodi rei initium expedio, pauca suprâ repetam; quò ad cognoscendum omnia illustria magis, magisque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginensium Hannibal, post magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiæ opes maxumè attriverat; Masinissa Rex Numidarum, in amicitia receptus à P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et præclara rei militaris facinora fecerat: ob quæ, victis Carthaginien-

V. *I am about to write a history of the war, which the Roman people waged with Jugurtha King of the Numidians: first, because it was great and terrible, and the success various; and next, because then for the first time a check was given to the insolence of the nobility. which dispute confounded all things divine and human, and was carried to that height of madness, that nothing less than war and the desolation of Italy put an end to those domestic animosities. But before I enter on this subject, I shall premise a few things previous to it; that all may be the more clear, and in a better light for being understood. In the second Punic war, wherein Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, had wasted the strength of Italy, most of any since the grandeur of the Roman state; Masinissa King of the Numidians, being received into an alliance by P. Scipio, who afterward had the surname of Africanus given him on account of his merit, performed many and glorious military exploits; for*

the same sense as their *simples*; and *redeo* must be taken so here, since our author cannot be said to return to that, which, properly speaking, he had not yet begun.

V. 1. *Variâque victoriâ fuit*] *Varia* dicitur, quæ apud Jugurtham modò, modò apud Romanos fuit.

2 *Post magnitudinem nominis Romani*] Since the Romans came to be great, and make a figure in the world: for, during their infant state, they had met with as great, nay greater calamities; particularly from the Gauls, who burnt Rome.

libus et capto Syphace, *which, after the Carthaginians*
 cujus in Africa magnum *were conquered and Syphax ta-*
 atque latè imperium valu- *ken, whose dominion in Africa*
 it, populus Romanus quas- *was great and of large extent,*

3. *Capto Syphace, &c.]* Syphax and Masinissa were both kings in Numidia, but reigned in different parts of it. The subjects of Syphax were called *Masseuli*, and their capital was Cirta. Those of Masinissa were the *Massyli*. But both these nations are better known by the name of *Numidians*, which was common to them. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry; they always rode without saddles, and some even without bridles; and hence Virgil, *Æn. iv. ver. 41.* calls them *Numide infreni*. Syphax, in the beginning of the second Punic war, sided with the Romans; but afterwards, upon marrying the famous Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal the Carthaginian, he changed sides, and joined the Carthaginians. Gala, the father of Masinissa, had, some years before this, entered into a war against Syphax; the consequence of which was, that Masinissa, after his father's death, which happened soon after the commencement of the war, was reduced to the brink of ruin, being several times driven from his kingdom, destitute of forces, money, and almost all things else. However, during the course of this war, wherein he had been obliged to fly from province to province, he went over to Spain, where he had an interview with Scipio, afterward called *Africanus*, and declared for the Romans. To this honourable alliance he ever after adhered with the utmost zeal and constancy. When Lælius arrived in Africa, Masinissa joined him with a few horse; his misfortunes would not permit him to bring great succours to that General. Soon after this a great battle was fought, wherein Syphax was defeated, taken prisoner by Lælius and Masinissa, brought in chains to Scipio, carried afterwards to Rome, made to adorn the triumph, and was then clapt in prison, and starved to death for want of food, as a just reward of his treachery. Masinissa, the victor, besieged Cirta his capital, and took it: but he met with a greater danger in that city than he had faced in the field; and this was Sophonisba, whose charms he was unable to resist; and therefore forthwith married her; but a few days after was obliged to send her a dose of poison as her nuptial present, this being the only way left him to keep his promise with his queen, *viz.* not to deliver her up to the Romans, and to satisfy Scipio, who was highly displeased with the marriage. Sophonisba swallowed the deadly dose, and expired. After the second Punic war, Masinissa was favoured till his death with an uninterrupted series of prosperity. Scipio, as a reward of his good services, not only restored him his own kingdom, but added to it, during his life, that of Syphax his enemy; so that he became the most powerful prince in all Africa, his dominions extending from Mauretania as far as Cyrene. He was blessed with the greatest health and vigour of constitution, and lived to upwards of ninety years of age. He died about a year before the destruction of Carthage; and much about the same time died at Rome Cato the renowned moralist. See the life of this prince more at large in Rollin's history of the Carthaginians.

cumque

cumque urbis et agros manu ceperat, Regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissæ bona atque honesta nobis permanfit : imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussâ fratribus morbo absuntis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit ; Jugurthamque, Mastanabal's fratris filium, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum reliquerat, eodem cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

the Roman people made a present to the King of whatever cities and territories they had taken by force. Wherefore Masinissa's friendship continued faithful and sincere to us : the end of this sovereignty and his life was the same. Afterward Micipsa his son got the kingdom alone, his brother Mastanabal and Gulussa having been taken off by a distemper. He begat of his own body Adherbal and Hiempsal ; and brought up in his house, under the same education as his own children, Jugurtha, his brother Mastanabal's son, whom Masinissa had left in the condition of a private person, because he was born of a concubine.

VI. Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decorâ facie, sed multò maxumè ingenio validus,

VI. Who, as soon as he was grown up, being eminent for strength of body, of a beautiful complexion, but most of all con-

4. *Imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit*] Some have taken these words to import only, that Masinissa continued to be King of Numidia till his death : but this sense is trifling. The true meaning is, that the grant of the dominions made to him by the Romans was only during his own life, and did not descend to his son. Accordingly we find that Micipsa had only that part of Numidia which anciently belonged to his father ; but Cirta, and the other parts of Numidia, which had been taken from Syphax, were, upon the death of Masinissa, reduced by the Romans into the form of a province.

5. *Micipsa filius*] Masinissa had 44 sons, or, as some say, 54, of whom three only were legitimate. His family, as far as taken notice of by Sallust, may be thus represented.

The sons of Masinissa were,

By his Queen,

By a concubine,

1. MICIPSA.

2. GULUSSA.

3. MASTANABAL.

MASSUGRADA.

ADHERBAL, HIEMPSAL.

MASSIVA.

JUGURTHA, GAUDA.

DABAR.

c. xxxv.

c. lxy.

c. cviii.

NON

non se luxu, neque inertie corrumpendum dedit; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum æqualibus certare: et cum 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, minimum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio lætus fuerat, existumans virtutem Jugurthæ regno suo gloriæ fore: tamen, postquam hominem adolescentem, exactâ suâ ætate, parvis liberis, magis magisque crescere intelligit, vehementer negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terrebatur natura mortalium, avida imperii, et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem: præterea opportunitas suæque et liberorum ætatis, quæ etiam mediocris viros spe prædæ transvorsos agit: ad hoc

considerable for his intellectual abilities, neither gave up himself to be debauched by luxury, nor idleness; but as the manner of that nation is, exercised himself in riding, throwing the dart, and contending with his comrades at running: and though he outstripped them all for reputation, yet was dear to all: besides, he spent most of his time in hunting, was the first, or among the foremost to encounter the lion, and other wild beasts: he did most, and spoke least of himself. With which things, though at first Micipsa was well pleased, reckoning that Jugurtha's great abilities would be an honour to his kingdom: yet, after he found the young man to turn more and more considerable, his own life far spent, his children small; being much affected with the matter, he pondered many things in his own mind. The nature of man, greedy of power, and forward to gratify the ambition of his heart, alarmed him: moreover the opportunity laid in his way by reason both of his own age and that of his children, which leads

VI. 1. *Non se luxu neque inertie*] *Luxu* here may be either esteemed the dative of the fourth declension, whose termination was *u* among the ancients; or it may be considered as an ablative, and then there will be a diversity of construction: but this is Sallust's manner, *Cat. cap. xxv. Docti litteris, multa alia. Cap. xxxiii. Perique patriæ, sed omnes famâ atque fortunæ expertes. Jug. cap. lxxxiv. Plerisque militiæ, paucos famâ cognitos accire.*

2. *Transvorsos agit*] *Transversum agere*, is to turn one out of his road to the right or left; and *navis transversa agitur* is properly said, when a ship is forced or driven out of her course, not by contrary, but by side winds.

studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa; ex quibus, si talem virum interfecisset, ne qua seditio, aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

afraid lest an insurrection or war might arise.

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt, neque per vim, neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus, quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et adpetens gloriæ militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis, et eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur, bello Numantino, Micipsa cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans, vel ostentando virtutem, vel hostium sævitiâ facile occisurum, præfecit Numidis, quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longè aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis Imperator, et morem hostium cognovit; multo labore multaque curâ, præterea modestissimè parendo, et sæpe obviâ eundo periculis, in tantam clari-

even moderate men astray in hopes of gain: and further, the affections of the Numidians which were warm for Jugurtha: from whom, if he should cut off such a man, he was a-

VII. Embarrassed with these difficulties, when he sees, that a man so acceptable to the people could be taken off neither by open force, nor secret contrivance, he resolves to expose him to dangers, and try fortune in that shape, because Jugurtha was forward in action, and vastly fond of military glory. Wherefore, in the Numantine war, Micipsa, since he was to send auxiliaries of horse and foot to the Roman people, set him over the Numidians, whom he sent into Spain, expecting he would certainly fall, either in making a shew of his bravery, or by the fury of the enemy. But that matter fell out quite otherwise than he imagined. For Jugurtha, as he was of an enterprising and penetrating genius, after he had dived into P. Scipio's temper, who at that time was General to the Romans, and the manner of the enemy; by much pains and much diligence, as also by obeying orders most submissively, and often exposing himself to dangers,

VII. *Bello Numantino*] Numantia was a small town in Spain, whose inhabitants made a desperate stand, for fourteen years together, against forty thousand Romans, till at length they were conquered by the Scipio here mentioned. See the history of this war in Flor. ii. cap. xvii. et xviii.

tudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset. Ac fanè, quod difficillimum in primis est, et prælio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio: quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet. Igitur Imperator omnis ferè res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque in dies amplecti: quippe cujus neque consilium, neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi et ingenii sollertia, quâs rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. Eâ tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiæ bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi, domi potentes, apud socios clari magis, quam honesti: qui Jugurthæ non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, si MICIPSA REX OCCIDISSET, FORE, UTI SOLUS IMPERII NUMIDIÆ POTIRETUR: IN IPSO MAXIMAM VIRTUTEM, ROMÆ OMNIA VENALIA ESSE. Sed postquam, Numantiâ deletâ, P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, ipse re-

came in a short time to so great reputation, that he was exceedingly beloved by our men, and a very great terror to the Numantines. And indeed, which is singularly difficult, he was both valiant in battle, and wise in counsel: one of which qualities from foresight of danger generally uses to produce fear, the other from confidence rashness. Wherefore the General executed almost all desperate projects by Jugurtha, reckoned him amongst his friends, and caressed him more and more from day to day: forasmuch as neither his advice, nor any of his undertakings was without success. To these were added a generosity of spirit, and dexterity of wit, by which qualities he attached many of the Romans to himself in an intimate friendship.

VIII. There were at that time in our army a great many both of low and high birth, to whom riches were more precious than virtue and honour, mighty party-men, of great interest in their own countries, men of figure rather, than of fair reputation amongst our allies: who inflamed the ambitious soul of Jugurtha, by often assuring him with offers of their service, that, if Micipsa the King were dead, it would come to pass, that he alone might become sovereign of the kingdom of Numidia: that in himself there was the highest merit, and that all things were
vorti

vorti domum decrevit : donatum atque laudatum magnificè pro concione Jugurtham in prætorium abduxit : ibique secretò monuit, “ uti potius publice, quàm privatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret ; neu quibus largiri infuèsceret : periculose à paucis cni, quod multorum effèt. si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam, et regnum venturum : sin properantiùs pergeret, suàm et ipsum pecunià præcipitem casurum.”

continue in his virtuous practices, both glory and a kingdom would drop in upon him of their own accord : but if he drove on too hastily, he with his money would fall headlong into ruin.”

IX. Sic locutus, cum litteris, quas Micipsæ redderet, dimisit : earum sententia hæc erat. “ Jugurthæ tui bello Numantino longè maxuma virtus fuit : quam rem tibi certò scio gaudio esse. nobis ob merita carus est : uti idem senatui sit et populo Romano, summâ ope nitemur. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor : en habes virum dignum te

to be sold at Rome. *But when, upon the reduction of Numantia, P. Scipio had determined to dismiss the auxiliary troops, and return home himself : he brought Jugurtha into his own tent, after he had loaded him with presents and applauses in a pompous manner before the army : and there privately advised him, “ to court the friendship of the Roman people in a public rather than private way ; not to make a practice of offering bribes to any : since that was purchased with danger from a few, which belonged to many. that if he would continue*

IX. Having spoke thus, he dismissed him with a letter which he was to deliver to Micipsa : the purport of it was this. “ In the Numantine war your Jugurtha’s bravery was incomparably great : which thing I know certainly will give you joy. he is dear to us for his good services : we shall endeavour with the utmost care, that he be the same to the senate and people of Rome. In regard to our friendship I heartily congratu-

VIII. *Publicè, quàm privatim*] Jugurtha is here advised to court the favour of the Romans *publicè, i. e.* of the whole commonwealth by public and meritorious actions ; *potius quàm privatim, i. e.* rather than make application to a few leading men, and bribe them over to his interest, in hopes of raising and aggrandizing himself through means of their influence at Rome, and in the senate.

atque avo suo Masinissâ.” Igitur Rex, ubi, quæ famâ acceperat, ex litteris Imperatoris ita esse cognovit, cum virtute viri, tum gratiâ permotus, flexit animum suum, et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere adgressus est: statimque adoptavit, et testamento pariter cum filiis hæredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos, morbo atque ætate confectus, cum sibi finem vitæ adesse intellexeret, coram amicis et cognatis, item Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse.

presence of his friends and relations, as also of Adherbal and Hiempsal his sons, to have addressed himself to Jugurtha in words to this purpose.

X. “ Parvum ego, Jugurtha, te, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, in meum regnum accepi; existumans non minùs me tibi, quam liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore: neque ea res falsum habuit. Nam ut alia magna et egregia tua omittam, novissimè rediens Numantiâ meque regnumque meum gloriâ honoravisti: tuâ virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti: in Hi-

late you upon this occasion: lo herewith you receive a man, worthy of you, and his grandfather Masinissa.” Wherefore the King, when, by the General's letter he found to be true what he had heard by common report, moved as well by the fine accomplishments of the man, as his interest with the Romans, altered his resolution, and attempted to conquer Jugurtha by kindness: and forthwith adopted him, and, by a will, made him joint heir with his sons. But he, a few years after, being worn out with infirmities and age, when he perceived the end of his life to be at hand, is said, in the pre-

sence of his friends and relations, as also of Adherbal and Hiempsal his sons, to have addressed himself to Jugurtha in words to this purpose.

X. “ My dear Jugurtha, I received you into my court, after you lost your father, when but a little child, without hopes, and without fortune; reckoning that I would be no less dear to you, on account of my kindness, than to my children, if I should have any: nor has that matter deceived me. For, to say nothing of other great and noble actions of yours, returning very lately from Numantia, you did honour both to me and my kingdom by your glorious conduct: of friends you have made the

X. 1. *Neque ea res falsum habuit*] *Falsum habere, infestum habere, frustra habere, &c.* are circumlocutions, or phrases, of the same import as *salute, infestare, frustrare, &c.*

spania nomen familiæ renovatum : postremo, quod difficillimum inter mortalis, gloriâ invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura vitæ finem facit, per hanc dextram, per regni fidem moneo obtestorque, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas : neu malis alienos adungere, quàm sanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus, neque thesauri præsidia regni sunt, verùm amici, quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas : officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior, quàm frater fratri ? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris ? Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis ; sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvæ res crescunt, discordia maxumæ dilabuntur. Ceterum an-

Romans the greatest of friends to us by your excellent behaviour : in Spain the name of our family is revived : finally, which is the most difficult thing in the world ; you overcame envy by your glory. Now, since nature is putting a period to my life, I intreat and conjure you by this right hand, and by the honour of a king, that you dearly love these my sons, who are your relations by birth, and brothers by my generosity : and that you do not rather chuse to make strangers your friends, than keep those already united to you by blood. Neither armies nor treasures are the security of a kingdom, but friends, whom you can neither force by arms, nor purchase with gold : they are procured by acts of kindness and fidelity. And who should be more friendly, than brother to brother ? or what stranger will you find faithful, if you be an enemy to your own relations ? I deliver up to you a kingdom, strong indeed, if you will be good ; but

2. *Nomen familie renovatum*] Nomen quod comparaverat sibi Marcinissa.

3. *Per regni fidem*] Literally is, by the honour of royalty, i. e. by the honour which a king ought to have. Cortius comments upon it thus, *per fidem, quam in regnum acceptus debes.*

4. *Concordia parvæ res crescunt ; &c.*] The conduct of Scilurus is an excellent commentary upon this. He had 24 sons, or, as some say, 30, and, on his death bed, in their presence, called for a sheaf of arrows of the same number, and desired each of them to try to break them ; which when none of them could do, he took them one by one, and broke them all to pieces before them ; designing thereby to teach them, that unanimity would be their strength and security ; and that by division they would be weakened, and rendered an easy prey to enemies.

te hos te, Jugurtha, qui ætate et sapientiâ prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. Nam in omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiam si accipit injuriam, quia plûs potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem, et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos summissee videar, quàm genuisse."

such a man as this, imitate his virtue, and labour earnestly, that I may not seem to have adopted better children than I have begot."

XI. Ad ea Jugurtha, tametsi Regem ficta locutum intellegebat, et ipse longè aliter animo agibat; tamen pro tempore benignè respondit. Micipsa paucis diebus moritur. Postquam illi, more regio, justa magnifico fecerant, reguli in unum convenere, uti inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minimus ex illis, naturâ ferox, etiam antea ignobilitatem Jugurthæ [quia materno genere impar erat] despiciens, dexterâ Adherbalem adsedit: ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, uti ætati concederet, fatigatus à fratre, vix in partem alteram trans-

weak, if you shall be wicked. For small states grow great by unanimity, the greatest dwindle to nothing by contention. But before them, Jugurtha, it becomes you, who are superior in age and prudence, to take care lest any thing happen otherwise than I have recommended. For in all contests, he, who is the more potent party, though he receive the wrong, yet seems to do it, because he is the more powerful. And you, Adherbal and Hiempsal, love and regard

such a man as this, imitate his virtue, and labour earnestly, that I may not seem to have adopted better children than I have begot."

XI. To this Jugurtha, tho' he was sensible the King spoke insincerely, and he himself intended far otherwise in his mind; replied however in a complaisant manner suitable to the occasion. Within a few days Micipsa dies. After they had magnificently performed the funeral solemnity in a way proper for a king, the petty princes met together, in order to confer among themselves about the settlement of all their affairs. But Hiempsal, who was the youngest of them, by nature high-spirited, and despising even before this time Jugurtha's mean extraction, [because by the mother's side he was his inferior], seated himself close by Adherbal on the right hand: that Jugurtha might not be the middlemost of the three, which is reckoned the place of honour amongst the Numidians. Yet as-

ductus

ductus est. Ibi cùm multa de administrando imperio differerent, Jugurtha inter alias res jact: OPORTERE QUINQUENNII CONSULTA OMNIA ET DECRETA RESCINDI. NAM PER EA TEMPORA CONFECTUM ANNIS MICIPSAM PARUM ANIMO VALUISSE. Tum IDEM, Hiempsal, PLACERE SIBI, respondit: NAM IPSUM ILLUM TRIBUS HIS PROXUMIS (ANNIS) ADOPTIONE IN REGNUM PERVENISSE. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthæ altius, quàm quisquam ratus, descendit. Itaque ex eo tempore irâ et metu anxius moliri, parare, atque ea modò animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quæ ubi tardius procedunt, neque leniter animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

they proceeded but slowly, and his enraged soul was not pacified, he resolves to execute his design by any method.

XII. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum suprâ memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividì thesauros, finisque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius aliò concessere. Sed

terwards, being importuned by his brother to give place to age, he was removed with some difficulty to the other side. When in that place they had discoursed of many things concerning the administration of the government, Jugurtha, amongst other things, proposes: That all the statutes and decrees of the five years foregoing must needs be repealed: for that Micipsa, during that time, being spent with age, was not sound in his judgment. Upon that Hiempsal replied, that the same proposal pleased him: for that he himself within the three last (years) had come to the kingdom by adoption. Which saying sunk deeper into the mind of Jugurtha, than any one imagined. Wherefore, from that time, racked with resentment and fear, he plotted, contrived, and the only thing he had in his thoughts was the ways, whereby Hiempsal might be trepanned by stratagem. Which as

In the first meeting, which, I said above, was held by the princes, it had been resolved, on account of their differences, that the treasure should be divided, and limits of dominion assigned to each of them. Accordingly a time is appointed for both purposes, but first for dividing the money. The princes in the mean time retired, each to a different abode, into places

Hiempsal

Hiempsal in oppido Thirmida fortè ejus domo utebatur, qui proxumus lictor Jugurthæ, carus acceptusque semper fuerat. quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat, uti tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum clavis adulterinas paret: nam veræ ad Hiempsalem referebantur. ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi confecit: atque, ut doctus erat, noctu Jugurthæ milites introducit. Qui postquam in ædis irrupere, diversi regem quærere: dormientis alios, alios occurrentis interficere: scrutari loca abdita; clausa effringere: strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere: cum Hiempsal interim reperitur, occultans sese tugurio mulieris ancillæ, quò initio

near the treasury. But Hiempsal taking up his residence in the town of Thirmida, by chance lodged in the house of one, who had been prime serjeant to Jugurtha, and always beloved by him and in great favour. which instrument of his design, presented by fortune, he loads with promises, to go under pretence of visiting his house, and procure false keys to the gates: for the true ones were delivered up to Hiempsal. and further told him, that, when the affair was ripe, he himself would come with a considerable force. The Numidian quickly executed his orders: and, as he had been instructed, lets in Jugurtha's soldiers by night. Who, after they broke into the house, ran some one way, some another, in quest of the king: some they killed asleep, and others as they came in their way: searched the private apartments; broke open the places that were shut: and filled every part with noise pavidus:

XII. 1. *Proxumus lictor Jugurthæ*] The Lictors were serjeants, or officers, who attended the chief magistrates of Rome. The Consuls had twelve, the Prætors and Proconsuls six. The chief, prime, or principal one among them, did, on public occasions, walk in the procession last, or next to the magistrate, and was upon that account called *proximus lictor*. But whether Lictors were anciently used in Numidia, or Jugurtha had introduced this fashion, in imitation of the Romans, after his return from Numantia; or whether our author only accommodates the Latin word to some principal servant of Jugurtha, though in most respects very different from a Roman Lictor, cannot be easily determined: but certain it is, that the Roman writers, when speaking of other nations, often apply their own terms to things that do no more than faintly resemble the things signified by these terms amongst the Romans.

2. *Mulieris ancillæ*] The ancients used *ancillus* and *ancilla* just as later writers do *famulus* and *famula*; and *mulier ancilla* is the same as *mulier*.

pavidus et ignarus loci per-
fugerat. Numidæ caput
ejus, ut jussi erant, ad Ju-
gurtham referunt.

*and confusion: whilst in the
mean time Hiempsalis found,
hiding himself in the hut of a
servant maid, whither at first
he had fled for shelter, being in a fright, and not acquaint-
ed with the place. The Numidians, as they had been or-
dered, carry his head to Jugurtha.*

XIII. Ceterum fama
tanti facinoris per omnem
Africam brevi divulgatur;
Adherbalem omnisque,
qui sub imperio Micipsæ
fuerant, metus invadit. in
duas partis discedunt: plu-
res Adherbalem sequun-
tur, sed illum alterum bel-
lo meliores. Igitur Ju-
gurtha quàm maxumas
potest copias armat: urbis
partim vi, alias voluntate
imperio suo adjungit: om-
ni Numidiæ imperare
parat. Adherbal, tamen
etsi Romam legatos mife-
rat, qui senatum docerent
de cæde fratris et fortunis
suis; tamen fretus multi-
tudine militum, parabat
armis contendere. Sed
ubi res ad certamen venit,
victus ex prælio profugit
in provinciam, ac deinde
Romam contendit. Tum

XIII. But the fame of so
great a villany soon spread o-
ver all Africa; consternation
seizes Adherbal, and all who
had been under the government
of Micipsa. they split into two
parties: the greater number side
with Adherbal, but the better
skilled in war with the other.
Wherefore Jugurtha arms as ma-
ny forces as he can: annexes se-
veral cities to his dominions, some
by force, others by their own
choice: and aims at being master
of all Numidia. Adherbal
though he had dispatched am-
bassadors to Rome, to inform the
senate of the murder of his bro-
ther, and of his own condi-
tion; yet depending on the num-
ber of his soldiers, resolved to
dispute it by arms. But when
the matter came to an engage-
ment, being routed he made his
escape out of the battle to the Ro-
man province, and afterward

mulier ancillans or famulans. Expressions of the like nature we have,
Cal. cap. xxxi. *Patricius homo.* Cap. xxxviii. *Homines adolescentes.*
Cor. Nep. *Ventus aquila.* Ter. *Mulier meretrix.* Cic. *Homo gladi-
ator.* Mari. *Fama anus.*

XIII. 1. *Partim vi, alias voluntate*] Latini eleganter etiam diversa,
quæ vocant, subiecta eodem casu efferunt. *Vi* nempe sua: *voluntate*
eorum, quos oppugnatum venerat.

2. *In provinciam*] All that part of Africa which formerly belonged
to the Carthaginians, being now in the possession of the Romans,
went under the name of *Provincia*, and was governed by magistrates
sent from Rome. See cap. xix.

Jugurtha, patratis consiliis, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum, neque adversus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua, spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam mittit, quibus praecepit, uti primum veteres amicos muneribus expleant: deinde novos adquirant: postremo quaecumque possint largiundo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed ubi Romam legati venero, et, ex praecepto Regis, hospitibus aliisque, quorum causa tempestate auctoritas pollebat, magna misere; tanta commutatio incessit, uti ex maxima invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret. quorum pars spe, alii praemio induci, singulos ex senatu ambiundo, nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consulereetur. Igitur, legati ubi satis confidunt, die constituto, senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

safe, on a day appointed, an audience in the senate was granted to both parties. On this occasion Adherbal, we are informed, spoke to the following effect.

XIV. "Patres conscripti. Micipsa pater meus moriens praecepit, uti regnum Numidiae tantummodo procuratore existu-

went to Rome. Then Jugurtha, after having executed his design, reflecting at cool hours in his own mind upon his horrid crime, dreaded the Roman people, nor had he any hopes of security against their resentment, but in the avarice of the nobility and his money. Wherefore within a few days he dispatches ambassadors to Rome, with great store of gold and silver, whom he ordered in the first place to glut his old friends with presents: and then procure new ones: in short, whatever they could effect by bribery, not to stick at. But after the ambassadors arrived at Rome, and, according to the king's instructions, had distributed large presents to their entertainers and others, whose influence was great at that time; such a mighty change ensued, that Jugurtha, from under the greatest odium, came to the good graces and favour of the nobility. of whom some tempted by hopes, others by actual bribes, laboured strenuously, by using their interest with every single member of the senate, that nothing severe should be determined against him. Wherefore, as soon as the ambassadors thought all was made

XIV. "Conscript fathers. My father Micipsa at his death charged me, to reckon the kingdom of Numidia mine in point of administration only; but the

marem meum; ceterum jus et imperium penes vos esse: simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam maximo usui esse populo Romano. vos mihi cognatorum, vos in adfinium locum ducerem: si ea fecissem, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni habere. Quæ cum [præcepta parentes mei] agitarem; Jugurtha, homo omnium, quos terra sustinet, sceleratissimus, contento imperio vestro, Misinissæ me nepotem, et jam ab stirpe socium et amicum populo Romano, regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, Patres conscripti, quoniam cò miseriarum venturus eram, vellem, potius ob inea, quam ob majorum beneficia posse auxilium petere; ac maxumè debere mihi à populo Romano, quibus non egerem; secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas, neque mihi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret: ad vos confugi, Patres conscripti, quibus, quod miserrimum, cogor prius offerri, quam usui esse. Ce-

right and sovereignty to be in you: and withal to endeavour both in peace and war to be as serviceable as possible to the people of Rome. to regard you as my relations and kinsmen: telling me, if I did this, I should have forces, and riches, the bulwarks of a kingdom, in your friendship. Which [instructions of my father] whilst I was about to put in execution; Jugurtha, the vilest miscreant on earth, in contempt of your high authority, thrust me, the grandson of Masinissa, and by birth too an ally and friend of the Roman people, out of my kingdom and all my possessions. And I wish, venerable fathers, since I was to be reduced to this pitch of misery, I could have implored your assistance for my own personal services, rather than for those of my progenitors; and above all, that debts of kindness had been due to me from the Roman people, which I might have had no occasion for; but next to this, if they were to be needed, that I might have used them as favours due to me. But since integrity by itself is not secure, and how Jugurtha might behave, was not at my command: I have fled for protection, my Lords, to you, to whom, which is most afflicting to me, I am obliged to be a burden, before I

XIV. 1. *Neque mihi in manu fuit*] In potestate non fuit, h. e. per me non stetit, qualis Jugurtha esset; non potui illum ad observationem justitiae et æqui vi adigere.

teri reges, aut bello victi in amicitiam à vobis recepti, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram adpetiverunt. familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit: quo tempore magis fides ejus, quam fortuna petenda erat. Quorum progenium vos, Patres conscripti, nolite pati frustra à vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil causæ haberem, præter miserandam fortunam; quòd paullò antè Rex, genere, famâ, atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus ærumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto: tamen erat majestatis Romani populi, prohibere injuriam, neque cujusquam regnum per scelus cresceret. Verùm ego his finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit: unde pater et avus unà vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia erepta sunt, Patres conscripti: vos in mea injuria despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! Huc eine, Micipsa pater, beneficia evasere, uti quem tu parem cum liberis, regnique participem fecisti,

have been of any service. Other kings have been received by you into friendship, either after they were conquered in war, or in their distressed circumstances have solicited for an alliance with you. our family contracted an alliance with the Roman people in the Carthaginian war: at which time their fidelity to their friends was more to be regarded, than their fortune. Suffer not, illustrious Fathers, a descendent of that family to implore assistance of you in vain. If I had no pretension for procuring it, besides my wretched condition; that I, lately a prince considerable for extraction, fame, and forces, am now disfigured with affliction, in want of every thing, and looking out for help from others: yet it would become the majesty of the Roman people, not to suffer outrages, nor any prince to grow great by villanous practices. But I have been forced out of that country, which the Roman people bestowed upon my ancestors: from whence my father and grandfather, in conjunction with you, drove Syphax and the Carthaginians. Your favours are wrested from me, worthy Fathers: and in the wrong done me you are affronted. Alas, wretch that I am! My dear father Micipsa, is your kindness

2. *Frat majestatis*] Intellige officium, opus.

3. *Neque cujusquam regnum*] Neque is put for et ne, and the sentence must be thus resolved: *Majestatis erat. prohibere injuriam, et prohibere, ne cujusquam regnum per scelus cresceret.*

is potissimum stirpis tuæ
 extinctor sit? Numquam-
 ne ergo familia nostra qui-
 eta erit? semperne in san-
 guine, ferro, fuga versa-
 bimur? Dum Carthagi-
 nienſes incolumes fuere,
 jure omnia ſæva patieba-
 mur: hoſtes ab latere, vos
 amici procul, ſpes omnis
 in armis erat. Poſtquam
 illa peſtis ejeſta, læti pa-
 cem agitabamus: quippe
 quīs hoſtis nullus, niſi for-
 tē quem juſſiſſetis. Ecce
 autem ex improviſo Jugur-
 tha, intolerandā audaciā,
 ſcelere, atque ſuperbiā ſeſe
 ecferens, fratre meo, at-
 que eodem propinquo ſuo,
 interfecto, primū regnum
 ejus ſceleris ſui prædam fe-
 cit: poſt, ubi me iſdem
 dolis nequit capere, nihil
 minūs, quā vim, aut
 bellum exſpectantem, in
 imperio veſtro, ſicuti vide-
 tis, extorrepatriā, domo,
 inopem, et coopertum mi-
 ſeriis effecit, ut ubi vis tu-
 tiūs, quā in meo regno
 eſſem. Ego ſic exiſtuma-
 bam, Patres Conſcripti, ut
 prædicantem audiveram
 patrem meum; qui veſtram
 amicitiam colerent, eos
 multum laborem ſuſcipere:
 ceterū ex omnibus ma-

*come to this, that he, whom
 you made equal with your own
 children, and joint-heir of your
 kingdom, ſhould be, above all
 others, the deſtroyer of your iſ-
 ſue? Shall our family then ne-
 ver be at reſt? ſhall we be al-
 ways in blood, war, or baniſh-
 ment? Whiſt the Carthaginians
 were in power, of courſe we ſuf-
 fered all hardſhips: our enemies
 were our next neighbours, you
 our friends far off, all our hopes
 were in our arms. After that
 plague was turned out, we paſſ-
 ed our days in peace with plea-
 ſure: as having no enemy, un-
 leſs perhaps ſuch as you had ap-
 pointed us. But behold, unex-
 pectedly, Jugurtha erecting his
 plumes with intolerable impu-
 dence, wickedneſs, and pride,
 having murdered my brother,
 and he his kinsman too, made
 his kingdom in the firſt place the
 prize of his villany: and after-
 ward, when by ſuch wicked
 contrivances he could not trepan
 me, whiſt I looked for nothing
 at all of violence or war, he
 expelled me, in the face of your
 mighty power, as you ſee, from
 my country, from my home, in
 want of every thing, and un-
 der the heaviest load of miſery,
 that now I am ſafer any where,
 than in my own kingdom. I
 did imagine, Noble Fathers, as*

4. *Peſtis ejeſta*] By *peſtis* we are to underſtand the Carthaginians;
 and by *ejeſta* their being ſubdued, and turned out of their poſſeſſions
 in Africa by the Romans.

5. *Nihil minus, quā vim, &c.*] Modus diſcendi, quo notatur vim
 ac bellum planè non timuiſſe.

xumè tutos esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit, præstitit, uti in omnibus bellis vobis adessent. nos uti per otium tuti simus, in manu vestra est, Patres Conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit: tertium, Jugurtham, beneficiis suis ratus nobis conjunctum fore. alter eorum necatus, alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam? quò potissimum infelix accedam? generis præsidia omnia extincta sunt: pater, uti necesse erat, naturæ concessit; fratri, quem minumè decuit, propinquus, per scelus vitam eripuit; adfines, amicos, propinquos ceteros, alium alia clades oppressit: capti ab Jugurtha, pars in crucem acti, pars bestis objecti; pauci, quibus relicta anima, clausi in tenebris, cum mœrore et luctu, morte graviolem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quæ aut amisi, aut ex necessariis adversa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex improvîso accidisset, vos implorarem, Patres Conscripti; quibus, pro magnitudine imperii, jus et injurias omnis curæ esse decet. Nunc verò exful

I had heard my father say, that they, who would cultivate friendship with you, undertook a mighty task: but were of all mankind the most secure. What was in the power of our family to do, it did; it assisted you in all your wars. it is in your power, my Lords, that we be secure in times of peace. My father left behind him us two brothers: thinking Jugurtha, on account of his kindness, would be united to us as a third. one of these three is already murdered, and I with much ado escaped the wicked hands of the other. What shall I do? to what place rather than another shall I, unhappy man, go? all the props of our family are cut off: my father, as necessity required, yielded to the order of nature; a kinsman, whom it least of all became, in a wicked manner took away my brother's life; various disasters have ruined my other relations, friends, and kinsmen: being taken prisoners by Jugurtha, part of them have been crucified, part exposed to wild beasts; a few, to whom life was left, shut up in dungeons, lead a life, in sorrow and mourning, worse than death. If all remained entire in my possession, which either I have lost, or of friends are become foes, yet if any thing disastrous

6. *Pars in crucem acti*] See cap. lxxxix. n. 3.

7. *Ex necessariis adversa facta*] Sallust uses *adversa* in the neuter gender, because it makes the sense more extensive, and equally applicable to persons and things.

patriâ, domo, solus, et omnium honestarum rerum egens, quò accedam, aut quos adpellem? nationesne, an reges, qui omnes familiæ nostræ ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt? an quoquam adire licet, ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima? aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremò Masinissa nos ita instituit, Patres Conscripti, ne quem coleremus, nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne fœdera nova acciperemus: abundè magna præsidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore: si huic imperio fortunam mutaretur, unâ nobis occidendum esse. Virtute ac dîs volentibus magni estis et opulenti; omnia secunda et obedientia sunt: quo faciliùs sociorum injuriis curare licet. Tantùm illud vercor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthæ, parum cognita, transvorsos agat: quos ego audio maxumâ ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognitâ causâ, statuatis: fingere me verba, fugam simulare, cui liceat in regno manere. Quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore in has miseras projectus sum, eadem hæc simulantem videam: et a-

happened unexpectedly, I should apply to you, Mighty Fathers; whom by reason of your vast dominion, it becomes to take care of all matters of right and wrong. But now banished, as I am, from my country, from my home, left alone, and in want of every thing that is decent, whither can I go, or to whom can I apply? to foreign nations, or princes, who are all mortal enemies to our family on account of your alliance? or can I go any whither, where there are not a great many monuments of the hostilities of my ancestors against the country in your favour? or can any one have compassion upon me, who was ever an enemy to you? Finally, Noble Fathers, Masinissa's instruction to us ever was, to make no court to any, but the Roman people, to engage in no new alliances or confederacies: that we should have abundance of protection in your friendship: and if fortune should turn upon this empire to its ruin, we must of necessity perish with it. By your own good conduct, and the favour of the gods, you are great and mighty; all things follow your pleasure, and are submissive to your power: by reason whereof you can more easily redress the injuries of your allies. Only this I fear, lest Jugurtha's private friendship, little seen into, lead some aside: who, I hear, are using their utmost endeavours, soliciting and impor-

liquando aut apud vos, aut apud deos immortalis rerum humanarum cura oritur: ne ille, qui nunc scelcribus suis ferox atque præclarus est, omnibus malis excruciat, impietatis, in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis, mearumque miseriarum gravis pœnas reddet. Jam jam, frater, animo meo carissime, quamquam immaturo, et unde minumè decuit, vita erepta est: tamen lætandum magis, quàm dolendum puto casum tuum. non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem, et omnis has, quæ me premunt, ærumnas cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala præcipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum præbeo: incertus quid agam, tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii cogens; an regno consulam, cujus vitæ necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam emori fortunæ meis honestus exitus esset, neu vivere contemptus viderer, si defessus malis injuriæ concessissem. Nunc neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres Conscripti, per vos liberos atque parentes, per majestatem populi Romani, subvenite misero mihi: ite obviâ injuriæ: nolite pati,

tuning each of you, not to proceed to any resolution against him in his absence, and without a full hearing of his cause: they say, that I forge stories, and pretend banishment, when I might have continued in my own kingdom. But heavens grant I could see him, by whose impious violence I am plunged into these calamities, dissembling in the same manner as I do: and that at last a concern for human affairs may arise, either among you, or among the immortal gods: to be sure, he who now prides and triumphs in his villany, after being tortured with all evils, shall then suffer heavy vengeance for his wicked ingratitude toward my father, the murder of my brother, and my own distresses. Now, now, O brother, most dear to my soul, though your life was snatched from you in the prime of your days, and by one whom it least of all became: yet I think your fate is rather to be rejoiced in than lamented. for it was not so much a kingdom, but rather expulsion, banishment, want, and all these miseries which oppress me, that you lost together with your life. But I, poor wretch, thrown headlong from my father's kingdom into such calamities, furnish a spectacle of the uncertainty of human affairs: at a loss what to do, whether I should insist on the wrongs done you, helpless as I am; or mind my kingdom only, whilst the
regnum

regnum Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiæ nostræ tabescere."

disposal of me as to life or death depends upon the power of others. I wish death could be an honourable issue to my unfortunate circumstances, that by living I may not seem contemptible, if, tired out with misfortunes, I should succumb to oppression. Now I have no inclination to life, nor can I die without disgrace. I beg of you, Mighty Fathers, for the sake of yourselves, your children and parents, and the majesty of the Roman people, relieve a poor wretch: stop the career of oppression: and suffer not the kingdom of Numidia, which is your own, to be ruined by villany and the murder of our family."

XV. Postquam Rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthæ largitionem magis, quam causâ freti, paucis respondent: "Hiempsalem ob sævitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum: Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequissimè. Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne alium putarent, ac Numantiæ cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent." Deinde utrique curiâ egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: fautores legatorum, præterea magna pars gratiâ depravati, Adherbali dicta contemnere, Jugurthæ virtutem extollere laudibus; gratiâ, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et æquum divitiis carius, subveniendum Adherbali,

XV. After the King made an end of speaking, the deputies of Jugurtha, depending more upon their bribes than their cause, replied in a few words: "That Hiempsal had been murdered by the Numidians, because of his cruelty: that Adherbal, having raised a war without provocation, complained, after he was baffled, because he had not been able to do the wrong. That Jugurtha begged of the senate, they would not imagine him to be any other man, than he was known to be at Numantia, nor prefer the words of his enemy before his actions." Upon this both parties quit the house. The senate immediately went upon the affair: the favourers of the ambassadors, and a great party beside, biassed by their influence, slighted what Adherbal had said, extolled the conduct of Jugurtha with encomiums; and by their interest, speeches, and in short by all methods, laboured in defence of another man's wickedness and infamous crimes, as if it had been for their own honour. But on the o-

et Hiempsalis mortem severè vindicandam censebant. Sed ex omnibus maxumè Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentix, honoris, divitiarum; ceterum vitia sua callidè occultans. is postquam videt Regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum à consueta lubricitate continuit.

restrained his mind from its usual passion.

XVI. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, qui vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebant. Decretum fit, UTI DECEM LEGATI REGNUM, QUOD MICIPSA OBTINUERAT, INTER JUGURTHAM ET ADHERBALEM DIVIDERENT. cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus, et tum in senatu potens: quia Consul, C. Gracco et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis, acerrumè victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha tamen si Romæ in amicis habuerat, tamen ad curatissumè recepit: dando et pollicitando perfecit, uti famâ, fide, postremo omni-

ther hand a few, by whom justice and equity was more regarded than money, advised to relieve Adherbal, and revenge severely the death of Hiempsal. But amongst all these, especially Æmilius Scaurus, a person of noble descent, active, factious, greedy of power, honour, and riches; but cunningly concealing his vices. he, after he sees the King's bribery notorious and barefaced, fearing, what is usual in such a case, lest the scandalous freedom taken in that matter should raise an odium,

XVI. However, that party in the senate prevailed, that preferred money or favour to truth. A decree passes, that ten commissioners should divide the kingdom, which Micipsa had held, betwixt Jugurtha and Adherbal. of which commissioners the chief was L. Opimius, a person of great figure, and of vast influence at that time in the senate: because being Consul, when C. Graccus and M. Fulvius Flaccus were slain, he had improved, in a most vigorous manner, the success of the nobility against the commons. Jugurtha, though he had found him among his friends at Rome, yet received him with the utmost ceremony: and by giving and promising
bus

XV. *Polluta licentia]* Polluta dicitur quæ est fœda atque immoderata.

XVI. 1. *Pars illa. qui]* See cap. lxxxix. n. 3.

2. *Famâ, fide]* These may here be taken for datives, the first being put

bus suis rebus commodum Regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eâdem viâ adgressus, plerosque capit: paucis carior fides, quàm pecunia fuit. In divisione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauretiam adtingit, agro, viris opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur: illam alteram specie, quàm usu, potjorem, quæ portuosior et ædificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

brought it about, that he preferred the King's interest to his credit, his trust, and, in short, to all his own concerns. Attacking the other commissioners the same way, he corrupts most of them: to few was honour more precious than money. In the partition, that part of Numidia, which borders on Mauretania, being more considerable for soil and people, is assigned to Jugurtha: Adherbal got possession of the other part, more valuable in appearance than in reality, which had more harbours and was better adorned with buildings.

XVII. Res postulare videtur Africæ situm paucis exponere, et eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum, aut amicitia fuit, adtingere. Sed quæ loca et nationes ob calorem, aut asperitatem, item solitudinem minùs frequentata sunt, de iis haud facilè comperitum narraverim: cetera quàm paucissimis absolvam.

In divisione orbis terræ plerique in partem tertiam Africam posuere: pauci tantummodò Asiam et Europam esse; sed Africam in Europa. Ea finis habet ab occidente fretum nostri

XVII. The subject seems to require, that I describe in a few words the situation of Africa, and take notice of those nations, with whom we have had war or alliance. But for the parts and nations which because of their excessive heat, or their being full of rocks and deserts, are less inhabited, of them I can say little with any certainty: the rest I shall dispatch with all possible brevity.

In the division of the globe of the earth, most authors have reckoned Africa for a third part: some few have reckoned there were only Asia and Europe; but then they counted Africa in Europe. It has for boundaries

maris

put instead of *famai*, the last instead of *fidei*; though, considering the various forms of construction that occur in the classics, the taking of them as ablatives is attended with no absurdity. Cic pro Balbo, cap. viii. *Cum magna pars in iis civitatibus fæderis sui libertatem civitate anteferrent.*

XVII. I. *Fretum nostri maris et Oceani*] By *frctum* our author means *frctum*

maris et Oceani: ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem: quem locum Catabathmon incolæ adpellant. Mare sævum, importuosum. ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus: cœlo, terrâ penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum: plerisque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro, aut bestiis interiere: nam morbus haud sæpe quemquam superat. Ad hoc malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se permixti sint: quamquam ad ea fama, quæ plerisque obtinet, diversum est: tamen uti ex libris Punicis, qui Regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est; utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terræ putant, quàm paucissimis dicam. Ceterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

King Hiempsal's; and as the people of that country suppose the matter is. But the credibility of this affair shall be left upon the authors of it.

XVIII. Africam initio habuerè Gætuli et Libyes,

on the west the streight betwixt our sea and the Ocean: toward the rising of the sun, a declining tract of ground: which place the inhabitants call Catabathmos. Their sea is boisterous and badly provided in harbours. the country is fruitful in grain, fit for cattle, barren in trees: there is great scarcity of water, as well of rain from heaven, as springs from the earth. Their stock of people are of a healthy constitution, swift of foot, able to endure fatigue: old age cuts off most of them, except such as perish by the sword, or wild beasts: for a disease seldom dispatches any of them. Moreover there are here a great many creatures of the noxious kind. But as to what people possessed Africa at first, and who came to it afterward, and how they incorporated with one another: tho' my account be different from the opinion that prevails amongst most people: yet I shall give a relation in as few words as possible, as it was interpreted to me out of the Carthaginian books, which were said to be

XVIII. The Gætulians and the Libyans possessed Africa at

fretum Gaditanum sive Herculeum, now called the Straights of Gibraltar: by nostri maris he means the Mediterranean, and by Oceani the great Atlantic ocean. I think it no injustice done Sallust to observe here, that his geographical descriptions are one of the most accurate.

2. *Catabathmon*] This is a Greek word, of the same import as *declivis latitudo*.

asper,

asper, incult; quibus cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus, neque lege, neque imperio cujusquam regebantur: vagi, palantes, quæ nox coegerat, sedes habebant. Sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit; exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce, ac passim multis, sibi quique, imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medii, Persæ, et Armeni, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari locos occupare. Sed Persæ intra Oceanum magis; iique alveos navium inversos protuguriis habuere; quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis emundi, aut mutandi copia erat. mare magnum et ignara

first, a rough, unpolished people; whose meat, like that of cattle, was the flesh of wild beasts, and the herb of the field. These were under no restraint from custom, law, nor any government: but straggling and strolling about, took up their lodging where night obliged them. But after Hercules died in Spain, as the Africans imagine; his army, that was made up of divers nations, upon losing their leader, and whilst many every where, each for themselves, were setting up for the command, dwindled to nothing in a short time. Of this number the Medes, the Persians, and Armenians, after being transported by shipping into Africa, seized upon the parts adjacent to our sea. But the Persians lay more upon the Ocean; and they made use of the hulls of their ships turned bottom upwards for houses; because there was neither wood in the country, nor opportunity of buying any, or trucking for it with the Spaniards. a

XVIII. 1. *In Hispania Hercules—interiit*] Good authors assure us, that the old famous Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, returned safe from Spain. But there were many called by this name among the ancients. Cicero reckons up six, and Varro no less than forty-four. It is no wonder then there should be different accounts of the place or time of their death. But the glory of all their heroic achievements is ascribed to one.

2. *Sibi quique*] As the learned and accurate Mr. Thomas Ruddiman has, in his Rudiments, p. 25. observed, that the relative pronoun *qui, quæ, quod*, has frequently *qui* in the ablative, and that in all genders and numbers; so *quique* is here an ablative, being the same with *quoque* or *quibusque*.

3. *Persæ intra Oceanum magis*] The place our author points at is the coast of Africa without the Straights of Gibraltar, where, the land upon the shore bending outward, the Atlantic ocean seems to embrace and infold the country, as it were, within its arms.

lingua

lingua commercia prohibebant. Hirpaullatim per connubia Gætulos miscuere: et quia sæpe tentantes agros, alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Numidas adpellavere. Ceterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agræstium, quæ mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinæ sunt. Medis autem et Armenis accessere Libyes, (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant; Gætuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus), hique maturè oppida habuere. nam freto divisi ab Hispania, mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrumpere, barbarâ linguâ Mauros, pro Medis, adpellantes. Sed res Persarum brevè adolevit: ac postea nomine Numidæ, propter multitudinem à parentibus digressi, possidere ea loca, quæ proxumè Carthaginem Numidia adpellatur. Dein utrique alteris freti finitimos armis aut metu

wide sea, and an unknown language obstructed all intercourse. These insensibly by intermarriages mixed with the Gætulians: and because, frequently making trial of soils, they had shifted about from place to place, they called themselves Numidians. And to this day the cottages of the Numidian peasants, which they call mapalia, are of an oblong form, ridged up with sides bending out, like the hulls of ships. The Libyans joined the Medes and Armenians, (for they lived nearer the African sea; the Gætulians more to the sun, not far from the scorching heats in the torrid zone), and these quickly got towns. for being divided from Spain by a narrow sea, the Spaniards and they began to exchange commodities with one another. The Libyans by degrees corrupted their name, calling them, in their barbarous language, Mauri, instead of Medi. But the affairs of the Persians soon were in a flourishing state: and afterwards under the name of Numidians, separating from their parents because of their vast numbers, possessed themselves of the country about Carthage,

4. *Ipsi Numidas adpellavere*] Numida is derived from the Greek verb *τρέφω*, to feed. They took this name, because they were fed or maintained by strolling about from place to place, like grazing cattle.

5. *Hique maturè oppida habuere*] Hi, sciz. Medi et Armeni. The pronouns *hic* and *is* refer sometimes to the more remote antecedent. Quinætil. II. cap. v. *Ut Livium à pueris magis quam Sallustium: et hic* (sc. Livius) *historie majoris est auctor.* Jug. cap. xvii. *Sed Africam in Europa.* Ea finis habet, &c. Hi in the parenthesis denotes the Libyans.

sub imperium cogere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere; magis hi, qui ad nostrum mare processerant: quia Libyes, quam Gætuli, minùs bellicosi: denique Africæ pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est; victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

which is called Numidia. After this, both of them confiding in one another, they reduced their neighbours by arms or terror under subjection, and acquired to themselves reputation and glory; especially those, who had advanced towards our sea: because the Libyans are less warlike than the Gætulians: finally, most of the lower part of Africa was seized upon by the Numidians; all the vanquished people fell into the nation and the name of their conquerors.

XIX. Postea Phœnices alii multitudinis domi minuendæ gratiâ, pars imperii cupidine, sollicitatâ plebe et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim, aliasque urbis in ora maritima condidere: hæque brevî multùm auctæ, pars originibus præsidio, aliæ decori fuere. nam de Carthagine filere melius puto,

XIX. Afterwards the Phœnicians, some with a design to lessen the over-great crowds at home, some out of a desire of power, having engaged the common people and others fond of novelty, in the project, built Hippo, Hadrumetum, Leptis, and other towns upon the sea-coast: and these growing considerably in a little time, were, part of them a security, others an ornament to their founders. for as quam

6. *Africa pars inferior pleraque*] The lower part of any country, that borders on the sea, is the coast or shore, as is evident from the course of rivers; and therefore by *pars inferior* here we are to understand the places on or near the coast of Africa upon the Mediterranean. For *pleraque*, see cap. liv. note 4.

XIX. 1. *Phœnices*] The Phœnicians were a people in Asia, on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean.

2. *Alii multitudinis—pars imperii*] Another author would have said *alii multitudinis—alii imperii*; but Sallust is a great admirer of variety.

3. *Hadrumetum, Leptim*] Sallust means Leptis minor, which was situated betwixt Hadrumetum and Thapsus; for Leptis major lay betwixt the Syrtes, as he tells us in this very chapter.

4. *De Carthagine filere*] Jos. XVIII. cap. iv. & v. informs us, that Dido, called also Eisa, to avoid her brother Pygmalion, who had murdered Acerbas or Sichæus her husband, in order to be possessed of his wealth, fled from Tyre, came by shipping into Africa, and founded this city. It was built about 100 years before Rome, was a great and flourishing

quàm parum dicere: quoniam aliò properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Ægyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari, prima Cyrene est, colonia Thereôn, ac deinceps duæ Syrtes, interque eas Leptis: dein Philenôn aræ, quem, Æ-

to Carthage, I think it better to be silent, than say but a little: since brevity obliges me to hasten to another subject. Wherefore toward the Catabathmos, which place divides Egypt from Africa, upon the sea, there is first Cyrene, a colony of the Thereans, and next to it the two Syrtes, and Leptis betwixt them:

rishing city, and for a long time the rival of Rome; till at last, about the year of Rome 608, it was entirely destroyed and reduced to ashes by Scipio. The burning continued for seventeen days together; it was said to have been twenty four miles in compass.

5. *Secundo mari*] This may be explained two ways. 1. If *secundus* be taken as a numeral, to signify that which comes in the second or next place, then *secundo mari* may be rendered the sea being near, contiguous, or hard by; that is, according to the English idiom, by the sea-side, upon the shore, or, as you go along the shore, there is first Cyrene, &c. 2. If *secundus* be taken not as a numeral, but as an adjective, signifying favourable, fair, &c. then *secundo mari* will be the same as *portuoso mari*, or *mari non importuoso*. But though the words will admit of either of these senses, yet the first is that which Sallust seems to intend here, as will appear by what is said in note 8. following.

6. *Colonia Thereôn*] Thera is an island in the Ægean sea, to the north of Crete: hence *Therei*, *Therorum*, or, more Græco, *Thereôn*. This colony was sent from Thera by advice of the oracle of Delphos, under the conduct of Aristæus Battus; who, upon his arriving in Africa, built a city, and called it Cyrene, either from the mountain Cyra on which it was founded, or from a young lady named Cyrene, whom, upon his landing, he found there. See the history of this at large in Justin. XIII. cap. vii.

7. *Duæ Syrtes*] These are two gulfs of the sea on the coast of Africa: the easternmost is called *Syrtis major*, and the westernmost *Syrtis minor*. Sallust describes them, cap. lxxvii.

8. *Philenôn Aræ*] *Philenôn* is also the Greek genitive, instead of *Philenorum*. The Philei were two brothers, Carthaginians, who, to serve their country, condescended to be here buried alive; to the honour of whose memory the Carthaginians erected the altars here mentioned, as Sallust informs us, cap. lxxix. Now these *Aræ Philenôn* were situated betwixt Cyrene and Syrtis major, whereas our author seems to place them to the west of both the Syrtes. But the reader must observe, that the words of Sallust are, *secundo mari, prima, &c. i. e.* upon the shore the places are first Cyrene, and west from it the two Syrtes, and Leptis major betwixt them: then he returns again to the east, to take notice of the places situated not upon the shore, but which were more inland; and in the first place mentions the *Aræ Philenôn*. In this sense Cortius explains the place.

gyptum versus, finem imperii habuere Carthaginenses: post aliæ Punicæ urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidæ tenent: proxumè Hispaniam Mauri sunt: super Numidiam Gætulos accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare: post eos Æthiopas esse: dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida et finis Carthaginensium, quos novissimè habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat: Gætulorum magna pars et Numidia usque ad flumen Mulucham sub Jugurtha erant: Mauris omnibus Rex Bocchus imperitabat, præter nomen, cetera ignarus populi Romani; itemque nobis neque bello, neque pace antea cognitus. De Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

is enough said of Africa and its inhabitants to answer my purpose.

XX. Postquam, regno diviso, legati Africâ discessere, et Jugurtha contra

then up the country the altars of the Phileni, which the Carthaginians esteemed the boundary of their empire towards Egypt: after them succeed other Carthaginian towns. The Numidians possess the rest of the country as far as Mauretania: the Moors are next to Spain: the Gætulians, we are told, live above Numidia, some of them in huts, others stroll about in a more uncivilized manner: beyond them are the Ethiopians: then the regions burnt up with the excessive heat of the sun. Now in the time of the war against Jugurtha, the Roman people governed most of the Punic towns, and the country which the Carthaginians had very lately been possessed of, by magistrates of their own: a great part of the Gætulians and Numidia, as far as the river Mulucha, were under Jugurtha: King Bocchus ruled over all the Moors, a stranger to the Roman people any further than their name; and known to us before neither by war nor peace. There

XX. After the commissioners, upon having divided the kingdom, left Africa, and Jugurtha,

9. *Are, quem*——*finem imperii habuere Carthaginenses*] When the relative *qui, que, quod*, comes betwixt two substantives of different gender or number, it sometimes agrees with the last: Cat. cap. lv. *Est locus in carcere, quod Tullianum appellatur.* Jug. cap. lxxv. *Ipse ex flumine, quam proxumam oppido aquam supra diximus, jumenta onerat.*

M

timorem

timorem animi præmia sceleris adeptum sese videt; certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romæ venalia esse; simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paullo antè muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus: at is, quem petebat, quietus, inbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus injuriæ, metuens magis, quam metuendus. Igitur ex improvviso finis ejus cum magna manu invasit: multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia præda capit, ædificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit. dein cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit: existumans dolore permotum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli causam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat, et amicitiam populi Romani magis, quam Numidis fretus erat; legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit: qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit, quam bel-

contrary to the fears of his mind; sees himself obtain rewards for his villany: reckoning for certain, what he had heard from his friends at Numantia, that all things were to be sold at Rome; and being likewise emboldened by the promises of those, whom a little before he had loaded with presents, he sets his heart upon the kingdom of Adherbal. He himself was an active, warlike man: but he, whom he had a design upon, a peaceable, weak creature, of a meek spirit, easily trampled on, fearful rather than to be feared. Wherefore all on a sudden he invades his territories with a considerable force: takes abundance of men with cattle and other plunder, burns towns, and over-runs in a hostile manner a great part of the country with his horse, and then returns with all his crew into his own kingdom: supposing Adherbal, chafed with resentment, would revenge by force the abuses done him, and that this would be the occasion of a war. But he, because he did not think himself a match at arms, and depended more upon the friendship of the Roman people, than the Numidians though his subjects; sent deputies to Jugurth to complain of these outrages: and though they brought back but an insulting answer, yet he resolved to

XX. *Premia sceleris*] The rewards were impunity, the half, and that the better half of Numidia, instead of the third part, which was all he had before.

lum fumere : quia tentatum antea secus cesserat. Neque tamen eò magis cupidò Jugurthæ minuebatur : quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat. Itaque non, ut antea, cum prædatoria manu, sed magnò exercitu comparato, bellum gerere cœpit, et apertè totius Numidiæ imperiũ petere. Ceterũ, quã pergebat, urbis, agros vastare, prædas agere ; suis animum, terrorem hostibus augere.

XXI. Adherbal ubi intellegit, eò processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset, aut armis retinendum ; necessariò copias parat, et Jugurthæ obviũ procedit. Interim haud longè à mari, prope Cirtam oppidum, utriusque confedit exercitus : et quia die extremum erat, prælium non inceptum. ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt ; semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentes fugant funduntque : Adherbal cũ paucis equiti-

suffer every thing rather than engage in a war : because when attempted formerly it had but ill success. However, Jugurtha's ambition was not lessened for this : as having devoured already his whole kingdom in his thoughts. Wherefore he began to make war, not as before, with a plundering hand, but with a great army he had raised, and avowedly aim at the kingdom of all Numidia. And wherever he came, he laid waste the towns and country, carried off the plunder ; improved the courage of his own men, and increased the terror of his enemies.

XXI. Adherbal, when he finds matters were come to such a pass, that either his kingdom must be abandoned, or kept by force of arms ; under this necessity levies forces, and marches out against Jugurtha. In the mean time both armies incamped not far from the sea, nigh the town of Cirta : and because the day was almost spent, a battle was not attempted. but when most of the night was over, there being then a faint dawning light, the soldiers of Jugurtha, upon a signal given, attacked the enemies camp ; put them to flight and dispersed them, whilst some were half asleep, and others were taking to their arms : Adherbal

XXI. 1. *Die extremum erat*] Die is an ordinary genitive with Salust, cap. lii. *Jam die vesper erat.* Nor is our author singular in this, Virg. l. Georg. v. 208. *Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas.* Plautus, Pseud. act. iv. sc. vii. v. 59. *Vides jam die multum esse.*

bus Cirtam profugit, et nî multitudo togatorum fuisset, quæ Numidas insequentes mœnibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos Reges cœptum atque patrum bellum foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumfedit, vineis, turribusque, et machinis omnium generum expugnare adgreditur: maxumè festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos, ante prælium factum, Romam Adherbale missos audiverat. Sed postquam senatus de bellorum accepit, [tres adolescentes] in Africam legantur, qui ambo Reges adeant, senatûs populique Romani verbis nuncient, “ Velle et censere, eos ab armis discedere: de controversiis suis jure potius quàm bello disceptare:

with a few horse made his escape to Cirta, and had there not been a good number of Romans in town, who repulsed the Numidians in pursuit of him from the walls, the war betwixt the two Kings had been begun and ended in one day. Upon this Jugurtha laid close siege to the town, and endeavours by means of vineæ, turrets, and engines of all sorts, to take it: hastening much to have the business finished before the return of the deputies, who he heard had been sent to Rome by Adherbal, before the battle was fought. But after the senate was informed of this war, there were [three young gentlemen] dispatched into Africa, who were to go to both Kings, and acquaint them in the name of the senate and people of Rome, “ That it was their pleasure and command, they should lay aside arms: and decide their disputes

2. *Togatorum*] By *Togati* we are to understand the Romans, whose distinguishing habit or dress was the *toga*; and hence, Virg. L. *Æneid.* v. 286. calls them *gens togata*. The Greeks, on the other hand, were called *Palliatî*, from the *pallium* or cloak they used to wear. Now, in all the Roman provinces there generally were a good number of Romans, either merchants, travellers, or persons otherwise employed; and those in Cirta at this time took part with Adherbal against Jugurtha.

3. *Vineis*] The *vineæ* were a kind of wicker boxes, covered over above with hurdles, under the shelter whereof the soldiers would advance to the very walls, and undermine them.

4. *Turribusque*] *Turres* or *turrets* were structures of wood, in a square form, equal in height to the walls, or a little higher; they rolled upon wheels fixed below, within the planks, and were pushed forward by men behind them. Within they were filled with armed men, well prepared to annoy the besieged in every shape.

5. *Velle et censere*] *Velle* propriè *populus* dicebatur, *censere* *senatus*. Sed illud etiam, etsi raro, de *senatu* dicitur.

ita seque illisque dignum fore."

XXII. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt, eò magis, quòd Romæ, dum proficisci parant, de prælio facto et oppugnatione Cirtæ audiebatur. sed is rumor clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha acceptâ oratione respondit: "Sibi neque majus quidquam, neque carius auctoritate fenati: ab adolescentia ita enisum, uti ab optumo quoque probaretur: virtute, non malitiâ P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse: ob easdem artis ab Micipsa, non penuriâ liberorum, in regnum adoptatum: ceterum quòd plura bene atque strenuè fecisset, eò animum suum injuriam minùs tolerare: Adherbalem dolis vitæ suæ insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri obviam esse: populum Romanum neque rectè, neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerint: postremò de omnibus rebus legatos Romanam brevè missurum." Ita utrique digrediuntur.

by law rather than war: that this would be for the honour of the Romans and themselves too."

XXII. The deputies went over to Africa with all dispatch, and the rather, because, whilst they were preparing to take journey, they had the news at Rome of the battle that was fought, and the siege of Cirta. but that report was much softened. Jugurtha, upon hearing their commission, replied: "That to him there was neither any thing greater, nor more respectable, than the authority of the senate: that he had endeavoured to behave from his youth in such a manner, as to be approved by every good man: that by virtue, not wickedness, he had pleased that great man P. Scipio: that for the same conduct he had been adopted by Micipsa into his kingdom, and not for want of children: but the more he had behaved well and gallantly, the less could his spirit put up with ill usage: that Adherbal, by secret contrivances, had formed a plot against his life; upon the discovery of which, he had only opposed his wicked intention: that the Roman people would act neither well nor fairly, if they debarred him from the common right of

XXII. 1. *Rumor clemens*] Clemens dicitur rumor, quando rem non exaggerat, aut infra atrocitatem rei est.

2. *Acceptâ oratione*] Orator anciently signified an ambassador or messenger, and hence *oratio* was used to denote the message or commission. The supine *oratum* signified to execute the embassy, or deliver the message, i. e. to beg aid or peace. Cap. xxiv. *Ad vos oratum mitto*. See cap. cviii. note 1.

Adherbalis adpellandi copia non fuit.

about all matters." Thus they parted. The deputies had not access to speak with Adherbal.

XXIII. Jugurtha ubi eos Africâ decessisse ratus est, neque propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest; vallo atque fossâ mœnia circumdat, turris exstruit, easque præfidiis firmat: prætere dies, noctes, aut per vim, aut dolis tentare, defensoribus mœnium præmia modò, modò formidinem ostentare, suos hortando ad virtutem erigere: prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal ubi intellegit omnis suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuriâ rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse; ex his, qui unâ Cirtam profugerant, duo maxumè impigros delegit, eos multa pollicendò, ac miserando casum suum confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent.

to the next sea, and from thence to Rome.

XXIV. Numidæ paucis diebus jussâ efficiunt: litteræ Adherbalis in senatu

nations: finally, that he would shortly send deputies to Rome

XXIII. Jugurtha, when he supposed they were gone from Africa, and finding he could not take Cirta by force of arms, because of the nature of the place; surrounds the walls with a rampart and a ditch, erects towers, and fills them with armed men: and besides, makes attempts by day and night, either in the way of force or stratagem, presents one while rewards, another while terror to the defenders of the walls, and by animating his own men excites them to a gallant behaviour: and with the utmost eagerness makes all possible efforts. Adherbal, when he found matters were come to the last extremity, his enemy bent upon his destruction, no hopes of assistance, and that the war could not be prolonged for want of necessaries; chuses from amongst those, that had escaped along with him to Cirta, two of the most active, and by large promises, and deploring his condition, prevails with them, to go through the enemies lines in the night-time

XXIV. The Numidians execute their orders in a few days: Adherbal's letter was read in

XXIII. *Turris exstruit*] The *turres* here are not the *turres mobiles* mentioned cap. xxi. but fixed, being built of earth, and erected chiefly to secure the rampart, ditch, and other works, against sallies of the besieged from within, or attacks of their friends and allies from without.

recitatæ,

recitatæ, quarum sententia hæc fuit.

“ Non meâ culpâ sæpe ad vos oratum mitto. Patres Conscripti, sed vis Jugurthæ subigit: quem tanta lubido extinguendi me invasit, uti neque vos, neque deos immortalis in animo habeat; sanguinem meum, quàm omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem socius et amicus populi Romani armis obfessus teneor: neque mihi Micipsæ patris beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur. ferro, an fame acrius urguear, incertus sum. Plura de Jugurtha scribere, dehortatur fortuna mea: etiam antea expertus sum, parum fidei miseris esse. Nisi tamen intellego, illum suprâ, quàm ego sum, petere, neque simul amicitiam vestram, et regnum meum sperare: utrum gravius existimet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem meum: dein patrio regno me expulit. quæ sanè fuerint nostræ injuriæ, nihil ad vos. Verùm nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet: me,

the senate, of which this was the purport.

“ *It is no fault of mine, Illustrious Fathers, that I send so often to implore your aid, but Jugurtha's violence compels me: whom so great a desire of destroying me has possessed, that he regards in his heart neither you, nor the immortal gods; he had rather have my blood, than all things else. And therefore I, an ally and friend of the Roman people, am kept blocked up with his arms now these five months: neither the kindnesses of my father Micipsa, nor your decrees afford me relief. I know not, whether I am more grievously distressed by sword, or by famine. My circumstances discourage me from writing more concerning Jugurtha: I have found by experience, even before now, that the unfortunate have but little credit. Except however that I understand he aims at something beyond what I am, and does not hope for your friendship, and my kingdom at the same time: which of the two he would think the greatest hardship to be disappointed in, is a secret to nobody. For first of all he murdered my brother Hiempsal: and then forced me from my father's kingdom. which indeed were*

XXIV. 1. *Oratum mitto*] See cap. xxii. note 2.

2. *Urguear*] This is ancient orthography; the moderns write *urget*.

3. *Nisi tamen intellego*] Dixerat se plura scribere nolle, quod parum fidei miseris sit, et addit nisi hoc unum, quod Jugurtha amplius quid petat, quam vitam regnumque suum. Manet itaque nisi particula exceptiva.

quem

quem Imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obfidet: legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. Quid reliquum, nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, et hæc, quæ scribo, et quæ antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed quoniam eò natus sum, ut Jugurthæ scelerum ostentui essem, non jam mortem neque ærummas, tantummodò inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, uti lubet, consulite: me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, per amicitiae fidem; si ulla apud vos memoria avi mei Masinissæ."

beseech you by the majesty of your mighty power, by the honour of your alliance, rescue me from impious hands; if there be any remembrance with you of my grandfather Masinissa."

XXV. His litteris recitatis, fuere, qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, et quàm primùm Adherbali subveniendum: de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam non paruisset legatis. Sed ab isdem Regis fautoribus summâ ope enisum, ne decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privatâ gratiâ devictum. Legantur

acts of injustice done to me, though nothing to you. But now he keeps, by force of arms, a kingdom that is yours: blocks up and besieges me, whom you appointed King of the Numidians: how much he valued the remonstrances of your deputies, my dangers shew. What remains, but your power, wherewith he can be moved? For I indeed could wish, that both this which I now write, and what formerly I complained of in the senate, were groundless fictions, rather than that my misery should gain credit to my words. But since I was born for this end, that I might be a spectacle of the villanies of Jugurtha, I do not now beg deliverance from death or misery, but only from the tyranny of my enemy, and torture of body. Dispose, as you please, of the kingdom of Numidia, which is your own: but I

XXV. After the reading of this letter, there were some, who gave it as their opinion, that an army should be sent into Africa, and relief given to Adherbal with all possible speed: and that in the mean time a resolution should be entered upon concerning Jugurtha, because he had not obeyed the deputies. But endeavours were used with the utmost keenness by the same favourers of the King, that this might not be passed into a decree:

tamen in Africam majores natu, nobiles, amplis Honoribus: in quibus M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis, et tum senati princeps. Hi, quod in invidia res erat simul, et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim escendere: dein brevi Uticam adpulsi litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, QUAM OCCISSE AD PROVINCIAM ACCEDAT; SEQUE AD EUM AB SENATU MISSOS. Ille ubi accepit, homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romæ pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse: primò commotus, metu atque lubricine divorfus agitabatur. Timebat iram senati, [nisi paruisset legatis]: porro animus cupidine cæcus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, summâ vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur, maxumè sperans, diductâ manu hostium, aut vi, aut dolis se-

Thus the public good, as is usual in most cases, was baffled by private interest. However, some elderly noblemen, in high offices of state, are dispatched over into Africa: amongst whom was M. Scaurus, of whom we spoke above, a person of consular dignity, and then at the head of the senate. These, both because there was a general outcry in the case, and being importuned by the Numidians, went aboard a ship within three days: and soon after arriving at Utica, sent a letter to Jugurtha, with orders, to repair forthwith to the province; and that they had a message to him from the senate. When he found, that persons of high rank, whose influence he had heard was great at Rome, were come to oppose his design: at first being much shocked, he was distracted betwixt fear and ambition. He feared the resentment of the senate, [if he did not obey their deputies]: and then again, his mind blinded with ambition hurried him on to the cursed enterprise he was engaged in. The wicked resolution however pre-

XXV. 1. *Senati princeps*] The right of creating Senators belonged at first to the Kings; afterwards the Consuls named them, and referred them to the people for their approbation: but at last the Censors ingrossed the privilege of conferring this honour. He that stood first in the Censor's roll had the honourable title of *princeps senati*; yet the chief magistrates, such as the Consuls, the Dictator, &c. were always his superiors in the house.

2. *Uticam adpulsi*] A town on the coast of Africa, opposite to Sardinia, famous by the death of Cato. It was built much about the same time with Carthage, by a colony of Tyrians too, as Justin relates, XVIII. cap. iv.

se casum victoriæ inventurum. Quòd ubi secus procedit, neque, quod intenderat, efficere potest, uti prius, quàm legatos conveniret, Adherbalis potiretur; ne ampliùs morando Scaurum, quem plurimùm metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac tamen etsi senati verbis minæ graves nunciabantur, quòd oppugnatione non desisteret; multâ tamen oratione consumptâ, legati frustra discessere.

ed, he came, attended with a few horse, into the province. And though heavy threats were denounced in the name of the senate, because he had not given over the siege; yet, after spending much talk, the commissioners went off without being able to do any thing.

XXVI. Ea postquam Cirtæ audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtutē mœnia defendebantur, confisi, deditione factâ, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, uti seque, et oppidum Jugurthæ tradat: tantùm ab eo vitam paciscatur, de ceteris senatui curæ fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Jugurthæ rebatur; quia penes eosdem, si advorsaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditionem facit. Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat: dein omnis puberes Numi-

vailed in his covetous heart. Wherefore, drawing his army quite round the town, he endeavours with the utmost vigour to break into Cirta, being in great hopes, that, by dividing the forces of the enemy, he should find a chance of success, either in the way of force or stratagem. But when it fell out otherwise, and he was not able to effect what he had designed, namely, to get Adherbal into his hands, before he waited on the commissioners; and lest, by delaying longer, he should provoke Scaurus, whom he very much dreaded,

ed, he came, attended with a few horse, into the province. And though heavy threats were denounced in the name of the senate, because he had not given over the siege; yet, after spending much talk, the commissioners went off without being able to do any thing.

XXVI. After this was heard of at Cirta, the Italians, by whose bravery the walls had been defended, being persuaded, that upon making a surrender they would be secure from all harm, in consideration of the grandeur of the Roman people, advise Adherbal to deliver up both himself and the town to Jugurtha: and only capitulate with him for his life, that for other things they would be taken care of by the senate. Now he, though he esteemed any thing better security than Jugurtha's promise; yet because it was in their power to force him, if he should oppose it, makes a surrender, as the Italians had advised. Jugurtha, in the first place,

las et negotiatores promiscuè, uti quisque armis obuius, interfecit. *puts Adherbal to death with torture: and then slaughtered all the Numidians of age, and the merchants too, without distinction, as each of them fell in the soldiers way.*

XXVII. Quod postquam Romæ cognitum, et in senatu agitari cœpta, dem illi ministri Regis interpellando, ac sæpe gratiâ, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac nî C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer et infestus potentix nobili- *XXVII. After this was known at Rome, and the matter begun to be debated in the senate, the same agents of the King, by throwing obstructions in the way, and protracting the time often by their interest with the members, sometimes by wrangling, endeavoured to lessen the odiousness of the fact. And had not C. Memmius, tri-*

XXVII. 1. *Tribunus plebis designatus*] In the year of Rome 260, the commons having been much discontented, for a long time before, at seeing the nobility possessed of all the wealth and honours of the republic, and themselves loaded with all the toil, insisted upon having magistrates chosen from among themselves, who might secure them from the oppression of the senate and nobility; and accordingly the *tribuni plebis* were created. At first only two were appointed, afterwards five, and at last ten. By the creation of these officers, the power of the senate was very much limited; for, under pretence of maintaining the liberties of the people, they approved or rejected, at pleasure, the decrees of the senate and Consuls, and of all other magistrates, except the Dictators. When the Tribunes approved a decree, they subscribed a *T*; and when they disapproved of it, they wrote the word *veto* or *vetamus*, to forbid or prohibit the execution of it. The persons of the Tribunes were by a law declared *sacrosancti*, or sacred and inviolable. They had a kind of beadle, called *viator*, who walked before them. In all the *plebiscita* or ordinances of the people, the Tribunes were obliged to be unanimous, at least not to dissent; for if but one of them opposed the ordinance, it was rendered ineffectual. And hence Jugurtha, by means of the Tribune Bæbius, got clear of the inquisition proposed by Memmius, cap. xxxiv. These Tribunes were sometimes extravagantly imperious. They would assemble and dismiss the senate, imprison the Consuls, and were frequently the cause of many dangerous tumults; and hence they are called by some authors *pestes reipublicæ*, and *seditioni magistratus*. They were laid under great restrictions by Sulla, insomuch that their power was much impaired, nay almost quite abolished. But this tribunicial power was again restored by Pompey, as we learn from Sallust, Cat. cap. xxxviii. They were both elected and entered on their office before the Consuls, and during this interval, were, like them, called *designati*. See Cat. cap. xviii. n. 2.

tatis,

tatis, populum Romanum edocuisse. ID AGI, UTI PER PAUCOS FACTIOSOS JUGURTHÆ SCELUS CONDONARETUR, professio omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa erat. tanta vis gratiæ, atque pecuniæ Regis. Sed ubi senatus delicti conscientiam populum timet; lege Semproniam provinciæ futuris Consulibus, Numidia atque Italia decretæ: Consules declarantur P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius; Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit. deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur: stipendium, alia, quæ bello usui forent, decernuntur.

XXVIII. At Jugurtha, contra spem nuncio accepto, quippe cui, Romæ omnia venum ire, in animo hæserat; filium, et cum eo duo familiaris ad senatum legatos mittit: hisque, ut illis, quos, Hiempsale interfecto, miserat, præcepit, omnis mortalis pecuniâ adgrediantur.

bune elect of the commons, a warm man and an avowed enemy to the power of the nobility, informed the Roman people, there was a design carrying on, that Jugurtha's horrid crime, by means of a few leading men, should be pardoned, without question all the odium, by their dilatory procedure, would have vanished. so great was the influence of the King's interest and his money. But when the senate, from a sense of guilt, dreaded the resentment of the people; Numidia and Italy were appointed as provinces for the ensuing Consuls, according to the Sempronian law: P. Scipio Nasica, and L. Bestia Calpurnius, are chosen Consuls; Numidia fell to Calpurnius, Italy to Scipio. and then an army, to be transported into Africa, is levied: money, and other things, that were necessary for the war, are voted.

XXVIII. But Jugurtha, upon receiving the news of this contrary to his expectation, as who had been full of a persuasion, that all things were to be sold at Rome; dispatches away his son, and with him two of his confidants, as ambassadors to the senate: and instructs them, as he had done those, whom he sent after the murder of Hi-

2. *Lege Sempronio*] The author of this law was C. Sempronius Gracchus, Tribune of the Commons, A.U. 630. It ordained, that, before the annual *comitia* for chusing the Consuls, the senate should determine what were to be the consular provinces, or which two provinces the new Consuls were to have: and these the Consuls, without consulting the senate, divided betwixt them by lot, or otherwise, if they thought proper.

Qui postquam Romam adventabant; senatus à Bestia consultus: PLACE-RETNE LEGATOS JUGURTHÆ RECIPI MOENIBUS. iique decrevere: “nisi regnum, ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus [proximis] decem Italiâ decederent.” Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nunciari jubet. ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat sibi homines nobilis, factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quæ deliquisset, munita fore sperabat: in quibus fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu suprâ memoravimus. Nam in Consule nostro multæ bonæque artes animi et corporis erant: quas omnis avaritia præpediebat. patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium, atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvectæ. Igitur Calpurnius initio, paratis commeatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus

emphal, to accost every body with money. After they arrived at Rome; the senate was consulted by Bestia: to know whether it was their pleasure the ambassadors of Jugurtha should be admitted into the city. and they voted: “that, unless they were come to surrender the kingdom and himself too, they should be gone out of Italy within ten days [next to come.]” The Consul orders report to be made to the Numidians, according to the resolve of the senate. so they went home without doing any business. In the meantime Calpurnius, having raised an army, chuses for his lieutenant-generals noblemen of great interest in their party, under whose authority, he hoped, those things would be sheltered, which he might do amiss: amongst whom was Scaurus, of whose character and temper we spoke above. For in our Consul were many and excellent endowments both of mind and body: all which covetousness very much marred the exercise of. he was able to endure fatigue, of a penetrating judgment, abundance of foresight, not unskilled in war, and very much upon his guard against dangers and stratagems. Now the legions were carried thro’ Italy to Rhegium, and from thence to

XXVIII. *Recipi mœnibus*] The Romans did not admit the ambassadors of every prince or state to enter their city; and therefore there was a *villa publica* erected without the walls, for the reception of such as they did not incline to confer this honour upon; and sometimes too the senate gave them a hearing in the temple of Bellona, which was also without the city.

est, multos mortalis, et urbis aliquot pugnando capit.

necessaries, briskly entered Numidia, takes a great many prisoners, and several towns by dint of sword.

XXIX. Sed ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecuniâ tentare, bellicque, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere cœpit; animus æger avaritiâ facilè conversus est. Ceterùm socius et administer omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus: qui tametsi à principio, plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, accerrimè Regem impugnaverat; tamen magnitudine pecuniæ à bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primum tantummodò bellimoram redimebat, existumans, sese aliquid interim Romæ pretio, aut gratiâ effecturum: postea verò quàm participem negotiû Scaurum acceperat; in maximam spem adductus recuperandæ pacis, statuit cum eis de omnibus actionibus præsens agere. Ceterùm interea, fidei causâ, mittitur à Consule Sextius Quæstor in oppidum Jugurthæ vagam: cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palè legatis imperave-

Sicily, and from Sicily to Africa. Whereupon Calpurnius at first, after having provided

XXIX. But when Jugurtha begun by his agents to tempt him with money, and to represent the difficulty of the war which he was carrying on; his mind infected with avarice was easily altered. But Scaurus is taken in as partner and assistant in all his measures: who, tho' at first, when most of his party had been corrupted, he had opposed the King most violently; yet, by the vastness of the bribe, was drawn aside from integrity and honour to the knavish course. But Jugurtha at first purchased only a suspension of the war, expecting, he would effect something in the meantime at Rome by money, or interest: but after he found Scaurus was concerned in the affair, being raised to the highest expectation of regaining peace, he resolved to treat with them in person about every article. But in the mean time, by way of security, Sextius the Quæstor is sent by the Consul to Vaga, a town belonging to Jugurtha: for which conduct the pretence was the receiving of corn, which Calpurnius had publicly ordered the deputies to furnish: because there was now a truce till a surrender should be made. Whereupon the King, as he had passioned,

XXIX. 1. *Fidei causâ*] Fidei faciendæ causâ; ut Jugurtha fidem haberet Belliæ, missus Sextius Quæstor quasi obfes in oppidum Jugurthæ.

2. *Vagam*] This town is in good authors also frequently called *Vacca*.

rat:

rat: quoniam deditionis morâ induciæ agitabantur. Igitur Rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit: ac pauca, præsentis consilio, locutus de invidia facti, atque in deditionem uti acciperetur; reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secretatransigit: dein postero die, quasi per saturam exquisitis sententiis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed, uti pro consilio imperatum, elephantum triginta, pecus atque equi multi, cum parvo argenti pondere, Quæstori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur.

In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXX. Postquam res in Africa gestas, quoque modo actæ forent fama divulgavit; Romæ per omnis locos et conventus de facto

came to the camp: and having spoke a few things, in presence of a council of war, concerning the odium of his fact, and begged that he might be admitted to a surrender; he treated about other things in private with Bestia and Scaurus: and then the day after, the votes being taken as it were by the lump, he is admitted to a surrender. But, as had been ordered in presence of the council, thirty elephants, plenty of cattle and horses, with a small quantity of silver, are delivered up to the Quæstor. Calpurnius sets out for Rome, to the election of the new magistrates. All was quiet in Numidia and our army.

XXX. After same had blazed abroad the affairs transacted in Africa, and in what manner they had been managed; the conversation turned, in all places and com-

3. *Deditionis morâ*] Per moram, quam faciebat deditio, h. e. quod vulgò dicunt *penlente deditione*.

4. *Quasi per saturam*] *Satura* is an adjective, and signifies full; the substantive understood is *lanx*, a platter or charger; and *satura lanx* particularly signifies the platter or charger, which was once a-year filled with all sorts of fruits, and offered to the gods, as the *primitiæ* or first-fruits of the season. From this medley or mixture of fruits in the charger, the phrase *per saturam* is used to denote whatever is various, manifold, or confused; and *per saturam sententias exquirere*, signifies a collecting of votes in a confused manner; such as happens when the members are neither called by name, nor the voices marked or numbered; but when the suffrages are given promiscuously, indistinctly, without any order observed, and as it were all at once, or by the lump.

5. *Ad magistratus rogandos*] This way of speaking flows from the manner in which the election was carried on, which was by asking the votes of the people. The words were *velitis, jubetis,—rogo, Qui-rites*. One of the Consuls sat præses at the election, and Bestia was now under the greater necessity of being at Rome for this purpose, because Scipio the other Consul was dead.

Consulis agitari: apud plebem gravis invidia; Patres, probarentne tantum flagitium, an deeretum Consulis subverterent, parum constabat. Ac maxumè eos potentia Seauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiæ ferebatur, à vero, bono impediēbat. At C. Memmius, ejus de libertate ingenii et odio potentiae nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senati, concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari: monere, ne rempublicam, ne libertatem suam deferrent: multa superba, crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere: prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed quoniam eā tempestate Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit; decere existumavi, unam ex tam multis orationem perferibere: ac potissimum, quæ in concione post reditum Bestiæ hujusemodi verbis differuit.

XXXI. "Multa dehortantur à vobis, Quirites,

panies at Rome, upon the behaviour of the Consul: among the commons there was heavy indignation; the Fathers were in doubts, whether they should ratify so vile a piece of conduct, or make void the Consul's deed. And especially the power of Scaurus diverted them from truth and justice, because he was said to be Bestia's adviser and associate. But C. Memmius, concerning whose free manner, and spite against the power of the nobility, we spoke above, during the hesitation and delays of the senate, by harangues pushed on the populace to revenge; admonished them not to desert the public cause, nor their own liberty: pointed out many insolent and cruel doings of the nobility: and with the utmost application by all methods inflamed the spirits of the commons. But since at that time the eloquence of Memmius was in great esteem, and of mighty influence; I have thought proper to copy out one speech of so many: and above all others, that which he delivered in an assembly, after the return of Bestia, in the following words.

XXXI. "Many things, O Romans, discourage me from ap-
ni

XXX. *Ac potissimum, quæ*] This sentence may be thus supplied, *ac potissimum perferibam, quæ*; or rather, *ac potissimum decere existumavi perferibere, quæ, &c.* Sallust, respecting the sense rather than the word *orationem*, uses *quæ* in the neuter gender, as of a general import, and not *quum*. We may understand as an antecedent, *ea, verba*, or some such word.

XXXI. I. *Quirites*] Some derive this name from *quiris*, which, in the Sabine language, say they, signifies a spear; and hence Mars was called

nſt ſtadium reipublicæ omnia ſuperet: opes factionis, veſtra patientia, juſ nullum; ac maxumè, quòd innocentix plus periculi, quàm honoris, eſt. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis xv. quàm ludibrio fueritis ſuperbiæ paucorum; quàm fœdè quàmque inulti perierint veſtri defenſores; ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque ſecordia corruptus ſit: qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxiis inimicis, exſurgitis; atque etiam nunc timetis, quibus decet terrori eſſe. Sed quamquàm hæc talia ſunt: tamen obviàm ire factionis potentiæ animus ſubigit. certè ego libertatem, quæ mihi à parente tradita eſt, experiar: verùm id fruſtra, an ob rem faciam, in veſtra manu ſitum, Quirites. Neque ego hor- tor, quod ſæpe majores veſtri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatiſ. Nihil vi, nihil ſeſſione opus: neceſſe eſt, ſuomet ipſi more præcipiteſ eant. Oc-

pearing on your ſide, did not my zeal for the public intereſt ſurmount every thing: I mean the power of the faction of the nobility, your tame ſubmiſſion, no juſtice to be had; and above all, that honeſty has more danger than honour attending it. For indeed it galls me to relate; how theſe fifteen years you have been a ſport to the arrogance of a few; how baſely, and how unrevenge'd your patrons have periſhed; how your courage is deſtroyed by ſloth and indolence: who ſtir not in your own defence, even now, when your enemies are at your mercy, and even yet are afraid of thoſe, to whom it becomes you to be a terror. But tho' theſe things be ſo: yet my mind prompts me to make a ſtand againſt the power of faction. at leaſt I will uſe the liberty, that has been bequeathed to me by my father: but, O Romans; it lies in your power, whether I ſhall do it in vain, or to advantage. I do not adviſe, what your forefathers often did, to riſe in arms againſt the injuſtice done you. There is no occaſion for violence, or ſeparation: they muſt needs go to ruin by their own

called *Quirinus*, i. e. *hæſtatus*. Romulus, his ſuppoſed ſon, got the ſame name, and the Romans were called *Quirites*. But others, with a greater ſhew of probability, ſay, that Romulus, upon his union with Tatius, and the Sabines coming to dwell in Rome, did, to prevent animoſities among his citizens, on account of their being of different nations, aſſume to himſelf the name of *Quirinus*; and called all the people *Quirites*, borrowing the word from *Cures*, the chief city in the country of the Sabines. In much the ſame manner, and for the like reaſon, the Scots and Engliſh were by King James VI. upon his being made King of England, called by the common name of *Britons*, and their countries denominated *South and North Briton*.

ciso Tiberio Gracco, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quæstiones habitæ sunt. Post C. Gracci et M. Fulvii cædem, item multi vestri ordinis in carcere necati sunt: utriusque cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit. Sed sanè fuerit regni paratio, plebi sua restituere. quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini, ærarium expilari; reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eosdem et summam gloriam, et maxumas divitias esse: tamen hæc talia facinora impunè suscepisse, parum habuere. itaque postremò leges, majestas vestra, divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui fecere, pudet aut pœnitet: sed incedunt per ora vestra magnificè; sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes: perinde quasi honori, non prædæ habeant. Servi ære parati imperia injusta dominorum non perferunt: vos, Quirites, imperio nati, æquo animo servitutem toleratis. At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupare? homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, im-

way. After Tiberius Graccus was slain, who, they said, had a design upon the sovereignty, inquiries were made upon the commons of Rome. After the murder of C. Graccus and M. Fulvius, many persons of your rank likewise were put to death in prison: and not law, but their pleasure put an end to both calamities. But let it be indeed an aiming at sovereign power, to restore to the people what is their own. whatever cannot be punished without the bloodshed of citizens, let it be done according to law. For some years past you have been filled with silent indignation at the treasury's being pillaged; that kings and free nations paid tribute to a few noblemen; that both the highest dignity and greatest wealth were in the hands of the same persons: yet they esteemed it a small matter to have committed such facts as these with impunity. wherefore at last the laws, your majesty, and all things divine and human were delivered up to enemies. Nor are they, who did it, ashamed of it, or sorry for it: but strut in state before your faces; priding in their sacred dignities and consulships, and some in their triumphs: as if indeed they looked upon them as their honour, and not as pillage. Slaves purchased with money do not bear with the unreasonable orders of their masters: and you, O Romans, born to dominion, endure slavery with a patient mind. But who are these, that have seized
mani

mani avaritiâ, nocentissu-
mi, idemque superbissu-
mi; quâs fides, decus, pi-
etas, postremò honesta at-
que inhonesta omnia quæ-
stui sunt. Pars eorum oc-
cidisse tribunos plebis; a-
lii quæstiones injustas; ple-
rique eadem in vos fecisse,
pro munimento habent.
Ita quàm quisque pessumè
fecit, tam maxumè tutus
est. metum à scelere suo
ad ignaviam vestram trans-
tulere: quos omnis eadem
cupere, eadem odisse, ea-
dem metuere in unum co-
ëgit. sed hæc inter bonos
amicitia est, inter malos
factio. Quòd si tam liber-
tatis curam haberetis, quàm
illi ad dominationem ac-
censi sunt; profectò ne-
que res publica, sicuti
nunc, vastaretur; et bene-
ficia vestra penes optumos,
non audacissimos, forent.
Majores vestri, parandi ju-
ris et majestatis consti-
tuendæ gratiâ, bis, per se-
cessionem, armati Aventi-
num occupavere: vos pro
libertate, quam ab illis
accepistis, non summâ ope
nitemini? atque eò vehe-
mentius, quòd majus de-
decus est, parta amittere,
quàm omnino non para-
visse. Dicit aliquis. Quid

*upon the public management? most
wicked wretches, of bloody hands,
insatiable covetousness, most guilt-
ty, and very insolent too; to whom
faith, honour, piety, and in short
every thing honourable and dis-
honourable, is a way of making
money. Part of them esteem as
their security their having but-
chered the tribunes of the com-
mons; others their unjust prose-
cutions; and most of them their
having made havock among you.
Thus the worse any one has be-
haved, so much the more safe he
is. they have shifted off the fear
which ought to have followed
from their own crimes, and left
it to your cowardly dispositions:
all whom their coveting the same
things, hating the same things,
and fearing the same things, has
united into one interest. now this
amongst good men is friendship,
amongst the wicked combination.
But if you were as much concerned
for your liberty, as they are fired
with inclination to despotic power;
to be sure the public would not
be preyed upon, as now it is;
and your favours would be in the
possession of the best men, not the
most assuming. Your forefathers
twice in arms seized upon the A-
ventine mount, by way of se-
cession, in order to assert their
right and establish their authority:
and will not you exert yourselves
with the utmost vigour in defence*

2. *Ad ignaviam vestram transtulere*] Sceleribus alioquin metus con-
junctus est; sed illi homines desinunt timere, postquam scelera scele-
ribus addendo, quæ vos per ignaviam non vindicatis, vobis formido-
losi facti sunt.

igitur

igitur censes? vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempublicam: non manu, neque vi; quod magis fecisse, quam illis accidisse indignum; verum quæstionibus et iudicio ipsius Jugurthæ. qui si dediticius est, profectò jussis vestris obediens erit: sin ea contemnit; scilicet existumabitis, qualis illa pax, aut deditio, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumæ divitiæ, in rempublicam damna, dedecora pervenerint. Nisi fortè nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa, quàm hæc tempora, magis placent, cùm regna, provinciæ, leges, jura, judicia, bella, paces; postremò 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 vestrùm recusare audebat? Atque ego tamen etsi viro flagitiosissimum exilimo impune injuriam accepisse; tamen vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, æquo animo paterer, nisi misericordia in perniciem casura esset.

of that liberty, which you have received from them? and that the more keenly, because it is a greater disgrace to lose what has been acquired, than not to have acquired it at all. Some one will say, What then do you advise? I answer, punishment should be inflicted on those, who have betrayed the republic to the enemy: not by force, nor violence; which were more dishonourable to do, than for them to meet with; but by a legal prosecution, and the evidence of Jugurtha himself. who, if he has surrendered in good earnest; doubtless will be obedient to your orders: but if he slight them; you will thereby judge what kind of peace, or surrender that is, by which impunity for horrid crimes has accrued to Jugurtha, immense riches to a few grandees, loss and infamy to the republic. Unless perhaps a disgust at their tyranny does not even yet possess you, and former times please more than the present, when kingdoms, provinces, laws, rights, judicial trials, war and peace; in short every thing divine and human were at the disposal of a few: and you, that is, the people of Rome, invincible to enemies, and rulers of all nations, thought it sufficient to have life. for really who of you durst refuse slavery? And tho' I think it highly dishonourable for a man to have received ill usage without revenge; yet I could bear with an easy mind your pardoning the most wicked wretches, because they are fellow-citizens, if the

Nam

Nam et illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est, impune malè fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur: et vobis æterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum intelletis, aut serviundum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem, aut concordie quæ spes? Dominari illi volunt; vos liberi esse: facere illi injurias; vos prohibere: postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus; hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam divorfis mentibus pax, aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque, ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non peculatus ærarii factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptæ pecuniæ: quæ quamquam gravia; tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrimo prodita senatus auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum: domi militiæque res publica venalis fuit. Quæ nisi quæsitæ erunt, non vindicatum in noxios; quid reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obediens vivamus? nam

compassion were not to issue in your destruction. For both it is a small matter for them, as they are obstinate in their conduct, to have done ill actions with impunity, unless the power of doing the like afterwards be taken from them: and for you perpetual uneasiness will remain, when you shall find, that either you must be slaves, or your liberty maintained by force. For indeed what hope is there of preserving faith or good agreement? They design to lord it over you; you to be free: they to do mischief; you to hinder it: in fine, they treat your allies as enemies; and your enemies as allies. Can peace or friendship exist in minds so differently disposed? Wherefore I advise and beseech you, not to pass such villany unpunished. It is not a robbing of the treasury that is committed, nor money extorted from your allies by violence: which, though grievous things; yet now by custom pass for trifles. The authority of the senate has been betrayed to your most virulent enemy, your mighty power has been betrayed: the commonwealth has been set to sale both at home and abroad. Which things unless they shall be inquired into, unless vengeance be taken on the guilty; what remains but to live in subjection to those who did

3. *Quantum importunitatis habent*] Mireris, obscuram fuisse hanc formulam interpretibus, cum jam nostrâ ætate frequententur: quæ est modestia, quæ mea liberalitas, et quæ sunt similia. Dictum itaque pro eo, quod esset: pro ea, quæ sunt, importunitate, ut Plinius l. epist. 15. Audisses comædum, vel lectorem, vel lyristen, vel, quæ mea liberalitas, omnes. Importunitatem vocant impotentiam, et libidinosam audaciam.

impune

impunè quæ libet facere, id est regem esse. Neque ego, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis civis vestros perperam, quàm rectè fecisse; sed ne, ignoscendo malis, bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc in republica multò præstat beneficii, quàm maleficii immemorem esse. bonus tantum modò segnior fit, ubi negligas; at malus improbior. Ad hoc si injuriæ non sint, haud sæpe auxilii egeas."

XXXII. Hæc atque alia hujuscemodi sæpe dicundo, Memmius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum Prætor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur, interpositâ fide publicâ, Romam duceret; quò faciliùs indicio Regis, Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ arcessiebant, delicta patefierent. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, qui in Numidia relictî à Bestia exercitui præerant, secuti morem imperatoris, plurima et flagitiosissima facinora fecere. Fuere, qui auro corrupti elephantos Jugurthæ traderent; alii perfugas vendere; pars ex

them? for to do with impunity what one pleases, is to be a king. I do not advise, gentlemen, that you wish rather your fellow-citizens may have acted amiss than right; but that you may not pave the way for ruining honest men by pardoning villains. Besides, it is much better, in a government, to be unmindful of a favour, than of an injury. a good man becomes only more careless, when you overlook him; but a rogue the more wicked. Moreover, if there be no offences, you will not often need assistance."

XXXII. By often inculcating these and other things of this kind; Memmius prevails with the people, that L. Cassius, who at that time was Pretor, should be sent to Jugurtha, and, by engaging the public faith for his security, bring him to Rome; that the misconduct of Scaurus and the rest, whom they accused of taking bribes, might be made appear more easily by the king's evidence. Whilst these things are doing at Rome, those left in Numidia by Bestia to command the army, following the example of their general, were guilty of very many and very scandalous miscarriages. There were some, who being bribed with gold delivered back the elephants to Jugurtha; others

4. *Si injuriæ non sint, &c.*] By punishing bad men you deter and restrain them from doing mischief or committing injuries; and if injuries be not committed, you will seldom need the assistance of good men for your defence or protection, and will consequently be under small obligations to heap favours upon them for their services.

XXXII. 1. *Ex pacatis*] Intellige regionibus.

pacatis

pacatis prædas agebant. tanta vis avaritiæ in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaierat. At Cassius, perlatâ rogatione à C. Memmio, ac percussâ omnino nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur; ei timido et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis persuadet: “quò se populo Romano dedidisset, ne vim, quàm misericordiam, experiri mallet.” Privativam præterea fidem suam interponit, quàm ille non minoris, quàm publicam ducebat. talis eâ tempestate fama de Cassio. *such was the character of Cassius at that time.*

XXXIII. Igitur Jugurtha, contra decus regium, cultu quàm maxime miserabili, cum Cassio Romam venit. Ac tamen etsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentiâ aut scelere cuncta gesserat; C. Bæbium tribunum plebis magnâ mercede parat, cujus impudentiâ contra jus et injurias omnis munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advoca-

sold the deserters; part plundered the countries that were at peace with us. such a fit of avarice, like a plague, had seized upon their spirits. But Cassius, upon passing of the bill preferred by C. Memmius, and whilst all the nobility were struck with consternation, goes over to Jugurtha; and persuades him, though sorely frightened, and from a sense of guilt despairing of his case: “since he had surrendered himself to the Roman people, not to chuse rather to make trial of their power than their clemency.” Besides, he privately engaged his own faith, which Jugurtha valued no less than that of the public. such was the character of Cassius at that time.

XXXIII. Whereupon Jugurtha comes along with Cassius to Rome, with a very sorry equipage, unsuitable to the dignity of a prince. And though he had a large stock of assurance himself, and had been encouraged by all those too, by means of whose power or roguery he had managed the whole affair; yet he gains over C. Bæbium, tribune of the commons, by an immense bribe, that by means of his impudence he might be secured against justice and all harm. But C. Memmius,

2. *Quò se populo]* Quò bene pro quia, quoniam ponitur. See Cat. cap. xxxiv. n. 3.

XXXIII. 1. *Cultu quàm maxime miserabili]* It was an ordinary practice among the Romans, for persons accused and under process to wear mourning habits, or go in a very mean dress, let their hair and beards grow, and by all possible ways express their humility, till their trial was over, in order to move the compassion of the people and their judges: and it was with this view, and in compliance with this custom, that Jugurtha came in such a pitiful plight to Rome.

tâ concione, quamquàm Regi infesta plebes erat, et pars “in vincula duci” jubebat, pars “nî focios sceleris aperiret, more majorum, de hoste supplicium sumi;” dignitati, quàm iræ magis consulens, sedare motus, et animos mollire; postremò confirmare, “fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore.” pòst, ubi silentium cœpit, producto Jugurthâ, verba facit: “Romæ Numidiæque facinora ejus” memorat; “scelera in patrem fratresque” ostendit: “quibus juvantibus quibusque ministris egerit, quamquàm intellegat populus Romanus; tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere: si vera aperiret, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam: sin reticeat, non fociis saluti fore; sese suasque spes corrupturum.”

having called an assembly, though the people were enraged against the King, and part were for ordering him “to be clapt in chains,” part “that capital punishment should be inflicted on him as an enemy, according to the usage of their ancestors, unless he discovered the associates of his villany;” yet Memmius, I say, having a regard to honour rather than their rage, allayed their tumults and calmed their spirits; declaring finally, “that the public faith should be inviolate to the utmost of his power.” afterward, when silence took place, having brought Jugurtha before them, he makes a speech: recounts “his wicked intrigues at Rome and in Numidia;” sets forth “his unnatural behaviour towards his father and his brothers: told him, that though the Roman people knew by whose assistance and by what instruments he had acted; yet they inclined to have a more evident discovery from himself: that if he should discover the truth, there would be great hope for him in the honour and clemency of the Roman people: if he smothered it, that it would not save his associates; but he would ruin himself and blast his hopes.”

XXXIV. Dein, ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est. C. Bæbius tribunus plebis, quem pecuniâ corruptum supra

XXXIV. Afterward, when Memmius made an end of speaking, and Jugurtha was ordered to give his answer, C. Bæbius, tribune of the commons, who we said above had been corrupted by

2. *Per sese inviolatam fore*] Sese curaturum, ut, quantum in se sit, quantum ipse persicere queat, fides publica maneat inviolata.

diximus, Regem tacere jubet: ac tamen etsi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, sæpe impetu atque aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat: vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex concione discessit: Jugurthæ Bestiæque et ceteris, quos illa quæstio exagibat, animi augefunt.

XXXV. Eâ erat tempestate Romæ Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Guluffæ filius, Masinissæ nepos: qui, quia, in diffensionc Regum, Jugurthæ adversus fuerat; deditâ Cirtâ et Adherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rûfo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissæ sit, Jugurtham ob scelera invidia cum metu urgeat; regnum Numidiæ ab senatu petat. Avidus Consul belli gerundi, movere, quàm senescere omnia malebat. ipsi provincia Numidia; Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quæ postquam Massiva agitare cœpit, neque Jugurthæ in amicis satis

a bribe; commands the King to be silent; and tho' the people, who were present in the assembly, being mightily enraged, endeavour'd to daunt him with shouts, looks, often with violence and every other thing that passion prompts to do: yet his impudence prevailed. The people, after being thus fooled, retired from the assembly: courage revives to Jugurtha and Bestia, and others, whom that process vexed.

XXXV. There was at that time a certain Numidian at Rome, by name Massiva, the son of Gulussa, and grandson of Masinissa: who, because, in the quarrel betwixt the kings, he had been against Jugurtha, when Cirta was surrendered and Adherbal put to death, had fled out of Africa. Sp. Albinus, who, the next year after Bestia, was Consul with Q. Minucius Rufus, persuades him, since he was of the family of Masinissa, and since popular odium, with fear on account of horrid crimes, bore hard upon Jugurtha, to make his suit to the senate for the kingdom of Numidia. The Consul, fond of having the management of a war, rather inclined to blow the coal, than have all to die away. the province of Numidia had fallen to his lot; Macedonia to Minucius. Which after Massiva begun to stir in, and there not being sufficient

XXXIV. Terrebat eum] Scil. Bæbium.

XXXV. 1. Ob scelera invidia cum metu] h. e. et quoniam Jugurtham et invidia et metus urgeat; dum non modò invidus sit Romanis, sed ipse etiam tement.

præsidii est: quòd eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor impediēbat: Bomilcari, proximo ac maxumè fido sibi, imperat, "pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivæ paret, ac maxumè occultè: sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat." - Bomilcar maturè Regis mandata exsequitur: et per homines talis negotii artifices itinera egressusque ejus, postremò loca atque tempora cuncta explorat: deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad cædem parati, paullo inconsultius Massivam adgreditur, illum obtruncat: sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus et inprimis Albino Consule, indicium profitetur. Fit reus magis ex æquo bono-

protection for Jugurtha in his friends: because a sense of guilt restrained some of them, a bad character and fear others: he orders Bomilcar, a great favourite and heartily in his interest, "to hire ruffians against Massiva, with a piece of money, the way he had accomplished many things, and murder him privately if possible: but if that did not succeed, to take off the Numidian by any method." Bomilcar quickly executes the King's orders: and, by fellows well versed in such sort of work, watches his motions and outgoings, and at last his haunts and all his hours: and afterward, when the matter was ripe, lays the trap. Whereupon one of that number, who had been hired to the assassination, a little too inconsiderately attacks Massiva, and murders him: but he being apprehended makes a discovery, manly pressing him to it, and especially Albinus the Consul. Bo-
que,

2. *Proximo ac maxumè fido*] Proximi sunt intimi, quod de regibus et principibus frequenter dicitur. Sic proximi amicorum, Tacit. VI. Ann. cap. xxvi. Dicitur etiam de sanguine conjunctis, ut apud C. Nep. Agesil. cap. i. *Qui proximus esset propinquitate.*

3. *Ac maxumè occultè*] Noster insidias et insidiatores cum effectu intelligit, ita ut intelligat cædem, quam per insidias intenderat.

4. *Paullo inconsultius*] These words import his being a little too rash or forward, and not waiting till an opportunity offered of cutting off Massiva privately; for this murder appears to have been committed in a pretty open manner, and accordingly we see the murderer is immediately apprehended.

5. *Indicium profitetur*] Non est fateri, se indicaturum, ut multi interpretantur; sed re ipsâ indicare, quod sit subornatus à Bomilcare in cædem Massivæ. Tacit. VI. Ann. cap. iii. *Et summum supplicium decernebatur, ni professus indicium foret.*

6. *Fit reus magis ex æquo bonoque, &c.*] *Æquum* denotes that which is just and reasonable in itself, and *bonum* that which conduces to public

quæ, quàm ex jure gentium, Bomilcar; comes ejus, qui Romam fide publicâ venerat. At Jugurtha, manifestus tanti sceleris, non prius omisit contra verum niti, quàm animum advortit, supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquàm in priorè actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat; regno magis, quàm vadibus consulens, clàm in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit: veritus, ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumtum fo-

milcar, an attendant on him, who had come to Rome upon the public faith, is impeached rather according to equity and justice, than by the law of nations. But Jugurtha, though evidently guilty of so great a wickedness, did not give over to wrangle against the truth, till he perceived the odium of the fact was beyond his interest and his money. Wherefore, tho' in the former step of this process he had given fifty of his friends as bail for Bomilcar's appearance; yet minding his kingdom more than his bail, he sends off Bomilcar privately into Numidia: being afraid, lest fear to obey him might seize the rest of his subjects, if

blic utility, or to the security, interest, felicity, and honour of society. By *aquum bonumque* then we may understand the law of nature, which is equally binding in all countries; and by *jura gentium*, the usages established betwixt nations by mutual consent or long custom.

7. *Animum advortit*] This separate way of writing these words was constantly practised by the ancients; but the modern writers contract them into *animadvorto* or *animadverto*. Sallust sometimes writes them separately, as here and in cap. lxi. and xciii. and sometimes contracts them into *animadvorto*, as in cap. xlviii. l. liii. lviii. and lx.

8. *In priorè actione*] *Actio* here signifies an action in law, or a process before a court, which consisted of several parts; such as, 1. The summoning or citing the offending person to the court at the instance of the *actor* or *plaintiff*; and this they called *in jus vocare*. 2. The *accusatio*, or impeaching of him before the judges. After this a day was appointed for the trial; and then came on, 3. The *defensio*, or exculpation offered by the *reus*, or accused person, for his own vindication. 4. The *disceptatio causæ*, or pleading of the lawyers on both sides. 5. The *latio sententiæ*, or pronouncing of sentence. See Kennett, III. cap. xvi. xviii. xix. and xx. *In priorè actione* does not signify in a former process, but in the former part of this process; as the phrase *in summa arborè* does not signify upon a very high tree, but upon the top or highest part of the tree. See cap. cvii. n. 1.

9. *Vades dederat*] These *vades* were sureties or cautioners, who, at Jugurtha's request, to save Bomilcar, upon his being impeached, from going to prison, became bail, or engaged themselves under a penalty, he should appear, and answer at his trial.

ret. Et ipse paucis diebus profectus est, jussus ab senatu Italiâ decedere. Sed postquam Româ egressus est, fertur sæpe eo tacitus respiciens, postremò dixisse: URDEM VENALEM ET MATURE PERITURAM, SI EMTOREM INVENERIT.

XXXVI. Interim Albinus, renovato bello, commeatum, stipendium, alia, quæ militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haud longè aberat, armis, aut deditioe, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contrà Jugurtha trahere omnia, et alias, deinde alias moræ causas facere: polliceri deditiorem, ac deinde metum simulare: instanti cedere, et paullo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modò, modò pacis morâ Consulem ludificare. Ac fure, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii Regis existimarent; neque ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum secordiâ magis, quàm dolo crederent. Sed postquam, dilapso tempore, comitorum dies adventabat; Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris pro Prætoris relicto, Romam decessit.

capital punishment should be inflicted on him. And in a few days after he went off himself, being ordered by the senate to depart out of Italy. But after he was got out of Rome, often looking back to it without speaking, he is reported at last to have said: That the city was to be sold, and would soon be ruined, if it found a chapman.

XXXVI. In the mean time Albinus, upon renewing the war, makes all dispatch to transport into Africa provisions, money, and other things that were necessary for the soldiers, and went forth with himself, that he might finish the war by force of arms, or surrender, or by any other means, before the elections, which time was not far off. But on the other hand Jugurtha retarded all, and contrived now one, and then other methods of putting off the time: would promise a surrender, and then again pretend fear: would fly when the enemy pushed him, and a little after come briskly on, lest his men should be dispirited: thus he befuddled the Consul, by putting off one while the war, another while the peace. And there were some, who at that time thought Albinus was not ignorant of the King's meaning; and could not believe, after so much haste, that the war had been protracted so easily from carelessness, more than from design. But, the time being spent, after the day of election approached; Albinus, leaving his brother Aulus Proprator in the camp, went for Rome. XXXVII.

XXXVII. Eâ tempestate Romæ seditionibus tribuniciiis atrociter res publica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistentibus collegis, continuare magistratum nitebantur: quæ dissensio totius anni comitia impediēbat. Eâ morâ in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro Prætore in castris relictum suprâ diximus, aut conficiendi belli, aut terrore exercitûs ab Rege pecuniæ capiundæ, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat; magnis itineribus, hieme asperâ, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi Regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquàm et sævitiâ temporis, et opportunitate loci, neque capi, neque obfideri poterat: (nam circum murum, situm in prærupti montis extremo, planities limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat): tamen aut simulandi gratiâ, quò Regi formidinem adderet; aut cupidinē cæcus, vineas agere, aggerem jacere, alia, quæ incepto usui forent, properare.

other things that were necessary for his enterprise.

XXXVII. *At that time the commonwealth was hideously imbroiled by contentions among the tribunes at Rome. P. Lucullus and L. Annius, tribunes of the commons, made a struggle to continue in their office, whilst their colleagues opposed it: which dispute marred the elections of the whole year. By this delay, Aulus, who, we said above, had been left Proprætor in the camp, being put in hopes either of finishing the war, or extorting money from the King by the terror of his army, draws the soldiers, in the month of January, out of their winter-quarters upon an expedition; and came by great marches, in a severe season, to the town of Suthul, where the King's treasures were. Which, though it could neither be taken, nor be besieged, both by reason of the roughness of the season, and the advantageous situation of the place: (for the plain being muddy had made with the winter rain a morass round the wall, that was built upon the extremity of a craggy mountain): yet either by way of feint, that he might strike terror into the King; or blinded with covetousness, he erects vineæ, casts up a mount, and quickly prepares*

XXXVII. *Aggerem jacere*] Aggeres were mounts or banks of earth thrown up; and raised to such a height, that they equalled or exceeded the height of the town-walls. From these the soldiers discharged their missile weapons upon the inhabitants, and so protected their own men from their assaults, till they had time to undermine the wall, or beat it down with engines.

XXXVIII. At Jugurtha, cognitâ vanitate atque imperitiâ legati, subdolos augere amentiam: missitare supplicantis legatos: ipse, quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe passionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones sese, veluti cedentem, insequeretur. Interea per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum tentabat: centuriones ducesque turmarum, partim uti transfugerent, [corrumperet]; alii, signo dato, locum uti desererent. ita delicta occultiora fore. Quæ postquam ex sententia instruit; intempestâ nocte, de improvîso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, tumultu perculsi insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars terribitos confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis: vis magna hostium, cælum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum; periculum anceps: postremò fugere, an manere, tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullo antè corruptos dixi-

XXXVIII. But Jugurtha, having found out the weakness and unskilfulness of the lieutenant, craftily improves his madness: sends frequently deputies with submissive messages: he himself, as if on purpose to keep out of his way, would often lead his army thro' places full of woods and by-roads. Finally he so buoyed up Aulus with the hopes of a good bargain, that, quitting Suthul, he followed him into retired parts of the country, as if he had been flying before him. In the mean time, by cunning agents, he was tampering with the army day and night: some centurions and captains of troops, [he bribed] to desert to him; and others to abandon their posts, upon a signal given. thus their treacherous conduct would be the better concealed. Which things after he had prepared to his mind; in the dead of the night, very unexpectedly he surrounds Aulus's camp with a vast number of his Numidians. The Roman soldiers, surprised with the unusual noise, some took to arms, others hid themselves, part encouraged such as were frightened; great consternation there was in all places: a vast multitude of the enemy, the sky dark by reason of night and clouds; danger on all hands: finally, uncertain

XXXVIII. 1. *Ducesque turmarum*] A turma, or-troop, consisted of thirty horses.

2. *Periculum anceps*] *Anceps* periculum vocat duplex illud, et in castris à violentia hostium, et extra castra in fuga, quæ illis minimè tuta erat.

mus, cohors una Ligu- it was, whether it would be
rum, cum duabus turmis safer to fly, or stay still. But of
Thracum, et paucis gre- the number of those, who, we
gariis militibus, transiere said a little before, had been
ad Regem: et centurio bribed, one battalion of Ligu-
primi pili tertiæ legionis rians, with two troops of Thra-
per munitionem, quam, cians, and a few common sol-
uti defenderet, acceperat, diers, went over to the King:
locum hostibus introeun- and a centurion of the first rank
di dedit: eaque Numidæ belonging to the third legion, gave-
cuncti irrupere. Nostri way for the enemy to enter by

3. *Centurio primi pili*] A legion, when drawn up in battle-order, consisted of three lines, placed parallel to, and behind one another, with large spaces of ground, like streets or avenues, between them. The first or foremost of these lines were called the *hastati*, from the spears which they used to fight with. The middle line were the *principes*; so called, because in ancient times, before the institution of the *hastati*, they composed the first line, and began the fight. The third or last line were the *triarii*; so called from their position, as being marshalled in the third rank: they were also called *pilani* or *pilarii*, from their weapons the *pila*. Now, each of these lines were divided into ten *manipuli*; and three *manipuli*, viz. one out of the *hastati*, one out of the *principes*, and one out of the *triarii*, made a cohort: by this means the legion consisted of ten cohorts. Each *manipulus* had a commanding officer, called a *Centurion*; and sometimes two, who, according to their dignity or place of honour, were denominated *primus*, *secundus*, *tertius*, &c. Thus the first or chief centurion among the *hastati* was named *Primus hastatus*, and the next in dignity to him *Secundus hastatus*, &c. The first among the *principes* was called *Primus princeps*, and the next *Secundus princeps*, &c. In like manner, the first among the *triarii* or *pilani* was denominated *Primus pilus* or *Primipilus*, or *Centurio primi pili*, and the next *Secundus pilus*, &c. And as the order of the *triarii* was more honourable than that of the *principes*, and the *principes* than the *hastati*, it naturally followed, that the *centurio primi pili* was superior to all the centurions in the legion. This officer, besides his name of *Primipilus*, was known by several other honourable titles, as *Dux legionis*, *Prefectus legionis*, *Primus centurio*, and *Primus centurionum*. He had the care of the eagle or chief standard of the legion; and hence *aquile præfesse*, is to bear the dignity of *Primipilus*. Nor was this station only honourable, but also profitable, for he had an extraordinary *stipendium* allowed him: hence Juven. Sat. xiv. v. 197. *Ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus Afferat*. When he left the service, he was reputed equal to one of the *equestrian* order, and bore the title of *Primipilarius*; as those who had discharged the highest offices of the state, were styled ever after *Consulares*, *Censorii*, *Prætorii*, *Quæstorii*, and *Ædilitii*. The rod called *vitis* was not peculiar to the *Primipilus*, but common with him to all the centurions, as being the badge of their office; and hence *vitem poscere*, signifies to sue for a centurion's place or post.

scædâ fugâ, plerique abjectis armis, proximum collem occupavere. Nox atque præda castrorum hostes, quò minus victoriâ uterentur, remorata sunt. Dein Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: "tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame, ferro clausum tenet: tamen se humanarum rerum memorem; si secum foris faceret, incolumis omnis sub jugum missurum: præterea, uti diebus decem Numidiâ decederet." Quæ quamquàm gravia et flagitii plena erant; tamen, quia mortis metu mutabant, sicuti Regi libuerat, pax convenit.

Which terms, though they were hard and full of disgrace; yet, because they had them in exchange for the terror of death, the peace was agreed to, as the King thought fit.

XXXIX. Sed ubi ea Romæ comperta sunt, metus atque mœror civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloria imperii: pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxumè qui bello sæpe præclari fuerant; quòd armatus dedecore potius, quàm ma-

that part of the rampart which he had got to defend: and at it all the Numidians poured in. Our men by a shameful flight, most of them throwing away their arms, got up to a neighbouring hill. Night and the plunder of the camp hindered the enemy from making a proper use of their victory. After this Jugurtha, in a conference with Aulus, the day following told him: "that though he had him with his army hemmed in by famine and the sword: yet he was mindful of the uncertainty of human affairs; and, if he would conclude a treaty with him, would dismiss them all, after making them pass under the yoke, without harm: and further, that within ten days he should depart out of Numidia."

XXXIX. But when these things were known at Rome, fear and sorrow overspread the city: some were in pain for the honour of the empire: some, unacquainted with the business of war, were in fears for their liberty: all were in a rage at Aulus, and especially those who had made a figure often in the wars; because when armed he

4. *Sub jugum missurum*] This *jugum* or yoke was two spears stuck in the ground, with one laid across at the top, like a gallows. It was a custom in these times for the conqueror to make the vanquished pass under it disarmed, by way of ignominy, and in token of their subjection. Florus, l. cap. xi. ascribes this invention to L. Quinctius, who was taken from his plough, made Dictator, and went against the enemy; whom he conquered, and used in this manner, as if they had been cattle.

nu, salutem quæfiverat. Ob ea Consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam, ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de fœdere consulebat. et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere: ab fociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcessere: denique modis omnibus festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, SUO ATQUE POPULI INJUSU NULLUM POTUISSE FOEDUS FIERI. Consul impeditus à tribunis plebis ne, quas paraverat, copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur. nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidiâ deductus, in provincia hiebat. Postquam eò venit: quamquàm persequi Jugurtham et mederi fraternæ invidiæ animus ardebat; cognitis militibus, quos præter fugam, soluto imperio, licentia atque lascivia corruperat, ex copia rerum statuit, nihil sibi agitandum.

slack discipline, had debauched, he resolved on doing nothing, in this state of affairs.

XL. Interea Romæ C. Mamilius Limetanus tribuni plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat, “ uti quæreretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha

had purchased safety in a way of dishonour, rather than by the sword. Upon this the Consul Albinus dreading, from the misconduct of his brother, the public odium, and danger thereby, consulted the senate concerning the treaty. and in the mean time however raises recruits for the army: sends for auxiliaries from the allies and people of Latium: and finally by all methods makes great dispatch. The senate, as it was fit, voted, that no treaty could be concluded without theirs and the peoples authority. The Consul being hindered by the tribunes of the commons from carrying with him the forces that he had raised, within a few days goes over to Africa. for all the army, as had been agreed, having been removed out of Numidia, wintered in the province. After he arrived there: though his inclination was fired to go in quest of Jugurtha, and wipe off the odium his brother had occasioned; yet upon reviewing the soldiers, whom, besides the defeat, licence and wantonness, under

XL. In the mean time at Rome C. Mamilius Limetanus, tribune of the commons, prefers a bill to the people, “ to appoint a commission of inquiry for the trial of those, by whose advice

XXXIX. 1. *Ab fociis et nomine Latino*] Socii sunt Italici, extra Latium antiquum positi; nomen Latinum sunt Latini.

2. *Ex copia rerum*] Pro conditione rerum, cum hæc rerum facies esset.

senati

senati decreta negligisset; quique ab eo in legationibus, aut imperiis pecunias accepissent; qui elefantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item qui de pace, aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent." Huic rogationi partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur; occultè per amicos, ac maxumè per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu est, quàm intenta fuerit, quantaque vi rogationem jussit, decreverit, voluerit: magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quàm curâ reipublicæ. tanta lubido in partibus. Igitur ceteris metu perculsis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bætiæ suprâ docuimus, inter lætitiâ plebis, et suorum fugam, trepidâ etiam tum civitate, cum ex Mamiliâ rogatione tres quæsitores rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed quæstio exercita asperè violentè ex rumore, et lubidine plebis. ut sæpe nobi-

Jugurtha had slighted the orders of the senate; and those who in their embassies or generalships had taken money of him; and those who had delivered back the elephants, and deserters; as also those who had made agreements with the enemy concerning peace or war." Some conscious to themselves of guilt, others apprehensive of danger from the odium their party was under, since they could not oppose the bill openly, but were obliged to give out that this and other such things pleased them; privately raised obstructions to it by means of their friends, and especially by the people of Latium and the allies of Italy. But it is incredible to be told, how zealous the commons were, and with what eagerness they ordered, voted, and passed the bill: more out of hatred to the nobility, against whom this mischief was levelled, than from a concern for the public interest. so great was the fury of parties. Whereupon, whilst the rest were struck with terror, M. Scaurus, who, we said above, was a lieutenant-general to Bætia, amidst the exultations of the populace, and the defeat of his own party, the city also at that time being in great disorder, whereas three commissioners were appointed by Mamilius's bill, Scaurus, I say, procured himself to

XL. *Ex rumore*] Prout quisque conscius delictorum famâ ferebatur, ita in eum animadvertebatur.

litatem,

litatem, sic eâ tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat. *be chosen one of that number. But the commission was executed with great severity and violence, in conformity to vulgar report, and the humour of the people. thus at that time insolence seized the populace upon their success, as it often had the nobility.*

XLI. Ceterum mos partium popularium et senati factionum, ac deinde omnium malarum artium paucis ante annis Romæ ortus, otio et abundantia earum rerum, quæ prima mortales ducunt. Nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus placidè modèque inter se rempublicam tractabant: neque gloriæ, neque dominationis certamen inter civis erat: metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi illa formido mentibus discessit; scilicet ea, quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Ita, quod in adversis rebus optaverant, otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque fuit. Namque cœpere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubricum vertere: sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt. respublica, quæ media fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat: plebis vis soluta atque di-

XLI. Now the fashion of popular parties and senate-factions, and all the mischievous practices ensuing, took rise at Rome a few years before, from idleness, and plenty of those things which mankind account the chiefest blessings. For before the destruction of Carthage, the people and senate of Rome managed the public affairs jointly, in harmony and moderation: among the citizens there was contesting neither for dignity, nor superiority; the fear of their enemies kept the city in good behaviour. But when that dread went off their spirits; wantonness and pride, the things, to wit, that prosperity affects, came in fashion. Thus the peace, which they had wished for in adversity, after they got it, was more pernicious and destructive than war itself. For the nobility begun to turn their power, the people their liberty, into licentiousness: every one pilfering, seizing, and snatching for himself. Thus all things were rent betwixt the two parties. the commonwealth, that had been in the middle, was torn to pieces. But the nobility in their party were more prevalent: the power of the com-

superfa,

spersa, in multitudine, minus poterat: paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur: penes eisdem ærarium, provinciæ, magistratus, gloriæ triumphique erant: populus militiâ atque inopiâ urgebatur; prædas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes, aut parvi liberi militum, aut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia, sine modo modestiæque invadere; polluere et vastare omnia; nihil pensi, neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa præcipitavit. Nam ubi primum [ex nobilitate] reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustæ potentie anteponerent; moveri civitas, et permixtio civilis, quasi discessio terræ, oriri cepit.

civil distraction, like a disjoining of the earth, begun to arise.

XLII. Nam postquam Tiberius et C. Graccus, quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum reipublicæ addiderant, vindicare plebem in liberta-

mons being loose and divided, was of less weight, notwithstanding their numbers: affairs were managed in peace and war by the direction of a few: the treasury, provinces, places of power, glory, and triumphs were at the disposal of the same persons: the populace were oppressed by service in the army and by want; the generals, with a few of the grandees, made prize of the spoils of war. In the mean while the parents, or little children of the soldiers, as any of them was neighbour to a person of great interest, were forced from their habitations. Thus avarice in conjunction with power broke in without measure or moderation; ravaging and wasting all; accounting nothing serious or sacred, till it overthrew itself. For so soon as there were found some [among the nobility], who preferred true glory before unjust power; the city was put in a ferment, and

XLII. For after Tiberius and C. Graccus, whose ancestors, in the Carthaginian and other wars, had much advanced the commonwealth, began to assert the liberties of the com-

XLII. 1. *Dispersa, in multitudine, minus poterat*] Hec est MSS. omnium lectio, quam pessimo consilio, et magno sententiæ malo, mutarunt in *atque in multitudine dispersa*: dixit in multitudine, pro quomvis multi essent.

2. *Avaritia sine molo*] Molo is not in Cortius's edition, nor to be found amongst his *errata*; but as it is in all the other editions of Sallust, and not at all taken notice of by Cortius in his notes, we may conclude that it has been left out by mistake; and therefore I have restored it.

tem, et paucorum scelera patefacere cœpere: nobilitas noxia, atque eò percussa, modò per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis à plebe dimoverat, Graccorum actionibus obviam ierat: et primò Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverant. Et sanè Graccis, cupidine victoriæ, haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed bono vinci satius est, quàm malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur eâ victoriâ nobilitas ex lubricine sua usa, multos mortalis ferro aut fugâ extinxit; plusque in reliquum sibi timoris, quàm potentiæ, addidit. Quæ res plerumque magnas civitatis pestem dedit: dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo; et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed de studiis partium et omnibus civitatis moribus si singulationem, aut pro magnitudine parem differere, tempus, quàm res, maturius deferat. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

mons, and to expose the villanies of the few grandes: the nobility being guilty, and therefore under terrible apprehensions, opposed the proceedings of the Gracci, sometimes by means of the allies and people of Latium, sometimes by the Roman knights, whom the hopes of partnership had drawn off from the interest of the commons: and first they cut off by the sword Tiberius, and then, a few years after, Caius entering upon the same course, the one a tribune, the other one of the three commissioners for planting colonies, as also M. Fulvius Flaccus. And indeed the spirit of the Gracci, from a keen desire of success, was not kept under due regulation. But to a good man it is preferable to be baffled, than triumph over ill usage by wicked measures. Wherefore the nobility improving this success, according to their own inclination, destroyed great numbers of men by sword or banishment; and rendered themselves more terrible than powerful for the future. A thing that often has ruined mighty states: whilst the one party endeavours to master the other at any rate, and wreck their vengeance too rigorously upon the vanquished. But if I should propose to descant upon the fury of parties, and all the practices of the city, particularly, or according to their full extent, time would fail me sooner than matter. Wherefore I return to my purpose.

XLIII. Post Auli fœ-

XLIII. After the treaty of

dus exercitusque nostri fœ-
 dam fugam, Q. Metellus
 et M. Silanus Consules de-
 signati [provincias] inter
 se paraverunt: Metelloque
 Numidia cœnauerat, acri
 viro, et quamquàm advor-
 so populû partium, famâ
 tamen æquabili et invio-
 latâ. Is ubi primùm ma-
 gistratum ingressus est, alia
 omnia sibi cum collega ra-
 tus, ad bellum, quod ge-
 sturus erat, animum in-
 tendit. Igitur diffidens
 veteri exercitui, milites
 scribere, præsidia undique
 arcessere: arma, tela, e-
 quos, cetera instrumenta
 militiæ parare: ad hoc
 commeatum affatim: de-
 nique omnia, quæ bello
 vario et multarum rerum
 egentî usui esse solent. Ce-
 terùm ad ea patranda se-
 nati auctoritate socii no-
 menque Latinum, Reges
 ultro auxilia mittere: po-
 stremò omnis civitas sum-
 mo studio adnitebatur.
 Itaque, ex sententia c-
 omnibus rebus paratis com-
 positisque, in Numidiam
 proficiscitur, magnâ spe
 civium, cum propter bo-
 nas artis, tum maxime,
 quòd advorsum divitias a-
 nimum invictum gerebat:
 et avaritiâ magistratum

*Aulus and the scandalous defeat
 of our army, the Consuls elect,
 Q. Metellus and M. Silanus,
 settled [the provinces] betwixt
 themselves: and Numidia fell to
 Metellus, a warm man, and
 though an enemy to the popular
 party, yet of a fair and untaint-
 ed character. As soon as he en-
 tered upon his office, reckoning
 all other things common to him
 with his colleague, he applied
 his thought to the war, which
 he was to carry on. Where-
 fore, putting no great confidence
 in the old army, he levies sol-
 diers, calls in assistance from all
 parts: provides arms, weapons,
 horses, and other implements of
 war: besides, provisions in great
 plenty: and finally, all things
 that use to be of service in a war
 which is to be managed disse-
 rent ways, and needs many things.
 And to help forward the affair,
 the allies and people of Latium
 by authority of the senate, and
 foreign princes of their own
 accord, sent in troops: and fi-
 nally the whole city exerted it-
 self with the utmost vigour.
 Wherefore, all things being pre-
 pared and regulated to his mind,
 he sets out for Numidia, the ci-
 tizens being in great hopes of
 success, as well because of his
 excellent accomplishments, as e-
 specially because he had a soul
 proof against money: and before*

XLIII: 1. *Famâ tamen æquabili*] b. c. æquali apud nobilitatem et
 plebem.

2 *Bello vario* Varium bellum est, quod non uno prælio, aut unâ
 expugnatione conficitur, sed cujus multe sunt formæ.

ante id tempus in Numidia nostræ opes confusæ, hostiumque auctæ erant.

XLIV. Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur Sp. Albinus pro Cōsule, iners, imbellis, neque periculi, neque laboris patiens, linguâ, quàm manu, promptior, prædator ex sociis, et ipse præda hostium, sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis, quàm ex copia militum auxilii, aut spei bonæ accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et æstivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, et expectatione eventum civium animos intentos putabat; non prius bellum adtingere, quàm, majorum disciplinâ, milites laborare coëgisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade perculsus, postquam decreverat non egredi provinciam, quantum temporis æstivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris habebat: nisi cum odos, aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque more militari

this time our forces in Numidia had been ruined, and those of the enemy increased, by the avarice of the officers.

XLIV. But after he arrives in Africa, the army of Sp. Albinus the Proconsul is delivered up to him, unactive, feeble, capable of enduring neither danger nor fatigue, readier with their tongues than their hands, plunderers of the allies, and themselves a prey to the enemy, having been kept without discipline and due restraint. Thus the new general got more vexation from their vicious habits, than help or good hope from the number of soldiers. Metellus, tho' the lateness of the elections had shortened the time of the summer campaign, and he did suppose the minds of the citizens at Rome would be impatient in waiting the issue, yet resolved not to enter upon the war, till he had obliged the soldiers to undergo a course of exercises, according to the discipline of their ancestors. For Albinus, quite dismayed with the defeat of his brother Aulus and the army, after he had determined not to stir out of the province, generally kept the soldiers, such time of the summer campaign as he was in command, in standing camps: unless when stench, or

XLIV. 1. *Laborare coëgisset*] The labours, works, or exercises here chiefly meant, are enumerated by our author in the following chapter, after the words *modum statuisse*.

vigiliæ deducebantur : uti cuique lûebat, ab ignis liberat. Lixæ permixti cum militibus die noctuque vagabantur, et palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum prædas certantes agere : eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectione, et aliis talibus : præterea, frumentum publicè datum vendere, panem in dies mereari : postremo, quæcumque diei aut fingi queunt ignaviæ luxuriæque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, et alia amplius.

effects of idleness and luxury can be expressed or imagined, were all in that army, and more too.

XLV. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus, quàm in rebus hostilibus, magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperi-or. tantâ temperantiâ inter ambitionem sævitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto primùm adju-menta ignaviæ sustulisse, “ ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium eorum cibum venderet ;

want of forage obliged him to change his place. But neither was the watch kept according to the military form : every one strolled from his standard at pleasure. The retainers mingling with the soldiers were straggling abroad day and night, and in their rambles wasted the country, forced gentlemen's houses, and, emulous to outdo one another, made plunder of cattle and slaves : and exchanged them with the merchants for foreign wine, and other such things : besides, they would sell the corn allowed them by the government, and buy bread every day : in

short, whatever scandalous effects

XLV. But I find Metellus to have been no less a great and wise man under this hardship, than in his conduct against the enemy. having behaved with so much evenness betwixt sneaking to gain favour among the soldiers, and cruelty. For in the first place, by a proclamation, he took off the supports of idleness, ordering, “ that no body should sell bread, or any other dressed victuals in the

2. *Vigiliæ deducebantur*] Deducere, quasi diducere, est dispartiri, et suis quasque locis adtribuere.

3. *Lixæ*] The *Lixæ* were a set of fellows who attended the camp for service, and were mostly washers, bakers, and cooks for dressing victuals ; or buffoons and players for the entertainment and diversion of the officers and persons of note in the army. But the having a great many of these *Lixæ* in the camp, was inconsistent with the ancient strict discipline of the Romans, which obliged the common soldiers to grind their own corn, bake their own bread, dress their own victuals, and be servants in every particular to themselves.

ne lixæ exercitum seque-
rentur; ne miles grega-
rius in castris, neve in a-
gmine servum aut jumen-
tum haberet;" ceteris ar-
tè modum statuiffe. præ-
terea transvorsis itineribus
quotidie castra movere,
juxta, ac si hostes adessent,
vallo atque fossâ munire,
vigilias crebras ponere, et
ipse cum legatis circumire:
item in agmine in primis
modò, modò in postremis,
sæpe in medio adesse, ne
quispiam ordine egredere-
tur, uti cum signis fre-
quentes incederent, miles
cibum et arma portaret.
Ita prohibendo à delictis
magis, quàm vindicando,
exercitum brevi confirma-
vit.

*time he reformed the army, by restraining them from dis-
orders, rather than by punishing.*

XLVI. Interea Jugur-
tha, ubi, quæ Metellus a-
gebat, ex nunciis accepit;
simul de innocentia ejus

*camp; that retainers should not
attend the army; that a common
soldier should not have in the
camp, nor upon a march, a ser-
vant or beast of burden;" and
to others he prescribed regulations
in a strict manner. besides, he
would shift the place of his camp
daily by marches to the right
and left, and fortify it by a
rampart and ditch, just as if the
enemy had been at hand, he kept
close watch, and he himself, with
his lieutenants went the rounds:
in like manner upon a march, he
would be sometimes in the van,
sometimes in the rear, and oft-
entimes in the main body, to see
that none quitted their rank,
that they marched in a body with
their standards, and that the
soldiers carried their provision
and arms. Thus in a short*

*XLVI. In the mean time
Jugurtha, when he understood
from his spies what Metellus
was doing; and withal having*

XLV. 1. *Ceteris arte modum statuiffe*] Ceteris, qui non essent gre-
garii, arctum servorum jumentorumque numerum permisit; præscripsit,
quis quotque haberet. N. B. *Arte* is not the ablative from *ars*, but an
adverb, the same with *arcte*.

2. *Ipse cum legatis circumire*] In the Roman camp watches were
kept at each of the four gates, and these were relieved every three
hours; so that there were four sets in the night. And, to keep the men
on the watch strictly to their duty, there was a *circuitio vigilum*, or a
visiting of the watch, performed four times every night. This, for a
long time, was the business of the Tribunes; at length they were al-
lowed to execute this piece of their office by deputies; and at last a set
of men were appointed for the purpose, called *circitores*. This *circuitio*
Metellus, and his lieutenants, take the trouble of themselves.

3. *Exercitum brevi confirmavit*] Confirmat exercitum, qui cum fir-
mum reddit adversus hostem.

certior Romæ factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad Consulem cum suppliciiis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum. Itaque legatos alium ab alio divorsos adgreditur; ac paullatim tentando, postquam opportunos cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, "uti Jugurtham maxumè vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent:" ceterum palàm, quæ ex voluntate forent, Regi nunciari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus, intento atque infesto exercitu, in Numidiam procedit: ubi, contra belli faciem, tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris: ex oppidis et mapalibus præfecti Regis obvii procedebant,

been informed at Rome of his integrity, begun to despair of his affairs, and then at length endeavoured to make a surrender in good earnest. Wherefore he dispatches ambassadors to the Consul with a humble message, to beg life only for himself and his children, and give up every thing else to the Roman people. But Metellus had found by experience before now the nation of the Numidians to be faithless, of a fickle temper, and fond of change. Wherefore he accosts the ambassadors apart one from another; and sifting them by degrees, after he found them for his purpose, by large promises he persuades them, "to deliver up to him Jugurtha alive, if possible, but if that did not succeed, dead:" but openly orders, what his pleasure was, to be reported to the King. A few days after he marches into Numidia with a brisk and resolute army: where, contrary to the appearance usual in the time of war, the country-houses were full of people, the cattle and labourers upon the fields: the King's governors came out of the towns and villages to meet him, ready

XLVI. 1. *De innocentia ejus*] By *innocentia* in this place is meant, that quality or virtue that rendered him proof against bribes, and made him reject all such offers with scorn and contempt.

2. *Cum suppliciiis*] Messengers who went to sue for peace, carried in their hand a branch of olive or laurel, which they called *supplicia*. Hence Virg. *Æneid.* vii. v. 153.

Centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis

Tre jubet, ramis velatos Palladis omnes:

Donaque ferre viro, pecunisque exposcere Tauris

See cap. cviii. n. 1.

parati,

parati, frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremo omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter, ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, latè explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere, et insidiis locum tentare. 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 auxiliares equites tribunis legionum et præfectis cohortium dispertiverat, uti cum his permixti velites, quacumque accederent, equitatus hostium propulserent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum et militiæ erat, uti, absens, an præfens, pacem, an bellum gerens perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

was hard to say, whether he was more dangerous, when absent or present, in peace or war.

XLVII. Erat haud longè ab eo itinere, quo Me-

to furnish him with corn, carry his provisions, in short to do every thing that should be ordered. Metellus not a bit the less for that, but equally, as if the enemy had been at hand, marched with his army in a posture of defence, sent his scouts into all quarters round, imagined those tokens of submission a shum, and that they sought an opportunity to trepan him. Wherefore he himself, with some battalions clear of baggage, and a picked body of slingers and archers, marched in the van; in the rear took charge his lieutenant-general C. Marius with the horse: the auxiliary horse he distributed to the two flanks under the command of the tribunes of the legions and the commanders of the battalions, that the light-armed foot mixed with them might be able to repulse the enemy's horse, in what quarter soever they should make their attack. For Jugurtha was a man of so much subtilty, and so well acquainted with the country and the art of war, that it

XLVII. There was not far from the rout in which Metellus

3. *Commeatum portare*] *Commeatus* propriè, quod cum agmine incedit, et exercitus necessitatibus inservit: deinde pro cibariis aliisque necessariis positus est. Eum parati erant portare; quia levare partim milites labore, partim jumenta volebant.

4. *Insidiis locum tentare*] Credebat quosdam homines, illum illisve, qui deditionis signa dederent, insidiis locum tentare.

5. *Permixti velites*] *Velites* in subsidium equitum inventi primum, quod essent levi armaturâ, et facile illis sese adjungerent. Propriè illi erant, qui in equos equitum insilirent, et, cum ad hostem appropinquasset, celeri saltu descenderent. See cap. cv. n. 4. telles

tellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxumè celebratum; ubi et incolere, et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc Consul, simul tentandi gratiâ, si paterent opportunitates loci, præsidium imposuit; præterea imperavit frumentum, et alia, quæ bello usui forent: ratus id, quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatum [juvaturum exercitum] etiam paratis rebus munimento fore. Inter hæc negotia Jugurtha impensius modò legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare: præter suam liberorumque vitam, omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, Consul illectos ad prodicionem domum dimittebat: Regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere, neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum expectare.

XLVIII. Jugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac se suis artibus tentari animadvortit; quippe cui verbis pax nun-

marched, a town of the Numidians, called Vaga, the most frequented mart for merchant-goods of the whole kingdom; where many people of Italy used both to reside and traffick. Here the Consul, to try also if the places of strength would submit to him, placed a garrison; and further made a demand of corn, and other things that were of use for the war: supposing, as it was natural to do, that the great number of merchants and vast resort of people [would be serviceable to his army] would also be a security to the acquisitions he had made. During these transactions, Jugurtha again in a more importunate manner sends deputies with a submissive message, begs peace: and resigns every thing to Metellus, except his own and his childrens lives. Whom the Consul likewise sent home, as the former ones, under engagements to betray their matter: he neither refused nor promised the peace to the King that he sued for, and in the meanwhile waited the execution of the messengers promises.

XLVIII. Jugurtha, when he compared Metellus's words with his actions, and found himself attacked by his own stratagems; for peace was pretended.

XLVII. 1. *Forum rerum venalium*] Forum propriè est locus, ubi multi homines prodeuntes conveniunt: hinc urbes, ubi vel juris, vel meriti causa frequentiores erant conventus, fora dicta sunt.

2. *Opportunitates loci*] Munitiones, turres, arcem, et quæ alia oppidum tutabantur, *opportunitates loci* vocat.

3. *Et commeatum*] *Commeatum* accipio de iis, qui frequentes Vagam commeant,

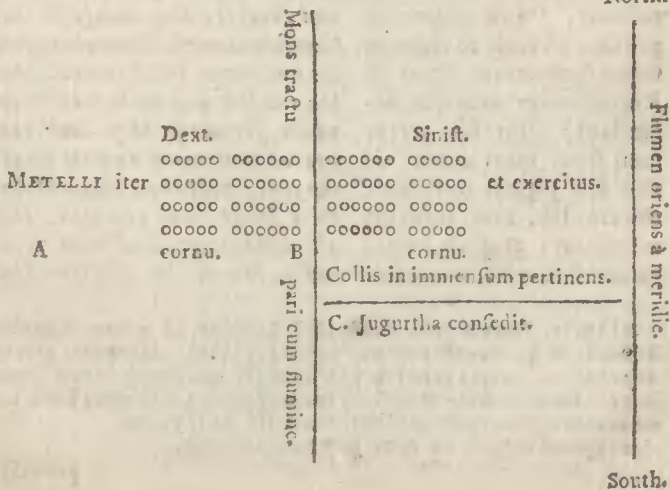
ciabatur.

ciabatur, ceterum re bel-
lum asperrimum erat: urbs
maxima alienata, ager ho-
stibus cognitus, animi po-
pularium tentati, coactus
rerum necessitudine, statu-
it armis certare. Igitur ex-
plorato hostium itinere, in
spem victoriæ adductus ex
opportunitate loci, quas
maximas copias potest om-
nium generum parat, ac
per tramites occultos ex-
ercitum Metelli antevenit.
Erat in ea parte Numidi-
æ, quam Adherbal in di-
visione possederat, flumen
oriens à meridie, nomine
Muthul; à quo aberat
mons fermè millia passu-
um xx. tractu pari, vastus
ab natura et humano cul-
tu: sed ex eo medio quasi

to him in words, but in fact
there was a very smart war: a
principal city taken from him;
the country now well known to
the enemy, the affections of his
people solicited, being obliged by
the necessity of his affairs, resolves
to dispute it by force of arms.
Wherefore having spied out the
march of the enemy, and being
buoyed up to hopes of victory from
the advantage of situation, he
raises as many forces of all sorts
as he could, and by private by-
roads gets before Metellus's army:
There was in that part of Numi-
dia, which Adherbal, upon the
division thereof, had got possession
of, a river rising from the south,
by name Muthul; from which a
mountain, in a parallel situation,
was distant about twenty miles,
wild both in itself, and in respect

XLVIII. 1. *Tractu pari*] Cum decurrente flumine, puta.

2. *Ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur*] To assist the reader's imagination
in comprehending the situation of the mountain, the river, the hill, and
Metellus's rout, I shall here give a representation of them by a figure.
North.



collis oriebatur, in immensum pertinens, vestitus oleastro ac mirtetis, aliisque generibus arborum, quæ humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. Media autem planicies deserta, penuriâ aquæ: præter flumini propinqua loca: ea confita arbutis pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

XLIX. Igitur in eo colle, quem, transverso itinere, porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha, extenuatâ suorum acie, confedit: elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem præfecit, eumque edocet, quæ ageret; ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu pedites dilectos collocat: dein singulas turmas atque manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, "uti memores pristinæ virtutis et victoriæ seque regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant: cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint: ducem illis, non animum mutatum: quæ ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis

of its not being cultivated by man: now from the middle of it a kind of hill took its rise, reaching a vast way, covered with wild olive and myrtle, and other sorts of trees, which are apt to grow in a dry and sandy soil of ground. But the interjacent plain was desolate for want of water: except the parts bordering upon the river: those were overgrown with brushwood, and full of cattle and inhabitants.

XLIX. Upon this hill then which we observed lay in a cross direction to the mountain, Jugurtha sat down with his army stretched out to a great length: he set Bomilcar over the elephants and part of the infantry, and instructs him what to do; he himself, nigher the mountain, posts the choicest of the foot, with all the horse: and then riding round the several troops and companies, he begs and beseeches them, "that, mindful of their former bravery and success, they would defend themselves and his dominions from the avarice of the Romans: that the conflict was to be with those whom formerly they had conquered and made to pass under the yoke: that their general, not their spirit, was changed: that all advantages had been secured by him to his soldiers that

XLIX. 1. *Turmas atque manipulos*] Loquitur ad morem exercitus Romani, in quo *turma* numerus triginta equitum. *Manipulus* propriè de peditibus, eratque exercitus pars minima, quæ unum signum sequebatur. Illud signum antiquissimis temporibus erat manipulus scæni, unde nomen tractum esse existimat. Ovid. III. Fast. v. 118.

2. *Quæ ab imperatore decuerint*] Puta provideri.

provisa;

provisa; locum superiorem, uti prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum confererent. proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato, Romanos invadere: illum diem aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum, aut maxumarum ærumnarum initium fore." Ad hoc viritum, uti quemque, ob militare facinus, pecuniâ aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, et eum ipsum aliis ostentare: postremò, pro cuiusque ingenio, pollicendo, minitendo, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare: cum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte descendens cum exercitu conspicitur. primò dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet, (nam inter virgulta equi Numidæque confederant, neque planè occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen incerti, quidnam esset: cum natura loci, tum dolo ipsi

ought to be by a commander, namely, the higher ground; that they should engage fully apprised of the design with such as dreamed nothing of it, and not a smaller number with a greater, or persons of no experience with those better skilled in war. and therefore they should be ready and resolute, upon a signal given, to attack the Romans: that that day would either crown all their labours and victories, or be the beginning of the greatest misery." Moreover, any he had raised to riches or honour for their gallant behaviour in the war, he put in mind of his kindness man by man, and often pointed them out to others: in short, he roused the courage of one in one way, and another in another, by promising, threatening, or intreating, according to their several dispositions: whilst in the meantime Metellus, not aware of the enemy, is seen coming down the mountain with his army. who was at first in doubts, what the unusual appearance could mean, (for the Numidians, both horse and foot, had taken their place among the bushes, and were not quite covered, by reason of the lowness of the

3. *Prudentes cum imperitis*] Prudentes, i. e. *periti loci*; imperitis, i. e. *ignaris loci*; et simul *prudentes*, h. e. scientes prælium esse committendum, et *imperitis* contra, quibus prælium erat eo loco inopinatum.

4. *Equi Numidæque*] h. e. equites peditesque Numidæ. Sic sapissime *equi virique*, ut hoc pedites, illud equites denotet. Flor. II. cap. vii. *Consul à terris omnia equis virisque quittebat.*

5. *Incerti, quidnam esset*] Incerti propriè posuit pro iis, qui haud certò cognoscuntur. propriè, inquam, et eleganter. Est enim à verbo *cerno*, participium passivum *certus*, is, qui certò cognitus est. Sic propriè *amicus certus*, ab antiquissimis, *prospectato*, certe *cognito* ponitur.

atque

atque signa militaria ob-
fcurati), dein, brevī cogni-
tis insidiis, paullisper a-
gmen constitit. ibi com-
mutatis ordinibus, in dex-
tero latere, quod proxu-
mum hostis erat, triplici-
bus subsidiis aciem instruxit: inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios distribuit: equitatum omnem in cornibus locat: ac paucā pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transvorsis principiis, in plainam deducit. *shrubs, and yet not appearing so as to discover what they were: themselves and their standards being concealed both by the nature of the place, and also on design), but then quickly perceiving the stratagem, he stops the army for a little. then altering the disposition thereof, upon the right side, which was next the enemy, he formed the front with three several bodies of reserves: distributes the slingers and archers among the companies of foot: places all the horse in the wings: and having made a short speech to the soldiers as the time allowed, he leads down the army into the plain, in the same order as he had drawn it up, the front being turned into the flank.*

L. Sed

6. *Agmen constitit*] Cortius, after a long dissertation on the verb *constitit*, concludes, that it is sometimes taken actively, and to be understood so in this place. His words are, *Nam et sileo, est sileo facio, si ita loqui liceat; ergo consisto est, curo, ut omnes desistant ab eundo, ut omnes flect.* Sic Cæs. l. Civ. cap. xli. *Potestate factā, Afranius copias eduxit, et in medio colle sub castris constitit.*

7. *Triplicibus subsidiis*] Metellus's army, as now ranged, consisted of four lines; the first of which was that next to Jugurtha, and is called *prima acies*, or *principis*; the other three lines, that were drawn up behind the first, and which here come under the name of *subsidia* or *reserves*, we may imagine to have been the *hastati*, the *principes*, and the *triarii*.

8. *Inter manipulos*] In forming any of the four lines mentioned just now, there was left an empty space betwixt one *manipulus* and another; and these vacant spaces Metellus fills up with the archers and slingers.

9. *Transvorsis principiis*] The meaning of these words may be thus illustrated. Imagine, that, in the figure annexed to note 2. of the preceding chapter, the length of Metellus's army, as drawn up upon the mountain, reached from A to B; in which position, as they all stand with their faces to the south, the right wing will be at A, and the left at B; and as they are drawn up in four lines, the southernmost of these lines will be the *prima acies*. Now imagine, that all of them, without altering their place or station, be only made to front another way, that is, to turn their faces from the south to the east, and then in this order pursue their march down the mountain, with their right side towards Jugurtha; by this means, the line that made the *prima acies*, as they stood

marshalled

L. Sed ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvortit, veritus, ex anni tempore et inopiâ aquæ, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum præmisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet: existumans, hostis crebro impetu et transvorsis præliis iter suum remoratu-ros, et, quoniam armis diffident, lassitudinem et sitim militum tentatu-ros. Dein ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere: Marium post principia habere: ipse cum sinistra alæ equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos prætergressum videt, præsidio quasi duum millium peditum montem occupat, quâ

L. But when he observed the Numidians quiet, and not stirring from the hill, fearing, from the season of the year, and the scarcity of water, lest his army should be distressed by thirst, he dispatched forward to the river his lieutenant-general Rutilius, with the cohorts clear of baggage, and part of the cavalry, to secure a place for his camp: as supposing the enemy would retard his march by frequent attacks, and charges on his flank, and, since they had but little hopes in their arms, would endeavour to distress his soldiers by fatigue and thirst. After this he advanced leisurely, as he had come down the mountain, in a suitableness to his circumstances and situation: he kept Marius behind the first line: he himself was with the cavalry of the left wing, who were now become the foremost in the march. But Jugurtha, when he sees that the rear of Metellus was got by the first of his men, seizes upon the

marshalled on the mountain, will be the right flank in the march, and the horse that composed the left wing on the mountain, will now lead the van, or be the foremost in the march: and this is what our author intends by the phrase, *transvorsis principiis*.

L. 1. *Lassitudinem et sitim militum tentatu-ros*] Tentatu-ros, ut lassitudine et siti deficeret exercitus.

2. *Marium post principia habere*] Sallust speaks here in terms accommodated not to an army on a march, but to one drawn up in battle-order. The meaning is, that the station assigned to Marius was in neither of the wings; or, to speak in terms adapted to a march, neither in the van nor rear, but in the main body, betwixt the *hausti* and the *prima acies*.

3. *Primos suos prætergressum*] By *primos* our author means that part of Jugurtha's army which the Romans first passed by, viz. those who lay next the mountain, as at C, in the figure of note 2. cap. xlviii.

Q

Metellus

Metellus descenderat : ne fortè cedentibus adversariis receptui, ac post munimento foret. dein, repente signo dato, hostis invadit. Numidæ alii postremos cedere ; pars à sinistra ac dextera tentare ; infensi adesse atque instare : omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare ; quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto prælio, ipsi modò eminus fauciantur, neque contrà feriundi, aut manum conferendi copia erat. antea jam docti ab Jugurthæ equites, ubicumque Romanorum turba insequi cœperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius aliò quàm maxumè divorsi. Ita numero priores, si ab persequendo hostis detertere nequiverant, disiectos ab tergo, aut lateribus circumveniebant : sin opportunior fugæ collis, quàm campi fuerant ; eâ verò consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere : nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

the horses of the Numidians being used to it, easily made their escape among the bushes : the roughness of the ground, and want of acquaintance with it, incumbered ours.

mountain, where Metellus had gone down, with a body of about two thousand foot : lest perhaps it should be a place of retreat, and afterwards a security to his enemy upon their giving ground, and then suddenly giving the signal, he falls upon the enemy. The Numidians slaughtered, some of them those in the rear ; part made attacks on the left and right ; they charged and pushed home with great fury : in all quarters they disordered the ranks of the Romans ; of whom even those who opposed the enemy with more undaunted courage, being disconcerted by this irregular way of fighting, received wounds themselves from a distance, nor had they access to return the blow, or come to close fight. the cavalry having been instructed by Jugurtha beforehand, whenever a troop of Romans begun to pursue them, fled off, not in a body, nor to one place, but one way, and another another, dispersed as much as possible. And so being superior in numbers, if they could not discourage the enemy from pursuing them, they attacked them, upon their being divided, in rear or flank : and if the hill was more convenient for their flight than the plain ;

4. *Ipsi modò* — [*fauciantur*] Et pronomen *ipsi* et particula *modò* aptum est, ad notandum Romanos solum modò, non hostes farciatos cum, et ceterosque alios eleganter excludit.

LI. Ceterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, fœda, atque miserabilis: dispersi à suis pars cedere, alii insequi; neque signa, neque ordines observare; ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare: arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti; nihil consilio, neque imperio agi: fors omnia regere. Itaque multum die processerat, cum etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore et æstu languidis, Metellus ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paullatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit, et cohortes legionarias quatuor adversum pedites hostium collocat. eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa confederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, "ne deficerent, neu patrentur hostis fugientes vincere: neque illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum, quò cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita." Sed ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus; circumire, hortari, renovare prælium, et ipse cum dilectis tentare omnia: subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

in play those whom he found were firm.

LI. *But the appearance of the whole action was full of varieties, confused, dismal, and miserable: being scattered from their own body, some of them fled, others pursued; they neither kept by their standards nor companies; where danger overtook any one, there he made a stand, and repulsed it: arms, weapons, horses, men, enemies, and Romans were all jumbled together; nothing was done by conduct or command: chance ruled all. Wherefore much of the day was spent, when as yet the event was uncertain. Finally, whilst all were faint with the fatigue and heat, Metellus, when he perceives the Numidians to abate of their vigour, draws by degrees his soldiers into one place, restores their ranks, and posts four legionary cohorts against the enemy's foot. of which a great part being weary were set down upon the rising grounds. At the same time he intreated and encouraged his soldiers, "not to faint, nor suffer the flying enemy to get the victory: telling them they had no camp, nor any fortification, to which upon flying they could retreat: all depended on their arms." But neither indeed in the mean time was Jugurtha idle; he rode about, encouraged his troops, renewed the battle, and with a picked body tried all methods: relieved his own men, pressed hard upon such of the enemy as wavered, and, by distant fighting, kept*

LII. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant: ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus mitum erat, locus advorsus: Jugurthæ alia omnia, præter milites, opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intellegunt, neque sibi per fugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri; et jam die vesper erat; advorso colle, sicuti præceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco, Numidæ fusi fugatique, pauci interiere; plerisque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium præfectum ab Jugurtha suprâ diximus, ubi eum Rutilius prætergressus est, paullatim suos in æquum locum deducit: ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quò præmissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat: neque remittit, quid ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutili-um confedis- se jam, et animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthæ prælio clamorem augeri; ve-

LII. *In this manner the two generals, both very great men, struggled with one another: equally matched in their own persons, but their helps unequal. For Metellus had the better soldiers, but the disadvantageous ground: except the soldiers, all things else were fairly on Jugurtha's side. Finally the Romans, when they find there was no place of retreat for them, nor an opportunity of fighting given by the enemy; and now it was the evening of the day; make their way up the hill, as they had been ordered. The Numidians, losing their ground, were routed and put to flight, few were slain; nimbleness of heels, and the country's being unknown to the enemy, saved most of them. In the mean time Bomilcar, who, we said above, was set over the elephants and part of the infantry by Jugurtha, after Rutilius passed by him, leads down his men leisurely to the level ground: and, whilst the lieutenant marches on in all haste to the river, whither he had been dispatched, he undisturbed marshals his forces, as the case required: nor does he neglect to procure intelligence what the enemy was doing, and in what place. After he was advised that Rutilius was now incamped, and under no apprehensions of an e-*

LII. 1. *Quid ubique hostis ageret*] *Quid ageret, et uli id ageret, propriè debet exponi; h. e. quid utrobique et quibus quidque locis ageret. See Cat. cap. xxi. n. 1.*

2. *Animo vacuum*] *Animo vacuus dicitur, qui est securus, et nihil magnopere animo propositum habens.* ..

ritus,

ritus, ne legatus, cognitâ re, laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum artè statuerat, quò hostium itineri obficcret, latius porrigit; eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

enemy's passage, which at first, distrusting the courage of the soldiers, he had drawn up in close array; and in this posture advances toward the camp of Rutilius.

LIII. Romani ex improvviso pulveris vim magnam animadvortunt; nam prospectum ager arbutis confitus prohibebat. Et primò rati humum aridam vento agitari: post ubi æquabilem inanere, et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque adpropinquare vident, cognitâ re, properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum, utrimque magno clamore concurrunt. Numidæ tantummodò remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant; postquam impeditis ramis arborum, atque ita disiectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt: ac plerique, abjectis armis, collis, aut noctis, quæ jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephantis quatuor capti, reliqui omnes, nu-

nemy, and withal that the shouting increased from the place where Jugurtha was engaged; fearing lest the lieutenant, upon discovering the matter, should return and be a relief to his friends in distress, he extends his forces in a pretty wide manner, that he might obstruct the

LIII. The Romans unexpectedly perceive a great cloud of dust; for the field being overgrown with shrubs intercepted the view on the surface. And at first they imagined it to be the dry ground swept by the wind: afterward when they observed it to continue constant, and approach nearer and nearer, as the army advanced, understanding the matter, they take to arms in all haste, and draw up before the camp, as they were ordered. Afterward, when they were come nearer, they engage on both sides with a mighty shout. The Numidians only made a stand, whilst they reckoned upon the aid of their elephants; after they saw them intangled amongst the branches of the trees, and thus separated and inclosed by the enemy, they take to their heels: and most of them, throwing away their arms, got off safe by the advantage of the hill, or the night, which was now come on. Four elephants were taken, all

3. Laborantibus] Laborantes dicuntur, qui in magno periculo versantur, unde s. met. agere expedit.

meroquadraginta, interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et prælio fessi lætique erant; tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi, neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primò, obscurâ nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, velut hostes adventare, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul, et tumultum facere: et pænè imprudentiâ admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque præmissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur, pro metu, repente gaudium exortum, milites alius alium læti adpellant, acta edocent atque audiunt: sua quisque fortia facta ad cælum ferre. Quippe res humana ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet; adversæ res etiam bonos detractant.

LIV. Metellus in îdem castris quatrîduo moratus, faucios cum cura reficit, meritos in præliis more militiæ donat, universos in concione laudat, atque agit gratias; hortatur, "ad cetera, quæ levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoria fatis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores

the rest, forty in number, slain. But the Romans, though fatigued with their march, and the work of incamping, and the battle, and in transports of joy too for their success; yet, as Metellus said beyond their expectation, advance to meet him in good order and with great circumspection. For the wiles of the Numidians admitted of no slackness or remissness. And at first, the night being dark, when now they were not far asunder, by their noise they occasioned both some fright and bustle too to one another, as if an enemy had been approaching: and a woful accident was like to have happened through ignorance, but that some horse dispatched forward by both parties discovered the matter. Whereupon, instead of fear, all on a sudden joy took place, the soldiers merrily congratulate one another, relate and hear by turns their several exploits: every one extols his own gallant actions to the skies. For such is the condition of human affairs: upon victory even cowards may boast; ill success casts reproach even on the brave.

LIV. Metellus continuing four days in the same camp, with care recovers the wounded, bestows presents, according to the military custom, on those who had distinguished themselves in the battles, commends them all in a speech, and gives them thanks; advises them, "to keep up the same spirit for the rest of their work, which was

pro præda fore." Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agigaret; cum paucisne esset, an exercitum haberet; ut sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et naturâ munita receperat: ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis, quàm belli, cultorem. Id eâ gratiâ eveniebat, quòd præter regios equites nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga Regem sequitur; quò cujusque animus fert, eò discedunt: neque id flagitium militiæ ducitur: ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi videt Regis etiam tum animum ferocem; bellum renovari, quod, nisi ex illius lubidine, geri posset: præterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci, quàm suos vincere: statuit non præliis, neque acie, sed alio more bellum gerendum. Itaque in Numidiæ loca opulentissima pergit, a-

but inconsiderable: that they had fought sufficiently already for victory, their remaining labour would be for plunder." However in the mean time he sent some deserters, and other proper persons, to spy out where Jugurtha was, or what he designed to do, whether he was with a few, or had an army; and how he behaved himself after his defeat. But he had withdrawn himself into places that were full of woods, and naturally very strong: and there was raising an army greater for number of men than the former, but unfit for action, and insignificant, acquainted more with husbandry and grasing, than war. This happened by reason that not a man of all the Numidians, except the royal horseguards, attends their prince upon a defeat; whither every one's inclination leads, thither they retire: nor is this esteemed a reproach upon the soldiery: it is the fashion. Whereupon Metellus, when he perceives the King's spirit to be as yet undaunted; and that the war would be renewed, which could not be carried on but according to his pleasure; and further that he had an unequal conflict with

LIV. 1. *Nemo*——*ex fuga Regem sequitur*] This custom of abandoning their prince or general after a defeat, was not peculiar to the Numidians. Sacred writ ascribes the same to the Israelites. Herodotus informs us this was customary in most of the nations in Asia. Herodian gives the like account of the Parthians. Thucydides says this was the practice of the Illyrians; and Tacitus tells the same story of the Germans.

gros vastat, multa castella et oppida temerè munita, aut sine præsidio, capit incenditque, puberes interficit, alia omnia militum præda esse. Eâ formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obfides; frumentum et alia, quæ usui forent, adfatim præbita: ubicumque res postulabat, præsidium impositum. Quæ negotia multò magis, quàm prælium malè pugnatum [ab suis] Regem terrebant. quippe cui spes omnis in fuga sita, sequi cogebatur; et qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex copia, quod optimum videbatur, consilium capit: exercitum plerumque in eisdem locis opperiri jubet; ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantibus repentè adgreditur. eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur:

the enemy, that they were defeated with less damage than his men gained a victory: resolves to manage the war, not by pitched battles, nor formal engagements, but after another manner. Wherefore away he marches into the richest parts of Numidia, ravages the country, takes abundance of castles and towns that were slightly fortified, or without garrisons, and burns them, the young men he puts to the sword, all things else were plunder for his soldiers. Through the terror of this a great many persons were delivered up as hostages to the Romans; corn, and other things that were necessary, furnished in great plenty: and where-ever the case required, a garrison was placed. Which proceedings frightened the King much more than the battle fought with bad success [by his men]. for he, whose hopes lay entirely in shifting the enemy, was now obliged to pursue; and he, who had not been able to defend the quarters of his own chusing, to

2. *Temerè munita*] *Temerè munita* dicuntur, quæ non iustis munitionibus cincta sunt. Sic omne quod non est ex lege, non cum consilio provisum, non perductum ad debitum suum habitum, *temerarium* scriptores dicunt.

3. *Sua loca defendere*] *Sua loca* sunt sibi opportuna, et que vel optaverit, vel elegerit sibi ad pugnam. *Aliena* sibi iniqua et hostibus opportuniora. Sic infra, cap. lxi. *Neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut suo loco, pugnam facere.*

4. *Exercitum plerumque*] *Plerumque* is here an adjective; and the using it in the singular number is no new thing with Sallust. Cat. cap. xxiii. & xxxviii. *Pleraque nobilitas.* Jug. cap. xviii. *Africa pars inferior pleraque.* Cap. lxxix. *Carthaginenses pleraque Africae imperitabant.*

nem omnium intactus profugit. et Numidæ, priusquam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proximos collis discedunt. *carry on the war in those of another. However on this occasion he takes the course that appeared best: he orders most of the army to wait in the same place; he himself, with a choice body of horse, follows Metellus, and by night-marches and by-roads, when not dreamed of, all on a sudden falls upon the Romans that had strolled abroad from the camp. most of them being unarmed are slain, many taken: none of them all escapes without harm. and the Numidians, before relief could come from the camp, scamper off to the next hills, as they had been ordered.*

LV. Interim Romæ gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus: ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret; in adverso loco, victor tamen virtute fuisset; hostium agro potiretur; Jugurtham magnificum ex Auli secordia, spem salutis in solitudine, aut fuga coëgisset habere. Itaque senatus OB EA FELICITER ACTA DÏS IMMORTALIBUS SUPPLICIA DECERNERE: civitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu, læta agere: fama de Metello præclara esse. Igitur eò intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare, cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret: meminisse, post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita quò clarior erat, eò magis animi anxius: neque post infidias Jugurthæ effuso exercitu prædari: ubi frumento, aut pabulo opus e-

LV. In the mean time huge joy appeared at Rome, upon the news of Metellus's affairs: how he conducted himself and the army after the manner of the old Romans; though on the disadvantageous ground, yet, by his gallant behaviour, had been victorious; had made himself master of the enemy's country; and had obliged Jugurtha, grown insolent through the cowardice of Aulus, to place his hopes of safety in the shelter of the desert, or in flight. Wherefore the senate, for these things happily atchieved, orders public thanksgivings to the immortal gods: the city, formerly in a consternation, and anxious about the issue of the war, was now full of joy: the same of Metellus was glorious. Wherefore so much the more eagerly did he strive for complete victory, by all methods made dispatch, took care however lest any where he should become exposed to the enemy: and kept in mind, that envy attends upon glory. Thus
rat,

rat, cohortes cum omni equitatu præsidium agitant: exercitûs partim ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis, quàm prædâ, ager vultabatur. Duobus locis, haud longè inter se, castra faciebant. ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant: ceterum, quò fuga atque formido latius crescerent, divorsi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per collis sequi: tempus, aut locum pugnae quærere: quâ venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere: modò se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere; postremos in agmine tentare, ac statim in collis regredi; rursus aliis, post aliis minitari: neque prælium facere, neque otium pati; tantummodò hostem ab incepto retinere. Metellus, sometimes to Marius; would attack their rear upon a march, and forthwith retire to the hills; again alarm one quarter, and after that another: would neither give them battle, nor allow them rest; but only diverted his enemy from their enterprise.

LVI. Romanus imperator, ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri; urbem magnam, et in ea parte, quâ sita erat, arcem

the more renowned he was, so much the more concerned he was in his own mind: nor, after that ambuscade of Jugurtha's, did he plunder with his army dispersed: when there was occasion for corn or forage, some battalions of foot, with the whole cavalry, performed the part of a guard: he himself conducted part of the army, and Marius the rest. But the country was wasted more by fire than plundering. They pitched camps in two places not far asunder. when there was occasion for force, all were at hand: but, to the end desolation and terror might spread the wider, they acted separately. At that time Jugurtha followed them along the hills: watched time and place for an attack: wheresoever he heard the enemy was to come, he destroyed the forage and the springs of water, of which there was great scarcity: presented himself sometimes to Metellus, sometimes to Marius; would attack their rear upon a march, and forthwith retire to the hills; again alarm one quarter, and after that another: would neither give them battle, nor allow them rest; but only diverted his enemy from their enterprise.

LVI. The Roman general, when he sees himself harassed with stratagems, and that an opportunity of fighting could not be obtained from the enemy; resolves to lay siege to a great city,

LV. 1. Cohortes cum omni equitatu] Socii nempe, sive auxilia.

2. Haud longè inter se] Puta distantes; aut distantibus, nempe locis; aut distantia, ut ad castra referas. Sed mihi prius adridet.

regni, nomine Zamam, statuit obpugnare: ratus id, quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique prælium fore. At ille, quæ parabantur, à perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur, mœnia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis; quod genus ex copiis Regis, quia fallere nequibant, firmissimum. Præterea pollicetur, in tempore scmet cum exercitu adfore. Ita compositis rebus, in loca quàm maxumè occulta discedit, ac post paullò cognoscit, Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum: quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab Rege defecerat. Eò cum dilectis equitibus noctu pergit, et jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit: simul magnâ voce Siccenses hortatur, “ uti cohortis abtergo circumveniant: fortunam præclari facinoris casum dare; si id fece-

called Zama, a bulwark to the kingdom in that part wherein it lay: supposing, as the case required, that Jugurtha would come to the relief of his subjects in distress, and that thereupon a battle would ensue. But he, having learned from deserters what was intended, by great marches gets before Metellus; encourages the townsmen to defend the walls, giving them the deserters for their assistance; a crew that was most to be relied upon of all the King's forces, because they durst not flinch. Moreover he assures them, he would be up in due time with an army. Affairs being thus settled, he retires into the most private parts of the country, and a little after gets intelligence, that Marius, upon their march, had been dispatched to Sicca with a few battalions to get corn: which town first of all had revolted from the King after the unfortunate battle. Thither he goes with a choice body of horse in the night, and at the gate makes an attack upon the Romans now coming off: at the same time with a loud voice he begs of the Siccensians, “ to fall upon the battalions in

LVI. 1. *Quia fallere nequibant*] The Romans inflicted very severe punishments upon any deserter from them that again fell into their hands; such as the cutting off of hands, arms, or other members, beheading, crucifixion, exposing to wild beasts, and the like: and therefore the terror of torture and death, if they should fall into the hands of the Romans, attached them strongly to the prince or party to whom they had deserted, and made them stand by them in a resolute, or rather desperate manner.

rint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu ætatem acturos." Ac nî Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profectò cuncti, aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent. tantâ mobilitate sese Numidiæ agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini paullisper ab Rege sustentati; postquam majore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis, profugi discedunt.

with greater fury, betake themselves to flight, with the loss of a few of their men.

LVII. Marius ad Zmam pervenit. id oppidum in campo situm, magis opere, quàm naturâ munitum erat: nullius idoneæ rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus, cuncta mœnia exercitu circumvenit. legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret: deinde, signo dato, undique simul clamor ingens oritur. neque ea res Numidas terret; infensi intentique sine tumultu manent: prælium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars

their rear: that fortune presented an opportunity for a noble exploit; if they would do this, he in the enjoyment of his kingdom, they in liberty, should pass their days for the future without fear." And had not Marius hastened to advance the ensigns, and escape out of town, all, or a great part of the Siccensians certainly would have changed sides. with so much fickleness do the Numidians behave themselves. But the soldiers of Jugurtha having been kept in courage for some time by the King, upon the enemy's pushing

with greater fury, betake themselves to flight, with the loss of a few of their men.

LVII. Marius arrives at Zama. that town, being situated in a plain, was fortified more by art than nature: wanted no sort of convenience, and was well stored with arms and men. Wherefore Metellus, having made preparations as time and place allowed, invests the town quite round with his army. gives directions to his lieutenant-generals, where each of them should take charge: and then, upon a signal given, a mighty shout is set up from all quarters at once. this alarm does not fright the Numidians; they continue brisk and resolute without disorder: and the battle begins. The Romans,

2. *Signa inferre*] *Signa inferebantur* in illam partem, in quam acies convertenda erat. Cæs. VII. Gall. cap. lxxvii. *Si qua in parte nostri laborare, aut gravius premi videbantur, eò signa inferri Cæsar, atque converti jubebat.*

LVII. 1. *Pro ingenio quisque*] That is, according as they were adventurous or more fearful.

eminus glande, aut lapidibus pugnare; alii succedere, ac inurum modò subfodere, modò scalis adgredi: cupere prælium in manibus facere. Contra ea oppidani in proximos saxa volvere; fudes, pila, præterea picem sulphure et tædâ mixtam ardentia mittere. Sed nec illos, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat. nam plerisque jacula tormentis, aut manu emissâ vulnerabant: parique periculo, sed famâ impari, boni atque ignavi erant. wounded most of them: and the courageous and cowardly were in equal danger, but with unequal reputation.

LVIII. Dum apud Zama sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improvîso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit: remissis, qui in præsidio erant, et omnia magis, quàm prælium expectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere, alii arma capere: magna pars vulnerati, aut occisi. Ceterùm ex omni multitudine non ampliùs quadraginta, memores nominis

LVIII. Whilst thus they dispute before Zama, Jugurtha unexpectedly falls upon the enemy's camp with a considerable force: and those being off their guard, who were left for the defence of it, and looking for any thing rather than a battle, he breaks in at a gate. But our men, confounded with the sudden alarm, provide for themselves, each according to his disposition: some fled, others took to arms: a great part of them were wounded or slain. And of all the number not above forty, mindful of the Roman name, after forming them-

Romani,

2. *Ardentia mittere*] *Ardentia* pro *ardentem* positum est, eò, quòd ad multas simul res, quæ ardebant, picem nempe, sulphur, et tædâ ratio refertur.

LVIII. 1. *Magna pars vulnerati*] See cap. lxxxix. n. 3.

2. *Memores nominis Romani*] The Romans were looked upon by the world

Romani, grege factò, locum cepere, paullo, quam alii, editiorem; neque inde maxumâ vi depelli quiverunt: sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minùs frustrati: sin Numidæ propiùs accessissent, ibi verò virtutem ostendere, et eos maxumâ vi cædere, fundere, atque fugare. Interim Metellus cum acerrumè rem gereret, clamorem hostilem ab tergo accepit: dein, converso equo, animadvortit, fugam ad se vorsum fieri: quæ res indicabat popularis esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra properè mittit, ac statim C. Marius cum cohortibus fociorum; eumque lacrumans “per amicitiam perque rempublicam obsecrat, nequam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostis inultos abire sinat:” ille brevì mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, cum alii super vallum præcipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes obficerent, multis amissis, in loca munita

*selves into a body, seized upon a spot somewhat higher than the rest; nor could they be dislodged from thence by the greatest efforts: but returned the weapons discharged upon them from a distance, and being few against many missed their aims the less: and if the Numidians came nearer them, then indeed they shewed their courage, and with the greatest fury slaughtered, routed, and put them to flight. In the mean time Metellus, whilst he was carrying on his enterprise very briskly, heard upon his rear the noise of an enemy: and thereupon turning his horse, he perceived a retreat to be made toward himself: which circumstance discovered they were his own men. Whereupon he dispatches all the horse instantly to the camp, and presently after them C. Marius with the cohorts of the allies; and beseeches him with tears, “by their friendship and the commonwealth, not to suffer any affront to be left upon their victorious army, nor the enemy to get off unrevengeed:” he quickly executes his orders. But Jugurtha incumbered with the fortifications of the camp, while some tumbled headlong over the rampart, others, hastening forward in the narrow
fese*

world about them as a nation of heroes, and the people of Rome were proud of the name, as importing something great and glorious; inso-much that the bare consideration of their being Romans often inspired them with sentiments of honour and invincible courage.

3. *Pauci in pluribus minùs frustrati*] Frustrati passivè de his, qui non frustra mittunt tela; qui non innoxie, sed inter confertos certius aliquem confodjunt.

fese recepit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.

design, after the night came on, returns to the camp with the army.

LIX. Igitur postero die, prius, quam ad obpugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, quâ Regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet: portas et proxima loca tribunis dispertit: deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque, ut superiore die, muram adgreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit. qui in proximo locati fuerant, paullisper terrii perturbantur: reliqui citò subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidæ resistere quivissent, nî pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent. quibus illi freti, non, ut equestri prælio solet, sequi, dein cedere; sed adversis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem: ita expeditis peditibus suis, hostis pænè victos dare.

passages, stooped one another, after losing a great many men, betook himself to his fastnesses. Metellus, not having accomplished his

LIX. Wherefore the day following, before he drew out to make the attack, he orders all the cavalry to patrol before the camp on the side where the King was looked for: the gates, and the parts adjoining, he assigns to the tribunes: and then he himself advances up to the town, and makes an assault upon the wall, as on the day preceding. In the mean time Jugurtha from his cover suddenly comes upon our men. those who had been placed in the front, being daunted, are put into disorder for a little: the rest soon relieve them. Nor could the Numidians have stood it longer, were it not that foot mixing with horse make great havoc in a rencounter. on whom depending, they did not charge and then retire, as is usual in an engagement of cavalry; but, with horses head to head, they rushed on, confounded and disordered the ranks: in this manner, by means of their light-armed foot, they well nigh conquered the enemy.

LX. Eodem

LIX. 1. *Qui in proximo locati fuerant*] h. e. Quos Jugurtha primum attigerat, quique, ex Romanis pro castris collocatis, illi proximi erant.

2. *Magnam cladem in congressu facerent*] Hic Sallustius peculiari modo imperfectum tempus posuit, quia non tam quod tunc factum fuisset, quam quid moris sit exponere voluit.

3. *Victos dare*] Duplicem ex his verbis elicias sensum. Equites Numidæ

LX. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magnâ vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eò acerrumè niti; neque alius in alio magis, quàm in sese spem habere: pariter oppidani agere, obpugnare, aut parare omnibus locis: avidiùs alteri alteros fauciare, quàm semet tegere. clamor permixtus hortatione, lætitiâ, gemitu: item strepitus armorum ad cœlum ferri: tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui mœnia defenabant, ubi hostes paullulùm modò pugnam remiserant, intenti prælium equestre prospectabant. eos, uti quæque Jugurthæ res erant, lætos modò, modò pavidos animadvorteres: ac, sicuti audiri à suis, aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut niti corporibus, et huc, illuc, quasi vitabundi, aut jacentes tela, agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est, (nam is in ea parte curabat), consultò leniùs agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare: pati Numidas sine tumultu Regis prælium visere. Ita

LX. *At the same time the dispute was carried on with much fury at Zama. Where each lieutenant, or tribune commanded, there he exerted himself most vigorously; nor did they place their hopes of success more in one another, than in themselves: in like manner behaved the townsmen. assaults were making, or defences providing against them in all places: both sides were more eager to maul one another, than secure themselves. shouts were mixed with encouragements, exultations, and groans: and the din of arms reached the heavens: weapons were flying on both sides. But those who defended the wall, whenever the enemy but a little abated of their vigour in the assault, with great attention viewed the engagement of the horse. and you might have perceived them, according as matters went with Jugurtha, one while glad, another while under great consternation: and just as if they could have been heard or seen by their friends, some were admonishing them, others encouraging them, or giving signs with the hand, or making stretches with their bodies, and often moving hither and thither, like men avoiding or throwing darts. Which when observed by Marius, (for*

midæ pæne ipsi vincebant hostes, et pæne victos tradebant quasi expeditis suis peditibus plane conficiendos: quem tamen admittere sensum, nesciunt rationes vetant. Ergo intellige, per expeditos suos pedites hostes pæne vincebant. *Victum dare pro vincere, ut Virg. Æneid. XII. v. 437. Nunc te mea dextera bello Defensum dabit. Senec. Medea, v. 528. Scythas Pelagis junge, demersos dabo.*

in studio suorum adstrictis, repente magnâ vi murum adgreditur: et jam scalis egressi milites propè summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia præterea tela ingerunt. Nostrî primò resistere: deinde, ubi unâ atque alteræ scalæ comminutæ, qui superstiteterant, afflicti sunt; ceteri quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti vulneribus abeunt. Denique utrimque prælium nox diremit.

he commanded in that quarter), on purpose he acts more remissly, and counterseits despair of success: and suffers the Numidians, without disturbance, to view the King's engagement. Whilst they were thus taken up with a zealous concern for their friends, suddenly he attacks the wall with great fury: and now the soldiers mounting from the ladders had well nigh reached the top, when the townsmen flock together, and pour upon them stones, fire, and other weapons beside. Our men at first stood stiffly to it: afterwards, when one or two of the ladders broke, they who stood upon them were thrown down; the rest made off any way they could, few without harm, a great part quite covered with wounds. Finally, the night put an end to the fray on both sides.

LXI. Metellus, postquam videt frustra inceptum; neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut suo loco pugnam facere, et jam æstatem exactum esse, ab Zama discedit: et in his urbibus, quæ ad se defecerant, satisque munitæ loco, aut mœnibus erant, præsidia imponit. Ceterum exercitum in provin-

LXI. Metellus, after he sees his enterprise was in vain; that the town could not be taken, nor would Jugurtha offer battle, but in the way of surprise, or on advantageous ground; and that the summer was now spent, marches away from Zama: and places garrisons in those cities which had revolted from the King to him, and were sufficiently fortified by situation or walls. The rest of the army he disposes of in

LX. *Ignem, alia præterea tela ingerunt*] Whatever is thrown with the hand is called *telum*: and so fire, wherewith one defends himself, or annoys his enemy, comes also under this denomination. Liv. IV. cap. xxxiii. *Ignibus armata ingens multitudo, facibusque ardentibus tota collucens, velut fanatico instinctu cursu in hostem ruit.*

LXI. *Aut suo loco*] It was observed, cap. liv. n. 3. that *suius locus* is the same as *locus sibi opportunus*. Thus Liv. XLII. cap. xliii. *Sub maxime tempore, atque alieno hostibus incipere bellum.* Horat. epod.

IX. v. 39. *Ventis iturus non suis.*

ciam [quæ proxima est Numidiæ] hiemandi gratiâ collocat. Neque id tempus, ex aliorum more, quieti, aut luxuriæ concedit: sed, quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias Regi per amicos tendere, et eorum perfidiâ pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romæ cum Jugurtha fuerat, et inde, vadibus datis, clam Massivæ de nece iudicium fugerat, quòd ei per maximam amicitiam, maxima copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus adgreditur; ac primò efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratiâ occultus veniat: dein fide datâ, “ si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem, et sua omnia concederet,” faciliè Numidæ persuadet, cùm ingenio infido, tum metuenti, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per conditiones ad supplicium traderetur. *and also afraid, lest, if a peace should be made with the Romans, he should be delivered up to punishment by the articles of it.*

LXII. Is, ubi primùm opportunum, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit: monet atque lacrumans obtestatur. “ uti aliquando sibi liberisque, et genti Numidarum, optumè merenti, provideat: omnibus præ-

that part of *the province* [that was next to Numidia] in order to winter. Nor does he devote that time, after the manner of others, to idleness and luxury: but since the war advanced slowly by arms, he resolves to lay a trap for the King by means of his friends, and make use of their treachery instead of arms. Accordingly he attacks with large promises Bomilcar, who had been at Rome with Jugurtha, and from thence had privately fled from his trial for the murder of Massiva, after he had given bail, pitching upon this man, because he had the best opportunity of deceiving Jugurtha, by reason of his very great intimacy with him; and in the first place prevails upon him to come to him privately, in order to a conference: and then giving him his word of honour, “ that if he should deliver up Jugurtha alive or dead, it should be, that the senate would grant him a pardon, and all his estate,” he easily persuades the Numidian, who was both of a perfidious disposition, *both of a perfidious disposition, and also afraid, lest, if a peace should be made with the*

LXII. He, as soon as there was opportunity, accosts Jugurtha full of perplexity and lamenting his case: advises and beseeches him with tears, “ at last to take proper measures for himself and his children, and the nation of the Numidians, that deserved very well at his hands:

his sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortalis captos aut occisos, regni opes comminutas esse: satis sæpe jam et virtutem militum, et fortunam tentatam: caveret, ne, illo cunctante, Numidæ sibi consulant." His atque talibus aliis ad deditionem Regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati: "Jugurtham imperata facturum, ac sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere." Metellus properè cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis arcessiri jubet: eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum, ex consilii decreto, per legatos Jugurthæ imperat, argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnis, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quæ postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnis perfugas victos adduci. eorum magna pars, ut jussum erat, adducti: pauci, cum primùm deditio cœpit, ad Regem Bocchum in Mauretiam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque, et pecuniâ spoliatus, cum ipse

that they had been defeated in every battle, the country desolated, a world of people made prisoners or slain, the strength of the kingdom greatly impaired: that both the valour of his soldiers, and his fortune had been tried often enough already: that he ought to have a care, lest, whilst he demurred, the Numidians should take measures for themselves." By these and other such arguments he disposes the King's mind to a surrender. Deputies are dispatched to the general: to let him know, "that Jugurtha would submit to orders, and, without any terms, cast himself and his kingdom upon his honour." Metellus immediately orders all the gentlemen of senatorian rank to be summoned from their winter-quarters: holds a council with them, and others whom he judged proper persons. And so, in conformity to ancient Roman usage, according to the determination of the council, he makes a demand upon Jugurtha by the deputies, of two hundred thousand pounds of silver, all his elephants, and some horses and arms. Which being performed without delay, he orders all the deserters to be brought in chains. a great part of them were brought, as was ordered: a few, when the surrender first began, had gone off

LXII. 1. *Cunctos senatorii ordinis*] Most of the lieutenants in the Roman armies, many of the tribunes, and frequently the quaestors too, were senators.

ad imperandum Tifidium vocaretur, rursus cœpit flere animum suum, et ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique multis diebus per dubitationem confumtis, cum modò tædiorum advorfarum omnia bello potiora duceret; interdum secum ipse reputaret, quàm gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret; multis magnisque præfidiis nequidquam perditis de integro bellum sumit. Romæ senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiani Metello decreverat

no purpose, he undertakes the war anew. The senate at Rome, being consulted concerning the provinces, had voted Numidia for Metellus.

LXIII. Per idem tempus Uticæ fortè C. Mario per hostias dīs supplicante, “magna atque mirabilia portendi” haruspex dixerat: “proinde, quæ animo agitabat, fretus dīs ageret: fortunam quàm læpissumè experiretur; cuncta prospera eventura.” At illum jam antea consulatūs ingens cupido exagitabat: ad quem capiundum, præter vetustatem familiæ, alia omnia abundè erant: industria, probitas, militiæ magna scientia, animus

to Mauretania to King Bocchus. Wherefore Jugurtha, after being stripped of arms, men, and money, when he himself was summoned to Tifidium to receive further orders, begun again to change his mind, and, from a guilty conscience, to dread condign punishment. Finally, having spent many days in hesitation, when sometimes, from an uneasiness under misfortunes, he would reckon every thing preferable to war; sometimes, he would think with himself, how grievous the fall from a kingdom into slavery would be; after giving up many and considerable advantages to

LXIII. About the same time, C. Marius being accidentally at Utica paying his devotion to the gods by sacrifice, the haruspex told him, “that great and wonderful things appeared by prognostics therein to be designed for him: and therefore, what he was projecting in his mind, depending upon the gods he might put in execution: might try his fortune as often as he pleased; all success should attend him.” Now a great desire for the consulship had disquieted him before now: for obtaining whereof, except antiquity of family, he had

2. *Ad imperandum*] The gerunds are frequently used passively. *Cap. v. Quo ad cognoscendum omnia illustria magis, magisque in aperto sit.* *Cap. VI. Gall. cap. ii. Senones ad imperandum non venire.* *Varro l. de R. R. cap. xx. Dedit paucis boves erant ad domandum preni.* *Justin, xvii. cap. 3. Athenis quoque erudiendi gratia missus.*

belli

belli ingens, domi modicus, lubricitatis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriæ avidus. Sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum ætas militiæ patiens fuit, stipendiis faciundis, non Græcâ facundiâ, neque urbanis munitiis sese exercuit: ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevè adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem à populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facilè notus per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit: semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, uti ampliore, quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir (nam postea ambitione præceps datus est) petere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur.

all other qualifications in abundance: such as industry, integrity, vast skill in the military art, a spirit great in war, moderate at home, far above pleasure and riches, and covetous of glory only. Now he was born, and brought up during the whole time of his childhood at Arpinum, and as soon as his age was capable of service in the war, he employed himself in making campaigns, and not in the Grecian eloquence, nor town refinements: thus in a course of laudable practices his uncorrupted genius quickly advanced to the highest pitch of improvement. Therefore when first of all he sued for the office of tribune of the soldiers from the people, tho' most of them were strangers to his face, yet, being easily known by his character, he was chosen by all the tribes. And then after this office he procured for himself one after another: and always in his posts behaved in such a manner, that he was esteemed worthy of a more honourable one than he had. Yet he, though such a valuable man, till that time (for afterwards he was hurried headlong by ambition) durst not venture to offer himself a candidate for the consulship. At that time indeed the commons shared in other offices, but the nobility handed a-

LXIII. 1. *Arpini altus*] Arpinum was a small, but ancient town in Italy, situate at the confluence of the rivers Liris and Fibrenus, famous for being the birth-place of Marius and Cicero.

2. *Ad id locorum*] *Locus* is often put for *tempus*, and *ad id locorum* for *ad id tempus*. Cap. lxxii. *Neque post id locorum Jugurtha dies, aut nox ulla quiescere.* Cap. cii. *Postea loci*, for *post id tempus*.

hout

about the consulate among themselves. There was no person of low birth so famous, nor of such extraordinary merit, but would have been thought unworthy of that honour, and in a manner a scandal to it.

LXIV. Igitur ubi Marius haruspici dicta eodem intendere videt, quò cupido animi hortabatur; ab Metello petundi gratiâ missionem rogat: cui quamquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contentor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primùm commotus insolitâ re, mirari ejus consilium, et quasi per amicitiam monere, “ne tam prava inciperet, neu super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse: debere illi res suas fatis placere: postremò caveret id petere à populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur.” Postquam hæc atque talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur; respondit, “ubi primùm potuisset per negotia

LXIV. Wherefore, when Marius sees that the words of the soothsayer tended the same way, that the ambition of his mind prompted him; he requests of Metellus his discharge, in order to stand candidate: in whom though virtue, glory, and other qualifications desirable to good men had the ascendant, yet had he a disdainful spirit, and a haughtiness of mind, the common vice of the nobility. Wherefore at first being much surprisèd with the novelty of the thing, he wondered at his design, and as it were in a way of friendship advised him, “not to engage in so wild a project, nor carry his mind above his fortune: all things were not to be coveted by all men: his present condition ought sufficiently to satisfy him: finally, he should beware of asking that of the Roman people, which, for good reasons, might be refused him.” After he had said
publica,

LXIV. 1. *Missionem rogat*] By the *sacramentum* or military oath, all the Roman soldiers, officers not excepted, were bound not to leave the army upon any pretence whatsoever, or absent from their duty, without the special leave of the general; and this was called *missio*: of which there were several kinds, such as, *missio honesta*, when an old soldier was discharged from the service; *missio causaria*, when one, on account of indisposition, was allowed to be absent from his duty; and hence such invalids are by Livy called *militēs causarii*; *missio ignominiosa*, when a person was turned out of the army by way of disgrace and punishment; *missio gratiosa*, when leave was sought or granted by way of favour, as here in the case of Marius.

2. *Per negotia publica*] These words elegantly express the reason.
why

publica, facturum sese, quæ peteret." Ac postea sæpius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, "ne festinaret abire: satis maturè illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum." Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter xx. quæ res Marium cum pro honore, quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accendebat. Ita cupidine atque irâ, pessimis consultoribus, grassari: neque facto ullo, neque dicto abstinere, quod modò ambiciosum foret: milites, quibus in hibernis præerat, laxiore imperio, quàm antea, habere: apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticæ erat, criminose simul, et magnificè de bello loqui: "dimidia pars exercitûs sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum: ab imperatore consultò trahi, quòd homo inanis et regie super-

this and things to the like purpose, Marius's resolution not being diverted; he told him, "that he would do what he desired as soon as he could for public business." And afterward, upon his often requesting the same thing, he is reported to have said, "he need be in no haste to be gone: he would sue for the consulship time enough with his son." He at that time was serving there under his father, being about twenty years of age: which reply raised a prodigious keenness in Marius, as well for the high office, which he aimed at, as against Metellus. Thus, under the influence of ambition and resentment, the worst of monitors, did he proceed: nor from any action or expression, so be it was popular, did he refrain: he kept the soldiers, whom he commanded in their winter-quarters, under a laxer discipline than formerly: among the merchants, whereof there was a great number at Utica, he spoke concerning the war reproachfully with respect to Metellus, and at the
biæ

why he could not let him go just now. Thus Cic. VII. epist. i. *Cum per valetudinem posses, venire tamen noluisse.*

3. *Contubernio patris*] In the Roman camps, those who lodged in the same tent, being commonly eight or ten, were said to be in *contubernio*, or were called *contubernales*. And the young noblemen who attended the army, under the care and inspection of the general, in order to gain some experience in military affairs, were commonly lodged in the general's tent or pavilion, and so were on that account called *imperatoris contubernales*, or said to be in *ejus contubernio*.

4. *Ambiciosum foret*] *Ambiciosum* vocat, quod est ad favorem acquirendum comparatum.

5. *Regie superbie*] *Regium* dicunt, quidquid intolerabile et immodicum.

bix imperio nimis gaude-
ret." Quæ omnia illis eò
firmiora videbantur, quòd
diuturnitate belli res fami-
liaris corruperant, et ani-
mo cupienti nihil satis fe-
stinatur.

same time in a boasting manner as to himself: "should one half of the army be given to him, he would have Jugurtha in chains within a few days: that the war was protracted on purpose by the general, because being a vain man, and of insufferable pride, he was too fond of his command." All which appeared to them the more plausible, because they had suffered in their private concerns by the long continuance of the war, and to a longing mind no measures seem expeditious enough.

LXV. Erat præterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissæ nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus, et ob eam causam mente paullam imminutâ. Cui Metellus petenti, more Regum uti sellam juxtâ poneret; item postea custodiæ causâ turmamequitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat: honorem, quòd eorum mo-

LXV. There was besides in our army a certain Numidian, by name Gauda, the son of Mastanabal, and grandson of Masinissa, whom Micipsa in his will had made his second heir, a man quite over-run with bodily distempers, his mind too being a little crazed upon that account. Whom Metellus, upon his making a request for allowance to place his chair next him, as Kings did; and afterwards for a troop of Roman horse as a guard, had refused as to both: the honour of the feat he refused, because it

[LXV. 1. Secundum heredem scripserat] Secundus heres was he who was appointed heir in case the first died, or otherwise could not, or would not take possession: and it was ordinary for princes, and persons of great estates, to name in their wills, not only a second, but a third, or even a fourth heir. N. B. Heredem per simplex e in MSS scribi scias; eamque scripturam doctiores, ut antiquissimam, hodie amplectuntur.

2. Sellam juxtâ poneret] In the Roman armies, the general had a chair of state called *sellæ castrensæ*, on which he placed himself as on a throne or bench, when he gave audience to ambassadors, sat in judgment, or presided in any council of war. Round him the lieutenants, and other persons of distinction, took their place; and if any king happened to be in the army, he was allowed the honour of sitting next to the general on the right hand.

[3. Custodiæ causâ turmam] Gauda was probably under apprehensions that Jugurtha might hire some ruffians to murder him, the way he had dispatched Massiva at Rome; and therefore petitioned Metellus for a life guard.

dò foret, quos populus Romanus Reges adpellavisset; præsidium, quòd contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidæ traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium adgreditur atque hortatur, uti contumeliarum imperatoris cum suo auxilio pœnas petat. hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secundâ oratione extollit: "illum Regem, ingentem virum, Masinissæ nepotem esse: si Jugurtha captus, aut occisus, imperium Numidæ sine mora habiturum: id adeò maturè posse evenire, si ipse Consul ad id bellum missus foret." Itaque et illum, et equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores alios ipse, plerosque spes pacis impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios asperè in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi à multis mortalibus honettissimâ suffragatione confutatus petebatur. simul eâ tempestate plebes, nobilitate fuscâ per legem Ma-

belonged only to those whom the Roman people had complimented with the title of Kings; the guard, because it would have been an affront upon them, if Roman horse had been given as life-guard-men to a Numidian. This man, in a deep concern for the refusal, Marius addresses, and advises him to seek revenge with his assistance for the affronts put upon him by the general. by soothing speech he cries up the poor man scarce of a sound judgment by reason of his distempers: tells him, "he was a prince, a great man, the grandson of Masinissa; if Jugurtha was taken prisoner, or slain, he would get the kingdom of Numidia forthwith: this might very soon be brought about, if he was sent in quality of Consul to manage the war." And so he persuades both him and the Roman knights, the soldiers and the merchants, some of them himself, but hopes of peace determined most of them to write to Rome to their friends bitterly against Metellus, concerning his conduct in the war, and desire Marius for general. Thus the consulship was courted for him by a world of people, and by a very honourable interest made in miliam;

4. *Reges adpellavisset]* Reges adpellabantur ab Romanis, more solemniori, quo et amici et socii.

5. *Et equites Romanos]* Per equites non intelligit equitatum, qui erat in exercitu, sed publicanos, qui conducebant vectigalia à populo. Ordo publicanorum ex ordine erat equestri. *We have this confirmed by Vell. Pat. II. cap. 11. Hic per publicanos aliosque in Africa negotiantes, criminatus Metelli lentitudinem, &c.*

6. *Per legem Mamiliam]* De hac lege Mamilia mira, glossarii et interpretes

miliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

an law, were for raising your commoners. Thus all things turned out fair for Marius.

LXVI. Interim Jugurtha postquam, omisâ deditione, bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum: civitates, quæ ab se defecerant, formidine, aut ostentando præmia adfectare: communire suos locos, arma, tela, alia, quæ spe pacis amiserat, reficere, aut commercari: servitia Romanorum adlicere, et eos ipsos, qui in præfidiis erant, pecuniâ tentare: prorsus nihil intactum, neque quietum pati: cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenfes, quò Metellus initio, Jugurthâ pacificante, præsidium imposuerat, fatigati Regis suppliciis, neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant: nam volgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxumè Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio adversum: dein, compositis inter se rebus,

his favour. *at the same time too, the commons, having baffled the nobility by the Mamili-*

an law, were for raising your commoners. Thus all things turned out fair for Marius.

LXVI. *In the mean time Jugurtha, having dropt the surrender, after he enters upon war, prepares every thing with great application, uses all expedition, raises an army: by terror, or by offering rewards, endeavours to recover the cities that had revolted from him: fortifies his holds, makes or buys up arms, weapons, and other things, which he had parted with in hopes of peace: solicits the Roman slaves, and tempts even those who were in the garrisons with his money: leaves nothing at all untried, or not put in motion: but turns himself to all sides. Whereupon the people of Vaga, where Metellus at first, when Jugurtha was suing for a peace, had placed a garrison, being wearied out by the solicitations of the King, and not alienated in their affection before, the chiefs of their city conspire ameng themselves: for the populace, as is generally usual, and especially among the Numidians, were of a fickle temper, seditious and contentious, fond of change, and enemies to peace and tranquillity: and then, having formed the*

Interpretes non intelligunt aliam, quam cujus supra, cap. xl. facta est mentio; etsi ibi *rogatio* nominetur. Nam perlatâ rogatione, eaque jussâ à populo *lex* erat.

LXVI. 1. *Reficere*] Non est reparare et emendare, sed iterum, denuo facere.

diem tertium constituunt; quodd is festus celebratusque per omnem Africam ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem ostendebat. Sed ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militares, et ipsum præfectum oppidi T. Turpilium Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitant: eos omnis, præter Turpilium, inter epulas obtruncant: postea milites palantis, inermos, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, adgrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati: quibus acta consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus, ipse et res novæ satis placebant. *for such tumults: who though they knew not what had been done, or the design, yet were much pleased with the very commotion and the novelty of the thing.*

LXVII. Romani milites, improvise metu, incerti ignarique, quid potissimum facerent, trepidare ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant: præsidium hostium, portæ antè clausæ fugam prohibebant: ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis ædificiorum saxa, et alia, quæ *LXVII. The Roman soldiers, upon this unexpected alarm, being in great doubt, and not knowing what they had best do, ran in great hurry to the citadel of the town, where their standards and shields were: but a guard of enemies, and the gates that were shut before this time prevented their retreat: besides, the women and the boys, from the tops of the*

2. *Præfectum oppidi*] *Præfectus oppidi*, qui præsidio præerat. Antiquissima adpellatio, et ab regibus, qui domo profecti, relinquebant *præfectum urbi*.

3. *Inermos, quippe in tali die*] Herodian, II. cap. xiii, informs us, that it was usual for the soldiers, on festival days, and days of public thanksgiving or supplication, to go abroad unarmed.

locus præbebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque cavari anceps malum, neque à fortissimis infirmissimo generi resisti posse: juxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles inulti obtruncati. In ea tanta asperitate, sævissimis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus: id misericordiæ hospitis, an patientiæ, an casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita famâ integrâ potior, improbus intestabilisque videtur.

because in such a disaster, inglorious life was dearer to him than unstained honour, he is looked on as worthless and infamous.

LXVIII. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vagæ actis comperit, paullisper mœstus è conspectu abit: deinde, ubi ira et ægritudo permixta, cum maxuma cura ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et, quam plurimos potest, Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit:

houses, furiously discharged upon them stones, and other things which the place afforded. Thus neither could the mischief that was on all sides be guarded against, nor resistance made by the most valiant to the weakest: the courageous and the cowardly, the vigorous and the feeble, perished equally unrevenged. In this dismal scene, the Numidians exercising their utmost fury, and the town shut up on all sides, Turpilius alone of all the Italians escaped without harm: whether it happened so through the compassion of his entertainer, or by compact, or chance, we have not discovered for certain; but, be-

cause in such a disaster, inglorious life was dearer to him than unstained honour, he is looked on as worthless and infamous.

LXVIII. Metellus, after he got notice of the transactions at Vaga, being for some time pensive, retired from company: afterwards, when his resentment and sorrow united, he hastens, with the greatest eagerness, to go and revenge the injury. He draws out the legion he wintered with, and as many light Numidian horse as he could get together, just about sun-set: and next day, by

LXVII. 1. *An casu ita evenerit*] Plutarch, in his life of Marius, tells us, that Turpilius was guilty of no treachery, and that his escaping at this time was owing, not to chance, but purely to the regard the people of Vaga had for him, on account of his lenity and gentle government.

2. *Intestabilisque videtur*] Propriè ille est, qui nec testimonium dicere, nec testamentum facere, aut testamento aliquid consequi potest: eoque jure potior pars de jure libertatis continebatur. Hinc pro homine nequam et execrando ponitur, qui communi civium jure vitæque indignus est.

et posterâ die circiter horam tertiam pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullò superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine, et jam abnuentis omnia docet, “ oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse: deccre illos reliquum laborem æquo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis atque miserrimis, pœnas caperent.” præterea prædam benignè ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo latè, pedites quàm artissimè ire, signa occultare jubet.

LXIX. Vagenfes ubi animimum advortere, ad se vorsum exercitum pergere: primò, uti erat res, Metellum rati, portas claudere: deinde, ubi neque agros vastari, et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident; rursum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque, repente signo dato, alii vulgum effusum oppido cædere; alii ad portas festinare; pars turre capere: ira atque prædæ

three o'clock, he came into a certain plain, inclosed on all sides with rising grounds. There he tells the soldiers, that were fatigued with the greatness of their march, and by this time refusing all orders, “ that the town of Vaga was not above a mile off: it became them to bear the remaining fatigue with a patient mind, till they had taken revenge for their countrymen, very brave fellows, and most unfortunate.” moreover he in a generous manner makes them an offer of the plunder. Their spirits being thus cheered, he orders the horse to march wide upon the van, the foot as close as possible, and to conceal their standards.

LXIX. The Vagensians, when they observed the army marching towards them: at first supposing it to be Metellus, as the case was, shut their gates: afterward, when they perceive no ravage made upon the country, and those, who were in the van, to be Numidian horse; again imagining it was Jugurtha, with great joy they go out to meet him. Both horse and foot, upon a sudden signal given, some made havock of the mob that were coming in great crowds from the town; others hastened forward to the gates; part seized upon the towers: resentment

LXVIII. 1. *Circiter horam tertiam*] The Romans divided their day, or the time betwixt sun-rising and sun-setting, into twelve hours; and as they counted from sun-rising, their *hora tertia* will, at the time of the equinoxes in March and September, coincide with our nine o'clock; but at all other times of the year it will be a little different.

2. *Ostentat*] Pro offerre sæpissime.

spes ampliùs, quàm lassitudo posse. Ita Vagenfes biduum modò ex perfidia lætati : civitas magna et opulens pœnæ cuncta, aut prædæ fuit. Turpilius, quem præfectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse, suprâ ostendimus, jussus à Metello causam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus, verberatusque capite pœnas solvit. nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXX. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditiorem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus Regi, et ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere : ad perniciem ejus dolum quærere ; diu noctuque fatigare animum. denique o-

and the hopes of plunder prevailed over their weariness. Thus the people of Vaga made merry only two days over their treachery : their great and wealthy city was wholly sacrificed to the sword or plunder. Turpilius, who, we said above, being governor of the town, was the only one of them all that made his escape, being ordered by Metellus to account for his conduct, when he could not clear himself, after being condemned and scourged, suffered the punishment of death. for he was a citizen of Latium.

LXX. About the same time Bomilcar, at whose instigation Jugurtha had begun the surrender, which afterwards he relinquished through fear, being suspected by the King, and himself suspicious of him, was wishing for a turn of circumstances : contriving a plot for his destruction ; and rack-
ing his invention day and night

LXIX. 1. *Capite pœnas solvit*] We learn from Plutarch, that Marius was very pressing to have Turpilius put to death ; not because he thought he deserved it, but because he knew him to be a man heartily in the interest of Metellus. But as the innocence of Turpilius came, soon after his death, to be discovered, this among other things gave occasion to the great hatred which Metellus conceived against Marius.

2. *Nam is civis ex Latio erat*] Though a general in the Roman army had a very great authority, yet, after the Porcian law, neither he, nor any one else, could punish a native citizen of Rome with rods or death ; the highest punishment that could legally be inflicted being that of banishment. But the people of Latium, and the other allies in Italy, though they formed, in a sort, part of the commonwealth, and enjoyed several immunities, yet had not this privilege extended to them ; and therefore they might be sentenced to death, or other punishments, according to the demerit of their crime. And here further notice, that, before the Porcian law, condemned criminals at Rome were commonly first scourged or lashed with rods, and then put to death : accordingly we find this form of procedure observed here in the case of Turpilius. See Cat. cap. li. n. 5.

omnia tentando, socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, carum acceptumque popularibus suis: qui plerumque seorsum ab Rege exercitum ductare, et omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quæ Jugurthæ fesso, aut majoribus adlucto superavebant: ex quo illi gloria opesque inventæ. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur: cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager, inultis hostibus, vastaretur. Is postquam, magnitudine facinoris percussus, ad tempus non venit, metusque rem impediebat; Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi, et timore foei anxius, ne, omisso veterè consilio, novum quæreret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, “ mollitiem secordiamque viri accusare, testari deos, per quos juravisset; præmia Metelli in pestem ne converteret;

for that purpose. at last, after trying all expedients, he joins to himself as an associate Nabdalsa, a nobleman of a great estate, and in high esteem and favour with his countrymen: who generally used to command an army distinct from the King, and take charge of all affairs, which could not be overtaken by Jugurtha: when fatigued, or engaged in business of higher concern: from whence glory and wealth redounded to him. Wherefore, by joint consent, a day is fixed for the plot: it was agreed other particulars should be concerted on the spot, as the case should require. Nabdalsa went to his army, which he kept, as he had been ordered, hard by the winter-quarters of the Romans, that the country might not be ravaged, without revenge taken on the enemy. When he, daunted with the greatness of the undertaking, came not at the time appointed, and his fear had marred the project; Bomilcar at once being eagerly desirous to accomplish his purpose, and greatly concerned at the timorousness of his accomplice, least, dropping their former design, he should hatch a new one to his destruction, dispatches a letter to him by trusty hands, in

LXX. *Inter hiberna Romanorum*] Sallust either means, that Nabdalsa's army lay among or betwixt the Roman garrisons placed in such towns of Numidia as had submitted to Metellus; or we must take *inter* to signify *hard by* or *near to*; a sense in which it is sometimes used; and then the meaning will be, that Nabdalsa's army lay upon the borders of Numidia, not far from the Romans, who were quartered in the province, as we are told, cap. lxi.

Jugurthæ exitium adesse, ceterum suâne, an virtute Metelli periret, id modò agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, præmia, an cruciatum mallet."

Jugurtha's ruin was at hand, and the only thing to be considered was, whether he should perish by the bravery of Metellus, or their own: and therefore he ought to think with himself, whether he would make choice of rewards or torture."

LXXI. Sed cum hæ litteræ adlatæ, fortè Nabdalsa, exercito corpore fessus, in lecto quiescebat. ubi, cognitis Bomilcaris verbis, primò cura, deinde, uti ægrum animum solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque, et omnium consiliorum, nisi novissimum, particeps. Qui postquam adlatas litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus operâ aut ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introivit: dormiente illo epistolam, super caput in pulvino temerè positam, sumit ac perlegit. dein properè, cognitis insidiis, ad Regem perguit Nabdalsa, post paullo expectatus, ubi neque epistolam reperit, et rem omnem, uti acta, cognovit: primò indicem persequi conatus; postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratiâ accedit, "quæ ipse paravisset, perfidiâ clientis sui

which "he complained of the man's cowardice and want of spirit, called the gods to witness, by whom he had sworn; and advised him not to turn the rewards offered by Metellus to their common destruction; Ju-

gurtha's ruin was at hand, and the only thing to be considered was, whether he should perish by the bravery of Metellus, or their own: and therefore he ought to think with himself, whether he would make choice of rewards or torture."

LXXI. But when this letter was brought, Nabdalsa by chance was resting upon his bed, being fatigued after hard exercise of body. where, after reading Bomilcar's letter, first anxiety, and then, as usually happens to a troubled mind, sleep seized him. He had a certain Numidian, the manager of his affairs, faithful to him and highly in his favour, and acquainted with all his designs, except the last. Who, after he heard a letter was brought, supposing there would be occasion, as usual, for his service or advice, entered his tent: and, whilst he slept, takes the letter that was carelessly laid above his head upon the pillow, and reads it. and then, having discovered the plot, he posts away in all haste to the King. Nabdalsa awaking soon after, when he found not the letter, and had got notice of the whole affair, how it had passed: first endeavours to overtake the informer; when that was to no purpose, he goes to Jugurtha, in order to mollify him, tells him, "what he himself designed had been prevented by the

præventa."

præventa : " lacrumans ob-
teltatur " per amicitiam,
perque sua antea fideliter
acta, ne super tali scelere
suspectum sese haberet."

LXXII. Ad ea Rex a-
liter, atque animo gere-
bat, placidè respondit.
Bomilcare aliisque multis,
quos socios infidiarum cog-
noverat, interfectis, iram op-
presserat : ne qua ex eo ne-
gotio seditio oriretur. Ne-
que post id locorum Jugur-
thæ dies, aut nox ulla quieta
fuere : neque loco, neque
mortali cuiquam, aut tem-
pori satis credere : civis,
hostis juxtà metuere : cir-
cumspectare omnia, et o-
mni strepitu pavescere : al-
io atque alio loco, sæpe
contra decus regium noctu
requiescere : interdum so-
mno excitus, arreptis ar-
mis tumultum facere. ita
formidine, quasi vecordiâ,
exagitari.

*would make a great bustle. thus he was distracted with fear,
as with a frenzy.*

LXXIII. Igitur Metel-
lus, ubi de casu Bomilcar-
is et indicio patefacto ex
perfugis cognovit, rursus,
tamquam ad integrum bel-
lum, cuncta parat festi-
natque. Marium, fati-
gantem de prosecutione, si-
mul et invitum, et offen-
sum sibi, parum idoneum
ratus, domum dimittit.
Et Romæ plebes, litteris,
quæ de Metello ac Ma-

*treachery of his servant ;" and
beseeches him with tears, " by his
favour for him, and his former
faithful services, not to suspect
him of such a villany."*

LXXII. To this the King made
a reply in a gracious manner, and
otherwise than he thought in his
mind. After having put to death
Bomilcar and several others,
whom he found to have been ac-
complices in the plot, he stifled
his resentment : lest a mutiny
should have been occasioned by
his prosecuting that affair. Nor
after this time had Jugurtha a-
ny quiet day or night : he could
not securely trust any place, nor
any person, or occasion : equally
dreaded his subjects and his ene-
mies : was ever looking at all
round him, and in a fright at e-
very noise : rested a-nights some-
times in one place sometimes in
another, often in a way inconsis-
tent with the dignity of a prince :
sometimes starting out of his
sleep, and snatching his arms, he

LXXIII. Wherefore Metellus,
after he got notice from deserters
of the fate of Bomilcar, and the
discovery that had been made, a-
gain prepares and hastens on e-
very thing, as for a fresh war.
And as he thought Marius, who
was still importuning him for
leave to be gone, would be no
proper person for his service, as
being both unwilling to stay, and
in a spite at him, he sends him
home. At Rome too the commons,

rio missæ erant, cognitis, volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quæ antea decori, invidiæ esse: at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat. ceterum in utroque magis studia partium, quàm bona, aut mala sua moderata. Præterea seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitæ erant, reliquis operibus, frequentarent Marium, et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita, percussâ nobilitate, post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur. et postea populus à tribuno

when they came to know the contents of the letters that had been sent, relating to Metellus and Marius, joyfully received the accounts concerning both. High descent, which formerly had been an ornament to this general, was now the occasion of hatred: whereas lowness of birth procured favour to the other. but party-rage swayed more in the case of both than their own good or bad qualities. Besides, some factious magistrates inflamed the populace, charged Metellus with capital crimes in all their harangues, and greatly magnified the excellent conduct of Marius. In short, the people were so fired, that all the mechanics and country boors, whose living and credit depended on their handy work, leaving their employments, attended in crowds upon Marius, and postponed their own necessary concerns to his advancement. Thus, the nobility being born down, the consulship

LXXIII. 1. *Volenti animo* [*Volenti animo faciunt sextum casum interpretes, cum sit tertius, qui ita explicandus est: quæ erant animo eorum volenti, de ambobus acceperant: Græca est structura: infra cap. lxxxiv. Quia neque plebi militiæ volenti putabatur. Ibi tantummodo verbum substantivum, hic verò etiam pronomen relativum omittitur. Ea res imposuit interpretibus, cap. c. Uti militibus exequutus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Tacit. III. Hist. cap. lii. Iique omnes de festinatione Primi et Vari siniste, et Muciano volenti rescripserunt, h. e. quæ erant Muciano volenti.*

2. *Post illius honorem*] Honorem consulatus.

3. *Post multas tempestates*] Cum multo ante tempore id factum non esset. Post Marium longo intervallo id contigit Ciceroni. Ille verò valde ineptus fuit, qui hic in voce *tempestates* de turbis cogitavit, cum toties Sallustius eâ tempestate, et similia dixerit, ut notaret tempus. Atque ita Livius, Tacitus, Curtius æquè frequenter. Mansit eâ notione apud historicos usque ad infimam Latinitatis ætatem, quod Diocly, Hegesippus, Sulpicius Severus, iisque juniores ostendunt.

plebis

plebis Manilio Mancino rogatus, QUEM VELLET CUM JUGURTHA BELLUM GERERE? frequens Marius jussit. Senatus paullò antè Metello decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.

appointed Marius. The senate a little before had voted for Metellus: but that was in vain.

LXXIV. Eodem tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis, quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad Regem Bocchum profugerant; cum neque bellum geri sine ministris 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 præfectosque in dies mutare: modò adversum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere: sæpe in fuga, ac post paullò spem in armis habere: dubitare, virtuti popularium, an fide minùs crederet. ita, quocumque intenderat, res adversæ erant. Sed inter eas moras repentè sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidæ ab Jugurtha pro

is conferred upon an upstart gentleman, which had not happened for many years before. and after this, the people being asked by Manilius Mancinus, a tribune of the commons, who they inclined should carry on the war with Jugurtha? in a full assembly ap-

LXXIV. At the same time Jugurtha, having lost his friends, most of whom he himself had put to death, the rest out of fear had fled, part of them to the Romans, others to King Bocchus; and as the war could not be carried on without assistants, and he thought it dangerous to try the faith of new ones, after such treachery in the old, behaved in a very wavering manner, and knew not well what to do: no project, no advice, nor any person fully pleased him: he changed his marches and his officers every day: would move sometimes toward the enemy, sometimes toward the deserts: oftentimes placed his hopes in flight, and presently after in his arms: and was in doubts whether he could least trust the courage of his subjects, or their fidelity. thus, what way soever he turned his thoughts, things were against him. But, whilst he thus demurs, on a sudden Metellus presents himself with his army. The Numidians were put in order, and drawn up by Ju-

LXXIV. 1. *Amisiss amicis*] Amicos hic vocat, qui sunt circa Regem, consilarii et ministri rerum gerendarum, proximi, ut Bomilcarem appellat, cap. xxxv.

tempore

tempore parati instructique: dein prælium incipitur. Qua in parte Rex adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum: ceteri omnes [ejus milites] primo concursu pulsifugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti. nam ferme Numidas in omnibus præliis pedes magis, quam arma tuta sunt.

LXXV. Eâ fugâ Jugurtha impensius modò rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum et opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri, filiorumque ejus multus pueritiæ cultus erat. Quæ postquam Metello comperta, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proximum, spatium millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat; tamen spe patranda belli, [si ejus oppidi potius foret], omnia asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere adgreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sar-

gurtha, as the time would allow: and then a battle begins. In that part where the King was present, the fight was maintained for some time: all the rest [of his soldiers] were routed and put to flight at the first shock. The Romans became masters of a small number of standards and arms, but of few of the enemy. for generally a pair of heels saved the Numidians in all the battles more than their arms.

LXXV. Upon this defeat, Jugurtha, more than ever despairing of success, made off with the deserters and part of the horse to the deserts, and from thence to Thala, a great and wealthy city, where most of his treasure was, and a great deal of furniture for the use of his children in their youth. Which when discovered by Metellus, though he knew that, betwixt Thala and the next river, the country was parched and waste for the space of fifty miles; yet in hopes of finishing the war, [if he could be master of that town], he resolves to surmount all difficulties, and even vanquish nature itself. Wherefore he orders all the beasts of burden to be eased of their luggage, except ten days corn: and leathern bot-

2. *Tuta sunt*] *Tuta* is not in this place an adjective noun, but the participle perfect of the verb *tueri*.

LXXV. 1. *Filiorumque ejus multus pueritiæ cultus*] *Filiorum*, credo, etiam ad *filios* Jugurthæ spectat, quos supra cap. xlvii. usitato liberorum nomine exprimit. A potiore enim sexu denominationem sumunt, et *filios*, *patres*, *soceros*, *fratres*, *avos*. *Reges* dicunt, qui sint ex utroque sexu. Per *cultum* intelligit non modò vestimenta, sed omnia quæ ad educationem, ornatum, et magnificentiam liberorum Regis requiruntur.

cinis

cinis levare jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem: ceterum utres modò, et alia aquæ idonea portari. Præterea conquirat ex agris quàm plurimum potest, domiti pecoris; eoque imponit vasa cujusque modi, pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc finitumis imperat, qui se post Regis fugam Metello dederant, quàm plurimum quisque aquæ portarent, diem locumque, "ubi præstò fuerint præ"-dicit. Ipse ex flumine, quam proxumam oppido aquam suprà diximus, jumenta onerat. eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde ubi ad id loci ventum, quò Numidis præceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt; tanta repente cœlo missa vis aquæ dicitur, ut ea modò exercitui satis superque foret. Præterea com-
meatus spe amplior: quia Numidæ, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, officia intendunt. Ceterum milites religione pluviâ magis usi: eaque res multum animis eorum addidit. nam rati sese diis immortalibus

bles only, and other vessels proper to put up water in to be carried. Moreover, he picks up out of the country as many of the working cattle as he could; and loads them with vessels of all kinds, but mostly of wood, taken out of the cottages of the Numidians. Besides, he orders the neighbouring people, who, after the defeat of the King, had submitted to Metellus, to carry every one of them as much water as they could, and appoints time and place "for their meeting him." He loads the beasts of carriage out of the river, which, we have above said, was the highest water to the town. provided in this manner away he marches for Thala. Afterward, when he arrived at the place, to which he had ordered the Numidians to carry the water, and the camp was pitched and fortified: such a vast quantity of water is said to have been rained down from the clouds all on a sudden, that it alone would have been more than sufficient for the army. Besides, provisions were greater than expectation: for the Numidians had exceeded in their services, as most people do upon a recent submission. But the soldiers, from a religious consideration, made use rather of the rain than the river-water:

2. *Ubi præstò fuerint præ]* Ab seculis infartum esse scias. Latini enim, et imprimis Sallustius, *diem, locum constituere*, aut dicere usurpant, ut intelligant *diem*, quo die, et *locum*, ad quem locum aquam portarent. Hæc intelligunt, non exprimunt.

3. *Officia intendunt]* Intendere est augere, prolixè facere: plus adtulerant, quàm jussi erant.

curæ esse. Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthæ, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, quise locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magnâ atque insolitâ re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum parare: idem nostri facere.

them, though amazed at the great and uncommon event, yet prepared for war not a bit the less vigorously: our men did the same.

LXXVI. Sed Rex nihil jam infectum Metello credens, quippe qui omnia; arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam, ceteris imperitantem, industriâ vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniæ ex oppido noctu profugit: neque postea in ullo loco amplius unâ die, aut unâ nocte moratus, simulabat sese negotii gratiâ properare; ceterum proditionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat. nam talia consilia per otium, et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus ubi oppidanos prælio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus, et loco munitum videt, vallo fossâque mœnia circumvenit. Deinde locis ex copia maxumè idoneis vincas agere, ag-

and this accident added much to their courage. for they imagined that the immortal gods took care of them. And then the day following, contrary to Jugurtha's expectation, they arrive at Thala. The townspeople, who thought themselves secured by the natural wildness of the country about

them, though amazed at the great and uncommon event, yet prepared for war not a bit the less vigorously: our men did the same.

LXXVI. But the King thinking now nothing impracticable for Metellus, as who had conquered all things by his industry, viz. arms, weapons, places, times, and finally nature itself, that rules over all things else, fled out of the town in the night time, with his children and a great part of the treasure: and never after staid above one day, or one night in any one place, pretending he hastened away on account of business; but, the truth is, he was afraid of being betrayed, which he thought he might avoid by the quickness of his motions. for such designs are hatched in times of rest, and according to opportunity. But Metellus, when he sees the townspeople resolved upon fighting the town also well secured both by art and situation, environs the wall with a rampart and ditch. And then he erects vineæ in all the

LXXVI. 1. *Arma, tela*] As *arma* denotes defensive armour, and *tela* the offensive or missile, they may here be taken to import defences and attacks.

2. *Locis ex copia maxumè idoneis*] Ex omni copia locorum, quibus vincas agere potuit: neque verò iis omnia loca apta erant.

gerem

gerem jacere, et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra hæc oppidani festinare, parare: prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo antè labore præliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quàm eò ventum erat, oppido modò potiti: præda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum arietibus feriri, resque suas adflictas vident, aurum atque argentum, et alia, quæ prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant: ibi vino et epulis onerati, illaque, et domum, et semet igni corrumpunt; et quas victi ab hostibus pœnas metuerent, eas ipsi volentes pendere.

themselves with fire; and voluntarily inflicted on themselves the punishment, which upon being defeated they might have dreaded from the enemy.

LXXVII. Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes, “ uti præsidium præfectumque eò mitteret; Hamilcarem

most convenient places, throws up a mount, and from towers erected on the mount defends the works and the workmen. On the other hand, the townsmen were exceeding active, and made all possible preparations: in short, nothing was omitted on either side. Finally, the Romans, after being heartily tired with much previous fatigue and fighting, forty days after they arrived there made themselves masters of the city, and of it only: all the plunder had been destroyed by the deserters. These, after they saw the walls battered with rams, and their case desperate, carry the gold and silver, and other things which are accounted most valuable, to the royal palace: and there, after they had glutted themselves with wine and good cheer, they destroy both these, and the palace, and

themselves with fire; and voluntarily inflicted on themselves the punishment, which upon being defeated they might have dreaded from the enemy.

LXXVII. But just at the time when Thala was taken, deputies came from the town of Leptis to Metellus, begging of him, “ to send a garrison and a governor thither; that one Hamilcar, a

3. *Arietibus feriri*] The ram, says Josephus, was a vast long beam, like the mast of a ship, strengthened at one end with a head of iron, somewhat resembling that of a ram, whence it took its name. This was hung by the middle with ropes fastened to a beam that lay cross a couple of posts, and hanging thus equally balanced, it was by a great number of men violently thrust forward, drawn back, and again pushed forward, till, by reiterated strokes, it had shaken and broke down the wall with its iron head. N. B. The ram was commonly covered with vineæ, to protect both it and the men from the attempts of the enemy.

quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere; adversum quem neque imperia magistratum, neque leges valerent; nã id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore." Nam Leptitani jam inde à principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam Consulem, et postea Roman miserant, amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta à Bestia, Albino Metelloque imperata navi fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facilè, quæ petebant, adepti. Emissæ cò cohortes Ligurum quatuor, et C. Annius præfectus.

LXXVIII. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum, 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 propè in extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari naturâ: quorum

nobleman, a person of a turbulent disposition, was in a plot against the government; against whom neither the power of the magistrates, nor the laws could be effectual: unless he hastened to do this, the safety of the inhabitants, the allies of the Romans, would be in the utmost danger." For the people of Leptis, at the very beginning of the war with Jugurtha, had sent to Bestia the Consul, and afterwards to Rome, to desire our friendship and alliance. And then, when this was obtained, they continued always true and trusty, and punctually executed all orders from Bestia, Albinus, and Metellus. Wherefore they easily obtained of the general what they desired. Four battalions of Ligurians were sent thither, and C. Annius as governor.

LXXVIII. This town was built by the Sidonians, who, we are informed, leaving their native country on account of intestine broils, came by shipping into those parts: and is situated betwixt the two Syrtes, which have this name given them from their nature. For they are two bays almost in the extremity of Africa, unequal in bigness, but

LXXVII. 1. *Suam salutem, illorum socios*] Illorum malè ad Leptitanos referas, rectè ad Romanos, quorum illi focii erant.

2. *Navi fecerant*] This adjective is writ *navis* or *gnavis* indifferently.

LXXVIII. 1. *Ab Sidoniis*] The Sidonians were a people in Asia, to the north of Judea, on the sea-coast, and next neighbours to the Tyrians.

2. *Nomen ex re inditum*] The word *Syrtis* is derived from the Greek verb *σύρω*, which signifies *to draw*.

proxima

proxuma terræ præalta sunt; cetera, uti fors tulit, alta; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse, et sævire ventis cæpit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Ejus civitatis lingua modò conversa conubio Numidarum: leges, cultûsque pleraque Sidonica. quæ eò faciliùs retinebant, quòd procul ab imperio Regis ætatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multumque loci erant.

them and the well-inhabited parts of Numidia lay a huge desert.

LXXIX. Sed quoniam in has regiones per Lepitanorum negotia venimus; non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare. eam rem locus admonuit. Quâ tempestate Carthaginienses pleræque Africæ imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, unâ specie: neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui finis eorum dis-

of like nature: whereof the parts nigh the land are very deep; the rest, as chance directs, are now deep, at another time shallow. For when the sea begins to run high, and grow boisterous by the winds, the billows drag along mud, and sand, and massy stones: whereby the appearance of the places is ever changing with the winds. The language alone of this city has undergone a change by their intermarriages with the Numidians: for their laws, and most things in their way of living, are purely Sidonian. which they retained the more easily, because they lived at a distance from the King's court. Betwixt

LXXIX. But since we are got into these parts, by the affairs of the Leptitani; it seems not improper to give an account of a noble and wonderful action of two Carthaginians. the place has put me in mind of it. At the time when the Carthaginians ruled over the greatest part of Africa, the Cyrenians were also a great and wealthy people. The country in the middle betwixt them was all sandy, and of an uniform appearance: there was neither river, nor mountain, to distinguish their limits; which

3. *Ab imperio Regis*] By *Regis* some understand the King of Persia; but others with greater reason take it to be meant of the King of Numidia or Jugurtha: for as Numidia lay next them, they had, in a sort, by this time become one people with the Numidians by their intermarriages; and therefore it is not improbable that Leptis at this time was much like Capfa mentioned cap. lxxxix. that is, a free city, governed by its own laws, but under homage however to the King of Numidia.

cerneret; quæ res eos in magno diuturno bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque legiones; item classes fusæ fugatæque, et alteri alteros aliquantùm adriverant; veriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius adgrederetur, per inducias sponfionem faciunt, “uti certo die legati domo profisciscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur.” Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philænis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardiùs ière. Id secordiâne, an casu acciderit, parum cognovi. Ceterùm solet in illis locis tempestas haud secùs, atque in mari retinere. Nam ubi per loca æqualia et nuda gignentium ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea magnâ vi agitata, ora oculosque implere solet: ita prospectu impedito, morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquantò posteriores se vident, et ob rem corruptam domi pœnas metuunt; criminari, Carthaginenses ante tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem: denique omnia malle, quàm victi abire. Sed cùm Pœni aliam conditionem, tantummodo æquam, pete-

thing engaged them in a terrible and tedious war with one another. After their armies and fleets had been often routed and put to flight on both sides, and they had weakened one another pretty much; fearing, lest by and by some third people should fall upon the conquered and conquerors together equally weakened, upon a cessation of arms they make an agreement, “that upon a day, appointed deputies should set out from their respective homes; and the place where they met one another should be accounted the common boundary of both nations.” Accordingly, two brothers called Philæni, sent from Carthage, made all dispatch to perform their journey: the Cyrenians proceeded more slowly. Whether that happened through laziness, or some accident, I have not found. But in these parts a storm uses to detain travellers, just as effectually as at sea. For when a wind arising upon this country, that is level and bare of herbage, has heaved up the sand from the ground, it being driven with a mighty force is apt to fill their mouths and eyes: and so preventing their seeing the way before them, retards their journey. After the Cyrenians perceived themselves a little behind, and turned apprehensive of punishment at home for mismanaging the affair; they charged the Carthaginians with setting out before the time, made a mighty bustle upon it: and in
rent,

rent, Græci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, "vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur; vel eâdem conditione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros." Philæni, conditione probatâ, seque vitamque reipublicæ condonavere. ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philænis fratribus aras consecravere; alique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

their country. and so were buried alive. The Carthaginians dedicated altars in that place to the memory of the two brothers the Philæni; and other honours were instituted for them at home. Now I return to my purpose.

LXXX. Jugurtha postquam, amisâ Thalâ, nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gætulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque, et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit: ac paullatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Præterea Regis Bocchi proximos magnis muneribus, et majoribus promissis, ad studium sui perducit. quis adjutoribus Regem aggressus, impellit, uti ad-

short would rather chuse any thing, than go away outdone. But whereas the Carthaginians desired any other terms, provided only they were fair, the Greeks made this proposal to the Carthaginians, "either to be buried alive in the place which they claimed as the boundary to their nation; or that they would advance forward to what place they inclined, upon the same condition." The Philæni, accepting the offer, made a sacrifice of themselves and their lives to

their country. and so were buried alive. The Carthaginians dedicated altars in that place to the memory of the two brothers the Philæni; and other honours were instituted for them at home. Now I return to my purpose.

LXXX. Jugurtha, after the loss of Thala, thinking nothing sufficiently secure against Metellus, takes his way with a small retinue through vast deserts, and comes to the Gætulians, a savage and uncivilized sort of people, and at that time unacquainted with the Roman name. He musters up a great number of them: and by degrees trains them to keep rank, follow their standards, observe command, and perform other military exercises. Moreover, by great presents, and greater promises, he brings over to his interest the greatest favourites of King Bocchus. seconded by whom he addresses the King, and prevails with him to undertake a war against the Romans. This was

LXXIX. Græci optionem] The Cyrenians are called Græci, as being a colony from Greece, viz. from the island of Thera, as was already observed, cap. xix. n. 6.

vorsum Romanos bellum suscipiat. Id eâ gratiâ facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romanam miserat, fœdus et amicitiam petitem. quam rem opportunissimam incepto bello pauci impediverant, cæci avaritiâ, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthæ filia Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levius ducitur: quod singuli, pro opibus quisque, quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent; sed Reges eo ampliùs. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur; nulla pro focio obtinet: pariter omnes viles sunt.

LXXXI. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt. ibi, fide datâ et acceptâ, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: “ Romanos injustos, profundâ avaritiâ, communis omnium hostis esse: eandem

the more easily and readily gone into, on account that Bocchus, in the beginning of this war, had sent ambassadors to Rome, to desire an alliance and friendship with the Romans. which thing, though likely to prove of singular advantage in the war that was entered upon, a few gentlemen, blinded with avarice, whose manner was to make sale of every thing honourable and dishonourable, obstructed. Bocchus's daughter had been married likewise before this to Jugurtha. But this relation is little regarded amongst the Numidians and Moors: because every one has a great many wives, each according to his wealth, some ten, others more; but the Kings for this reason more than any body. Thus their affection is distracted with variety; no wife gets the place of a companion: all are equally treated with indifference.

LXXXI. Accordingly their armies meet in a place agreed upon by both the Kings. there, after giving and taking an oath of fidelity, Jugurtha inflamed Bocchus's spirit by a speech: setting forth, “ that the Romans were an unjust people, of insatiable avarice, and the common enemy of all:

LXXX. 1. *Facilius proniusque*] *Facilius est facile factu Jugurthæ; pronius Bocchi inclinationem ad audendum aliquid contra Romanos innuit.*

2. *Vendere mos erat*] Sallust seems to insinuate, that these gentlemen had been bribed by Jugurtha to oppose Bocchus in the alliance he was suing for; at least we may suppose them to be the same persons, who formerly had been drawn over to Jugurtha's interest by the attractive charms of his gold.

illos caussam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi : quâs omnia regna advorsa sint : tum sese, paullo antè Carthaginienfes, item Regem Persen, pòst, uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore." His atque aliis talibus dictis ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt : quòd ibi Metellus prædam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut, captâ urbe, operæ pretium fore ; aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, prælio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modò festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere ; ne moras agitando, aliud, quàm bellum, mallet.

all possible haste to widen the breach betwixt Bocchus and the Romans; lest, upon demurring, he should make choice of something else than war.

LXXXII. Imperator postquam de Regum societate cognovit, non temerè, neque, uti sæpe jam victo Jugurthâ consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandiciopiam facit: ceterum haud procul ab Cirta, castris munitis, Reges opperitur ; melius ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoni-

mankind : that they had the same cause of war with Bocchus, as with himself and with other nations, viz. the lust of dominion: a people to whom all Kings in their account were enemies: that for the present he himself was, and a little before the Carthaginians, and King Perses had been, for the future, every one, as he appeared very opulent, would accordingly be treated as an enemy by the Romans." After he had said this and other things to the like purpose, they resolve upon marching to the town of Cirta : because there Metellus had lodged the booty, and the prisoners, and the baggage. Jugurtha supposed by this means, that, either, upon their taking the city, there would be compensation for their pains ; or, if the Roman general should come to the relief of his friends, a battle must ensue. For he slyly made this only his business, with

LXXXII. The general, after he got intelligence of the confederacy of the Kings, doth not give an opportunity of battle in a rash manner, nor in all places, as he had used to do, after Jugurtha had been several times defeated : but fortifying his camp not far from Cirta, he waits for the Kings ; thinking it better, after informing himself about the Moors,

LXXXI. *Festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere]* Festinabat Jugurtha, ut Bocchum, facinore admissò, ad sanitatem reverti puderet.

am is novus hostis acceperat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Româ per litteras certior fit, provinciam Numidiam Mario datam. nam Consulem factum, jam antea acceperat. Quis rebus supra bonum atque honestum perculsus, neque lacrimas tenere, neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter ægritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vortebant: alii bonum ingenium contumeliâ accensum esse: multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur. nobis satis cognitum, illum magis honore Marii, quàm injuriâ suâ excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si ademta provincia alii, quàm Mario, traderetur.

LXXXIII. Igitur eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiæ videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulatum, “ ne sine causâ hostis populo Romano fieret: habere eum magnam copiam societatis amicitæque conjungendæ, quæ potior bello esset; quamquam opibus consideret, non debere incerta pro certis mutare: omne bellum sumi

because they were a new enemy, to engage upon some advantage. In the mean time he had notice by letters from Rome, that the province of Numidia was assigned to Marius. for he had heard before, that he was made Consul. With which news being prodigiously affected, beyond what was reasonable or decent, he could neither refrain from tears, nor govern his tongue: he was a man extraordinary as to other qualifications, but bore trouble of mind in too womanish a manner. Which some imputed to pride: others to his fine spirit that was provoked to indignation by ill usage: many to a deep regret, because the victory already gained was snatched out of his hands. to me it is abundantly evident, that he was more vexed at the advancement of Marius, than the injury done to himself, and would not have born it with so much grudge, if the province taken from him had been given to another than Marius.

LXXXIII. *Refrained therefore by this discontent, and because it seemed a folly to take care of another man's business at his own hazard, he dispatches messengers to Bocchus, to desire, “ he would not become an enemy to the Roman people without cause: that he had a fine opportunity of striking up an alliance and friendship with them, which would be more profitable than a war; tho' he could rely upon his strength, he ought not to exchange certainties for uncertainties: that any war was facile,*

facile, ceterum ægerrumè
desinere : non in ejusdem
potestate initium ejus et
finem esse : incipere cui-
vis, etiam ignavo licere ;
deponi, cum victores ve-
lint. proinde sibi regno-
que consuleret ; neu flo-
rentis res suas cum Jugur-
thæ perditis misceret.”
Ad ea Rex satis placide
verba facit : “ sese pa-
cem cupere, sed Jugur-
thæ fortunarum misereri.
si eadem illi copia fieret,
omnia conventura.” Rur-
sus imperator contra po-
stulata Bocchi nuncios
mittit. ille probare, par-
tim abnuere. Eo modo
sæpe ab utroque missis re-
missisque nunciis tempus
procedere, et, ex Metelli
voluntate, bellum inta-
ctum trahi.

LXXXIV. At Marius,
ut suprâ diximus, cupi-
entissimâ plebe Consul
factus, postquam ei pro-
vinciam Numidiam po-
pulus jussit, antea jam in-
fectus nobilitati, tum verò
multus atque ferox insta-
re : singulos modò, modò
universos lædere : dictita-

*easily undertaken, but ended with
great difficulty : the beginning
and ending thereof were not in the
hands of the same person : any one,
even a coward, might begin ; it
was dropped when the conqueror
inclined. and therefore he should
have regard to his own interest
and that of his kingdom ; and
not embark his prosperous condition
with the ruined fortune of Jugur-
tha.” To this the King made reply
in a manner abundantly smooth :
“ that he was desirous of peace,
but pitied the case of Jugurtha.
if the same offers were made to
him, all would be agreed to.”
Again the general sends messengers
with an answer to Bocchus’s de-
mand. some things whereof he
approved, others he rejected. In
this manner, by frequently send-
ing and resending messengers on
both sides, the time passed away,
and the war, agreeably to Mc-
tellus’s desire, was protracted without a blow struck.*

LXXXIV. But Marius made
Consul, as we said above, thro’ the
extraordinary zeal of the com-
mons, after the people voted him
the province of Numidia, as he
was formerly an enemy to the no-
bility, turned then indeed violent
and furious : he lashed sometimes
particular persons, sometimes the
whole body : would often brag,

LXXXIII. Ille probare, partim abnuere] i. e. Ille partim probabat,
partim abnucebat. The first partim is frequently omitted. Cat. cap. l.
Liberti et pueri ex clientibus Lentuli, (partim) diversis itineribus, opi-
fices atque servitia ad eum cripiendum sollicitabant : partim exquirebant,
ducis multitudinum.

LXXXIV. 1. Ei provinciam—jussit] This sentence may be thus sup-
plied, ei provinciam—dari jussit.

re, “ sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse ;” alia præterea magnifica pro se, et illis dolentia. Interim, quæ bello opus erant, prima habere: postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia à populis et Regibus sociisque arcessere: præterea ex Latium fortissimum quemque, plerisque militiæ, paucos famâ cognitos accire, et ambiendo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis [secum proficisci]. Neque illi senatus, quamquam adversus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; ceterum supplementum etiam lætus decreverat: quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur, et Marius aut belli usum, aut studia volgii amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata, tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerisque invaserat. Sese quisque prædâ locupletem, victorem domum rediturum, alia hujusmodi animis trahebant. et eos

“ that he had taken from them the consulship as spoil from the vanquished ;” and say other high things of himself, and mortifying for them. In the mean time, he minded chiefly what was necessary for the war demanded recruits for the army, sent for auxiliary forces from states, Kings, and allies: moreover, from Latium he called up the choicest men, most of them well known in the wars, though few of them by a public character, and by making interest engaged the old soldiers, who had served out their legal time, [to go along with him]. Nor durst the senate, though they were against him, refuse him as to any thing; but even cheerfully voted him recruits: because the service was imagined by them to be disagreeable to the commonalty, and so Marius by this means would either miss the advantages he proposed by the war, or lose the affections of the people. But this was hoped in vain, such a fondness to go along with Marius had seized most of them. Every one entertained fancies of being enriched with spoil, returning home victorious,

2. *Neque plebi militia volenti putabatur*] See cap lxxiii. n. 1.

3. *Belli usum, aut studia volgi amissurus*] The nobility imagined, the people would be backward, and not incline to enlist for the service; and that Marius, if he should go without them, would not be able to carry on the war to any purpose, and so would miss the riches, reputation, and triumph denoted by *belli usum*, which he expected to acquire by finishing the war, and bringing Jugurtha in chains to Rome; or if he should force the people to enlist, and go with him, contrary to their inclination, he would lose their affections, and consequently his popularity, for which he was now so famous, of which he was now so proud, and on account of which he was so much hated and envied by the nobility.

non paullum oratione sua Marius arrexerat. Nam postquam, omnibus, quæ postulaverat, decretis, milites scribere volt, hortandi causâ simul, et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo differuit.

And then he harangued them in the following manner.

LXXXV. " Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non isdem artibus imperium à vobis petere, et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primo industrios, supplicis, modicos esse; dehinc per ignaviam et superbiam ætatem agere. sed mihi contra ea videtur. Nam quò universa respublica pluris est, quàm consulatus aut prætura, eò majore curâ administrari, quàm hæc peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare, simul, et ærario parcere; cogere ad militiam, quos nolis offendere; domi forisque omnia curare; et ea agere inter invidos, occurrentis, factiones, opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc, alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum facta fortia, cognatorum et adfini-

and other conceits of this kind. and Marius, by a speech of his, had not a little raised their expectations. For when he resolved to levy recruits, every thing being voted for him that he had desired, he called an assembly of the people, with design at once to encourage them, and, as his manner was, to inveigh against the nobility.

LXXXV. " *I am sensible, O Romans, that most men do not make application to you for preferment in the state, and behave in it, after they have compassed their design, under the same character: at first they are industrious, humble, and modest; afterwards they lead a life of sloth and pride. but to me the quite reverse of this appears reasonable. For how much the whole commonwealth is of more consideration than a consulate or pretorship, with just so much the more care ought its interest to be minded, than these sought after. Nor am I insensible, what a weight of business, by your great kindness, I have the charge of. To make preparations for the war, and at the same time spare the treasury; to compel those to the service, whom you would not incline to disoblige; to take care of every thing at home and abroad; and to do this amidst envious, thwarting, factious people, is, Gentlemen, difficult beyond common persuasion.*

LXXXV. 1. *Sed mihi contra ea videtur*] Ita interpretari possumus, Sed mihi id, quod est contra ea, videtur.

um opes, multæ clientelæ, omnia hæc præsidio adfunt : mihi spes omnes in memet sitæ, quas necesse est et virtute, et innocentia tutari. nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intellego, Quirites: omnium ora in me conversa esse : æquos bonosque favere : quippe benefacta mea reipublicæ procedunt ; nobilitatem locum invadendi quærere. Quò mihi acrius adnitendum est, ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc ætatis à pueritia fui, ut omnis labores, pericula consueta habeam. Quæ ante vestra beneficia gratuitò faciebam, ea uti, acceptâ mercede, deferam, non est consilium, Quiri-

Besides, if others fail in the performance of their duty, the antiquity of their family, the heroic actions of their ancestors, the power of their relations and friends, their numerous dependents, all these, I say, afford them protection : all my hopes depend upon myself, which I must needs support both by good behaviour and integrity. for other things are of no force. This too I am sensible of, Gentlemen : that the eyes of all are turned upon me : that the just and the good wish well to me : in regard my good services to the state are in their view ; but that the nobility are watching for an opportunity to fall foul upon me. Wherefore I must endeavour the more strenuously, that ye be not brought into the snare, and that they be disappointed. From my childhood to this moment I was

2. *Benefacta mea reipublicæ procedunt*] The verb *procedere* signifies sometimes *to come abroad, to come to public view* ; and so *benefacta mea reipublicæ procedunt* will signify, *My good services to the state are displayed in their view, or are full before their eyes, i. e. under their consideration*. In this sense Curtius understands the expression, who explains *procedunt* by *reputantur, considerantur*. Marius had said in the former sentence, that the eyes of all men were turned upon him ; and now he adds, that good men favoured him, or wished well to his interest ; because when they looked upon him, a train of noble heroic actions presented themselves to view, and passed as it were in procession before their eyes. For the construction see Cat. cap. xxxii. n. 1. or the note subjoined to the 16th rule of Syntax in Mr. Ruddiman's grammar.

3. *Neque vos capiamini*] Posses intelligere *capiamini spe*, decipiamini in favore vestro, dum ego non is essem, qualem velletis. Sed bono jure hoc *capiamini*, si ad superiora oculum vertas, ad nobilitatem, quæ locum invadendi quærebat, retuleris. Duo erant, quæ Marium ad acrius adnitendum impellebant, quæque proposita habebat : primum ne caperetur plebes ab nobilibus, qui, si Marius malè rempublicam gessisset, acerbissimè in illum simul, et plebem vindicaturi videbantur : alterum, ut ipse nobilitati illuderet. Ex altera parte studium, ex altera odium stimulabant.

tes. Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere: mihi, qui omnem ætatem in optumis artibus egi, benefacere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis; quam rem nobilitas ægerrime tulit. Quæso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc, aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris pro sapientiæ ac multarum imaginum, et nullius stipendii: scilicet ut in tanta re, ignarus omnium, trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii. Ita plerumque evenit, ut quem vos imperare jussistis, is imperatorem alium quærat. Ac ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam Consules facti sunt, acta majorum et Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cœperint; homines præposterii. Nam gerere, quàm fieri, tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparete nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me

trained up so, that I have been inured to all hardships and dangers. What things I did, from a principle of generosity, before your favours conferred upon me, then to neglect, now that I have received my reward, is, Gentlemen, none of my design. It is hard for those to behave with moderation in places of power, who have only put on a counterfeit shew of goodness whilst they stood candidates: to me, who have spent my whole life in the best of practices, doing good is now turned, by custom, into nature. You have commanded me to carry on the war with Jugurtha; which thing the nobility has taken heinously ill. I beseech you, think with yourselves, whether it may not be better to alter this, since you may send upon this, or any other like occasion, some one of the tribe of the nobility, a man of an ancient family and many statutes, and that has never served one campaign: ay just so, that he, a stranger to all business, may, upon such an important occasion, be frightened, confounded, and apply to some of the commons to direct him in his duty. And so commonly it happens, that he, whom you have appointed to command, must seek another to command him. And I know some, Gentlemen, who, after they were made Consuls, have begun to read the actions of our ancestors, and the military in-

4. *Multarum imaginum*] See cap. iv. n. 2.

5. *Re atque usu prius est*] Is gerit antea consulatum, quam factus est, qui in tribunatu, prætura, aliisque potestatibus ita agit, ut consulatu omnium judicio dignus habeatur.

hominem novum. Quæ illi audire et legere solent, eorum partim vidi, alia egomet gessi: quæ illi litteris, ego militando didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam: mihi fortuna, illis probra obiectantur. quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existumo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum. Ac si jam ex patribus Albini, aut Bestiæ quæri posset, mene, an illos ex se gigni maluerint; quid responsuros creditis, nisi, sese liberos quàm optimos voluisse? Quòd si jure me despiciunt, faciunt idem majoribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas cœpit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant et labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per hæc illum cepi. Verùm homines corrupti superbiam ita ætatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honestè vixerint. Ne illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissimas res pariter expectant, ignaviae voluntatem, et præmia virtutis. Atque etiam cum apud vos, aut in sena-

structions of the Greeks; a set of men that begin at the wrong end. For the exercising of an office is posterior, in point of time, to the being elected, but ought to be prior to it in respect of qualifications and experience. Compare now, gentlemen, me an upstart with these haughty nobles. What they are accustomed to hear and read, one part of this I have seen, another I myself have acted: I have learned those things by serving in the wars, which they do from books. Now do you yourselves judge, whether actions or words are of more account. They despise the meanness of my descent; I their incapacity for business: my fortune is thrown up to me, their enormities to them. tho' I think nature is one, and common to all, yet the bravest is the best gentleman. And if now the question could be put to the fathers of Albinus or Bestia, whether they would rather chuse that I or those were descended of them; what do you think they would answer, but that for children they wished the worthiest men? But if on good ground they despise me, they do the same by their ancestors, whose nobility, like mine, took its rise from their noble behaviour. They envy my preferment; therefore let them envy also my industry, my integrity, and my dangers, since by these I attained to the former. But these men corrupted with pride, so lead their life, as if they despised the honours you have to bestow; and yet in such a manner do they sue for them, as if they had lived honourably. Truly

tu verba faciunt, plerâque oratione majores suos extollunt; eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant: quod contrâ. Nam quantum vita illorum præclarior, tantò horum secordia flagitiosior. Et profectò ita se res habet: majorum gloria posteris lumen est, neque bona neque mala in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites; verùm id, quod multò præclarior est, meamet facta dicere licet. Nunc videte, quàm 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 certè peperisse melius est, quàm acceptam corripisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam respondere velint, abundè illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. Sed in maximo vestro beneficio, cum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere: ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem, ex animi sententia, nulla ora-

they are much mistaken, who expect at once two things of a very different nature, the pleasure of sloth, and the rewards of virtue. And when they harangue too before you, or in the senate, most of their speech they spend in celebrating their ancestors; they think themselves the more illustrious for relating their heroic actions: whereas it is quite otherwise. For the more illustrious the lives of the former were, so much the more scandalous is the spiritless behaviour of the latter. And indeed the case is thus: the glory of ancestors is a light upon their posterity, that suffers neither their good nor ill qualities to be concealed. I labour under a defect in this respect, Gentlemen; but I can relate my own actions, a thing that is much more glorious. Now see how unreasonable they are. What they challenge to themselves from the brave exploits of others, that they don't allow me from my own: forsooth, because I have no statues to shew, and because my nobility is of late date; which certainly to have acquired is better than to have disgraced after receiving it from ancestors. Indeed I am not ignorant, that they would find plenty of elegant and polite language, if now they had a mind to make a reply. But whereas upon all occasions, since I came to be possessed of this high dignity by your great favour, they abuse me and you too with vile reproach-

6. *Ex animi sententia*] Est formula ad severandi, et vanitatem declinandi: quomodo alibi, *pro deum atque hominum silentio, medius filius, mehercule*, alias interposuit.

tio lādere potest. quippe vera necesse est bene prādicet; falsam vita morefque mei superant. Sed quoniam vestra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem, et maximum negotium imposuistis: etiam atque etiam reputate, num id poenitendum sit. Non possum fidei causā imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare; at, si res postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona; præterea cicatrices advorso corpore. Hæ sunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non hæreditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quæ ego plurimis laboribus et pericu-

es, I thought it not proper to be silent: lest some might take modesty on this head for an argument of guilt. For indeed, I am persuaded, no speech can hurt me. because a true one must needs speak well of me; my life and manners are proof against a false one. But since your conduct is blamed, who have laid upon me the greatest honour, and business of the highest importance: consider again and again, whether this is to be repented of. I cannot, to gain credit, produce the statues, nor the triumphs, or the consulships of my ancestors; but, if occasion required, I could show you spears, a banner, trappings, and other military boons; and scars too on my body before. These are my statues, this my nobility, not left to me by inheritance, as theirs to them, but what I acquired by many hardships and dangers. My

7. *Hastas, vexillum, phaleras*] These were rewards commonly given by a general to such of his men as had signalized themselves in any action. The *hasta* was a fine spear of wood, without any iron on it, thence called *hasta pura*: such an one as Sylvius is represented to lean upon, Virg. *Æneid*. VI. v. 760. *Purâ juvenis qui nititur hastâ*. The *vexillum* was a standard curiously wrought, and of valuable materials. The *phalerae* were of two kinds; one being a suit of rich trappings for a horse; but whether these trappings were applied as an ornament to the horse's fore-head, to the sides of his head, or to his breast, authors are not agreed. The other sort of *phalerae* were worn by men, and are supposed to have been a collar, or chain of gold that surrounded the neck, and hung down upon the breast. Besides these, many other military rewards were in use among the Romans, such as the *torques*, *armille*, *patere*, and the *corone* of various kinds.

8. *Cicatrices advorso corpore*] Scars or wounds on the breast, or fore part of the body, were honourable, as being received with the face to the enemy; but wounds or scars on the back, were disgraceful, as signifying that the person was a coward, and had received them whilst he was running away.

9. *Relicta, ut illa illis, sed quæ*] *Relicta*, *illa*, and *quæ*, are plural and neuter, referring to *imagines* and *nobilitas*.

lis quæsiui. Non sunt composita verba mea : parùm id facio ; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit : illis artificio opus est, uti turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras Græcas didici : parùm placebat eas discere, quippe quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multò optima reipublicæ doctus sum : hostem ferire, præsidia agitare ; nihil metuere, nisi turpem famam ; hiemem et ætatem juxtà pati ; humi requiescere ; eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego præceptis milites hortabor ; neque illos artè colam, me opulenter ; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque cum tute per molli-
tiem agas, exercitum sup-

language is not polite, say they : *I make not that my business ; virtue without words shews itself sufficiently : it is they that have need of art to palliate their foul actions with flowers of rhetoric. Again I have not studied the Grecian literature : I had no inclination to study it, since it hath contributed nothing to fortitude in the teachers of it. But I have been instructed in those things that are by much the most useful to the commonwealth : to maul an enemy, to keep an army in a posture of defence ; to dread nothing but an infamous character ; to bear cold and heat alike ; to lodge upon the ground ; and endure, at the same time, hunger and fatigue. With these lessons shall I animate my soldiers ; nor shall I treat them hardly, and myself with indulgence ; nor make their toil the matter of my glory. This is the command that is useful, this is the command that befits a member of the com-*

10. *Parùm id facio*] Propriâ notione intellige, ut frequenter in sermone negligentiore, quem noster hic studiosè quæsiuit, pro *non id ego ago*, nimirum, ut verba mea sint composita.

11. *Ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt*] The Greeks were now a conquered people, and had submitted to the Romans; and hence Marius concludes, though very unjustly, that there could be no excellency in the Grecian literature, since it had not inspired the Greeks with courage and fortitude, which is his sense of the word *virtutem*, sufficient to protect themselves and defend their liberty.

12. *Præsidia agitare*] Cape, ut suprà, cap. lv. *Ubi frumento, aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu præsidium agitabant*, i. e. præsidio erant frumentantibus.

13. *Gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam*] Quæ ferè miserrima est conditio militum, qui laborant, feriunt, cædunt, caduntque ; dux gloriam rapit : illis præter vulnera aut mortem nihil sit reliqui.

14. *Supplicio cogere*] Pœnis acerbissimis ad officium suum cogere.

plicio

plicio cogere, id est, dominum, non imperatorem esse. Hæc atque talia majores vestri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere. Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum æmulos contemnit; et omnis honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos à vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quæ licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui præclaram: virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt; quia parum scitè convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum,

monwealth. For to keep an army to their duty by severe discipline, when you yourself wallow in ease, is to be a tyrant, not a general. By practising these and such like things, your ancestors aggrandized both themselves and the state. Whom our nobility depending upon, though very unlike them in their behaviour, despise us that follow their example; and demand from you all places of power, not on the score of merit, but as a debt due to their persons. But those haughty gentlemen are widely mistaken. Their ancestors left them all that was in their power, riches, statues, and their own glorious memory: they did not leave them their noble qualities; nor could they: these are neither conferred, nor received by way of gift. They say that I am a rough-bewn fellow, and of clownish fashions; neque

15. *Id est, dominum—esse*] This imports an assuming of such an absolute and despotic power as a master has over slaves.

16. *Debitos à vobis repetit*] *Repetere* est verbum eorum qui debita. possunt.

17. *Histrionem—coquum, quàm villicum*] The *histriones* here meant were buffoons, *i. e.* a sort of witty fellows, somewhat like the fools who attend doctors on the stage in this country. These the noblemen in Rome kept for their own diversion, and the entertainment of such as frequented their houses, particularly at table; they, by dancing, singing, and pieces of wit and drollery, kept the company merry. The *coquus* or cook was he who dressed the viſuals, and, among the ancient Romans, was one of the meanest slaves: but when luxury came to prevail, their profession required great art and skill to please the palates of the nobles, now grown nice and delicate; and instead of one or two cooks, some noblemen, in the luxurious days of Rome, would keep fifty or an hundred, nay, some authors say, a thousand. The *villici* were stewards or servants, who took care of noblemens estates, and had the oversight of their country business. Now, in this degenerate time, some noblemen valued themselves much more upon having well-accomplished

neque pluris pretii co-
quum, quàm villicum, ha-
beo. quæ mihi lubet con-
fiteri. Nam ex parente
meo, et ex sanctis viris ita
accepi, munditias mulie-
ribus, viris laborem con-
venire, omnibusque bonis
oportere plus gloriæ, quàm
divitiarum; arma, non
supellectilem decori esse.
Quin ergo quod juvat,
quod carum æstumant, id
semper faciant: ament,
potent; ubi adolescen-
tiam habuere, ibi sene-
ctutem agant, in convi-
viis, dediti ventri et tur-
pissimæ parti corporis:
sudorem, pulverem, et al-
lia talia relinquant nobis,
quibus illa epulis jucundi-
ora sunt. Verùm non est
ita. Nam ubi se omni-
bus flagitiis dedecoravere
turpissimi viri, bonorum
præmia ereptum eunt. I-
ta injustissimè luxuria et
ignavia, pessimæ artes,
illis, qui coluere eas, ni-
hil obficiunt; reipublicæ
innoxie cladi sunt. Nunc
quoniam illis, quantum
mores mei, non illorum
flagitia, poscebant, re-
spondi; pauca de repu-
blica loquar. Primum

*because I am not nice in furnish-
ing out an entertainment, nor keep
any buffoon, nor a cook of higher
price than my steward. all which
I frankly own. For I have learn-
ed from my father, and from ve-
nerable persons, that delicacy be-
longs to women, rugged industry
to men, and that all the brave
ought to have more of glory than
of riches; that armour, not
household furniture, is their or-
nament. Why then, let them ever
be employed in that which pleases
them, and which they esteem so
dear: let them whore, let them
drink; wherein they have spent
their youth, therein let them pass
their old age, in revelling, de-
voted to the belly, and the vilest
part of the body: let them leave
sweat, dust, and other such things
to us, to whom these are more
agreeable than all their fine en-
tertainments. But this is not
their way. For after these vile
sots have disgraced themselves by
all manner of scandalous vices,
they proceed to snatch away the
rewards of the virtuous. Thus,
most unjustly, luxury and idle-
ness, the worst of qualities, are
no way detrimental to those who
have practised them; but are of
pernicious consequence to the
innocent commonwealth. Now
since I have answered them so*

plished buffoons and cooks, than upon having faithful and able stewards
to take care of their estates in the country, and would have purchased
them at a far higher price. But in this Marius differs from them.

18. *Pluris pretii*—*habeo*] *Habere non est æstimare, sed possidere.*

19. *Ex sanctis viris*] *Sanctos dicunt viros integerrimos, et in omni
sua vita ad legem compositos.*

omnium de Numidia bonum habetote animum, Quirites. Nam quæ ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tuta sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens; sed meherculè magis strenuus, quàm felix. Nam magna pars avaritiæ, aut temeritate ducum adtrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus militaris ætas, adnitimini mecum, et capeffite rempublicam: neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum, aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in prælio consultor idem, et socius periculi vobiscum adero: meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxtà geram. Et profectò, diis juvantibus, omnia matura sunt, victoria, præda, laus: quæ si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos rei publicæ subvenire decebat. Etenim ignaviâ nemo immortalis factus: neque quisquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni ho-

far as my character, not their infamous behaviour, required; I shall speak a few words concerning the present state of affairs. And first of all, as to Numidia, have a good heart, Gentlemen. For you have removed all that hitherto secured Jugurtha, avarice, inexperience, and pride. And then there is an army there, well acquainted with the country; but, upon my word, more valiant than fortunate. For a great part of it has been destroyed by the avarice or rashness of their commanders. Wherefore you, whose age is fit for war, exert yourselves with me, and espouse the cause of the commonwealth: nor let fear discourage any one on account of the misfortune of others, or the haughtiness of commanders. I in the march, in the battle, shall be present with you, your adviser, and companion of your danger; and upon all occasions shall treat myself and you alike. And indeed, with the help of the gods, all things are ready for you, victory, spoil, and glory: and though they were uncertain, or at a distance, yet would it become all gallant men to support the cause of the state. For no man has been rendered immortal

20. *Avaritiâ, aut temeritate ducum*] By the avarice of Bestia, as in cap. xxix. and of Albinus, cap. xxxvi. by the rashness of Aulus, as in cap. xxxvii. and xxxviii.; and probably he also has in his thought the unsuccessful attempt of Metellus against Zama, and the loss of the garri-son at Vaga.

21. *Quibus militaris ætas*] From the age of seventeen years and upwards to fifty.

neſſique vitam exigent. *by lazy inactivity: nor did ever*
 Plura dicerem, Quirites, *any father wiſh, that his ſons*
 ſi timidis virtutem verba *might never die; but rather,*
 adderent: nam ſtrenuis *that they might live like brave*
 abundè dictum puto.” *and worthy men. I ſhould ſay*
more, Gentlemen, if words would put courage into cowards:
for to the valiant, I think, abundance has been ſaid.”

LXXXVI. Hujuscemodi oratione habitâ, Marius, after the
 Marius poſtquam plebis ani- *delivery of this ſpeech, perceiving*
 mos arreſtos videt, *the ſpirits of the people to be much*
 properè commeatu, ſtipendio, *elevated, loads his ſhips in all*
 armis, aliis utilibus navis *haſte with provisions, money,*
 onerat: cum his A. Man- *arms, and other neceſſaries: and*
 lium legatum proficiſci ju- *orders his lieutenant general A.*
 bet. Ipſe interea milites *Manlius to go along with them.*
 ſcribere, non more inajo- *In the meantime he levies ſoldiers,*
 rum, neque ex claſſibus, *not according to ancient uſage,*
 ſed uti cujuſque lubido *nor out of the ſeveral claſſes, but*
 erat, capite cenſos pleroſ- *every one that inclined, moſt of*
them of the very loweſt rank.
 que.

LXXXVI. 1. *Neque ex claſſibus*] Servius Tullius, the ſixth King of
 Rome, divided the people, according to their eſtates or riches, into ſix
 ranks, called *claſſes*, with a deſign to regulate the taxes. the form of
 procedure in the election of the magiſtrates, and the levying of ſoldiers,
 according to the wealth, dignity, and order of theſe *claſſes*. The firſt
claſſis conſiſted of the richeſt citizens; and was ſubdivided into 98 divi-
 ſions, called *centuriæ* or *centuries*. The ſecond *claſſis* was next in dig-
 nity and wealth to the firſt, and conſiſted of 22 centuries; the third of
 as many; the fourth had 20; the fifth 30; and the ſixth had but one.
 At the election of the magiſtrates they began with the firſt *claſſis*, and
 collected the votes *centuriatim*, or according to the order of the centu-
 ries in it, beginning with the firſt; then they proceeded to the ſecond
claſſis, and from that to the third, &c.” and ſuch aſſemblies were called
comitia centuriata. In much the like manner did they proceed in levy-
 ing ſoldiers. Thoſe of the firſt *claſſis* being the richeſt, and making the
 greateſt figure, had the peculiar name of *claſſici*; and all the reſt, of
 what claſs ſoever, were ſaid to be *infra claſſem*: and hence too the firſt-
 rate writers among the Romans have got the name of *claſſici authores*.

2. *Capite cenſos*] The ſixth *claſſis* conſiſted of the poorer ſort of citi-
 zens, and had very little to ſay in public affairs, the matter being com-
 monly determined before it came to their turn to vote. They were
 ſcarcely ever liſted for ſoldiers except on extraordinary occasions, as
 being perſons who had nothing to loſe at home, and therefore under
 the greater temptation of deſerting to the enemy. They were divided
 into two orders; the firſt and more honourable were the *proletarii*, ſo
 called

que. Id factum alii inopiâ bonorum, alii per ambitionem Consulis memorabant; quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat; et homini potentiam quærenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus: cui neque sua curæ, quippe quæ nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum majore aliquanto numero, quàm decretum erat, in Africam profectus, diebus paucis Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur à P. Rutilio legato. nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat: ne videret ea, quæ audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

LXXXVII. Sed Consul, expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem et præ-

Some said this was done for want of those of the richer sort, others, that it was out of a popular design in the Consul; because he had been much cried up and advanced by this sort of people; and to a man aiming at power the most needy are the most for his purpose: as who have no concern about property, because they have none, and every thing, with the view of gain, to them appears honourable. Wherefore Marius setting sail for Africa, with a number somewhat greater than had been voted him, in a few days arrives at Utica. The army is delivered up to him by the lieutenant-general P. Rutilius. for Metellus avoided the presence of Marius: for fear of seeing those things, which his spirit could not endure, when he heard them.

LXXXVII. But the Consul, having completed the legions, and the cohorts of the allies out of his new levies, directs his march

called from *proles*, because the bringing up of children was the greatest service they did the state: the other order was the *capite censi*, so called because they were entered and valued in the rolls for their persons only; but families, children, or estates, they had none: all they could boast of, was, that they were not *capite minuti*, or had not lost the privilege and right of citizens. Here observe, that Sallust opposes *classes* to *capite censi*; and the reason is, because the whole sixth *classis*, and particularly this last order, was so inconsiderable, and in so much contempt, that they were scarcely looked upon as a *classis* at all: and accordingly Livy and other Roman historians, when speaking of the *classes*, scarce mention ever more than five.

3. *Inopiâ bonorum*] Boni sunt ditiores, qui sunt in classibus.

4. *Auctusque erat*] Auctus nempe honore, promotus et in eam dignitatem evehitur.

LXXXVII. 1. *Cohortibusque auxiliariis*] Cui bono hic additum sit *auxiliariis*, multum inquirendo non reperias. Nam cum cohortes adjuvantur legionibus, semper auxiliae intelliguntur.

dâ onustum proficiscitur. omnia ibi capta militibus donat. dein castrum et oppida naturâ et viris parum munita adgreditur: prælia multa, ceterum levia, alia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse: videre fugientis capi, occidi; fortissimum quemque tutissimum: armis libertatem, patriam parentisque et alia omnia tegi: gloriam atque divitias quæri. Sic brevi spatium novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium æqualis facta. At Reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, divorsi in locos difficilis abeunt. Ita Jugurthæ placuerat, speranti, mox effusos hostis invadi posse; Romanos, sicuti plerisque, remoto metu, laxius licentiisque futuros. *into a fruitful country and full of plunder. makes a present of every thing taken there to the soldiers. and then attacks such forts and towns as were but slightly secured by natural strength or garrisons: fought several battles in different places, but inconsiderable. In the mean time the new raised soldiers attended in the engagements without fear: they saw such as fled taken prisoners, or slain; that the bravest were the safest: that liberty, their country and parents, and every thing else, were secured by arms: and glory and riches acquired. Thus in a short time the new and the old soldiers incorporated, and the courage of all was rendered equal. But the two Kings, when they got notice of the arrival of Marius, retired in separate bodies to places of difficult access. This was Jugurtha's contrivance, in hopes that the enemy in a little time, being dispersed, might be attacked to good advantage; supposing that the Romans, like most other men, upon the removal of fear, would be more remiss, and take greater liberties.*

LXXXVIII. Metellus LXXXVIII. In the mean time interea Romam profectus, Metellus, contrary to his expecta-

2. *Ceterum levia, alia aliis locis*] In most copies, and in Cortius's edition too, the reading is, *ceterum alia levia, aliis locis*: but, in compliance with what Cortius himself observes, I have changed their order. His words are, *Nihil verius, quam, quod Ciacconius etiam vidit, scribendum esse: ceterum levia, alia aliis locis facere.*

3. *Invadi posse*] Speranti, mox effusos hostis invadi, recte verbo posse, Crispum scripsisse existimo: nam illud posse ipsam spem Jugurthæ corrumpere videtur. Sic sperans invadi, ut Liv. XXXII. cap. ii. *His copiis ita dimissis, eo intentius Romanus undique instat capi stationes; i. e. ut capiantur. Sperans ut invadantur.*

contra spem suam, lætissimis animis excipitur: plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxtà carus. Sed Marius impigrè prudenterque furorum et hostium res pariter adtendere; cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contrà esset; explorare itinera Regum, consilia et insidias antevenire: nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque et Gætulos, et Jugurtham ex sociis nostris prædam agentes, sæpe adgressus itinere fuderat, ipsumque Regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat. Quæ postquam gloriosa modò, neque belli patrandi cognovit, statuit urbis, quæ viris aut loco pro hostibus, et adversum se opportunissimæ erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Jugurtham aut præsidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut prælio certaturum. Nam

tion, upon his arrival in Rome, was very joyfully received: being equally acceptable to the commons and the senate, now that the spirit of envy had left them. But Marius, with great application and prudence, weighed equally the circumstances of his own men and those of the enemy; observed what was advantageous for each, or otherwise; watched the motions of the two Kings, prevented their plots and designs: suffered no remissness with himself, nor security with them. And accordingly, he had frequently attacked and routed when upon a march, both the Gætulians and Jugurtha, as they were making off with spoils from our allies, and made the King himself throw away his arms and run for it, not far from the town of Cirta. But as he found this was only matter of specious show, and not the way to finish the war, he resolved to invest all the cities, that, by their number of people or situation, were most convenient for defending the enemy and annoying him: by this means Jugurtha would either be stripped of those

LXXXVIII. 1. *Lætissimis animis excipitur*] He was not only joyfully received, but was afterward honoured with a triumph, and the surname of *Numidicus*; as we learn from Vell. Pat. li. cap. ii. Eutrop. IV. cap. xxviii. and other authors. He had his triumph in the year of Rome 646.

2. *Armis exuerat*] i. e. fecerat, ut Jugurtha abjectis armis fugeret. Sic exuere urbem, castris, provinciis, quos eò necessitatis adigimus, ut relinquunt, aut perdant urbem, castra, &c.

3. *Neque belli patrandi*] The sentence is to be resolved thus: *Quæ postquam cognovit esse modò gloriosa facta, et non facta patrandi belli*, i. e. ad bellum patrandum facientia. See Cat. cap. vi. n. 5.

4. *Præsiis nudatum*] *Nudatum* cape pro *nudatum fore*, ut suprà, cap. lxxvi. *infectum* pro *infectum fore*.

Bocchus nuncios ad eum sæpe miserat, "velle populi Romani amicitiam, ne quid ab se hostile timeret." Id simulaveritne, quò improvisus gravius accideret, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parùm exploratum.

fickleness of temper, was accustomed to waver in his resolutions about peace and war,

LXXXIX. Sed Consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire: partim vi, alia metu, aut præmia ostentando avortere ab hostibus. Ac primò mediocria gerebat, existumans Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed ubi procul abesse, et aliis negotiis intentum accepit; majora et aspera adgredi tempus visum. Erat inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa: cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes, levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissimi habebantur: muniti advorsum hostis non mœnibus modò, et armis atque viris, multò magis locorum a-

strong holds, if he suffered it, or else engage in battle. For Bocchus had frequently sent messengers to him, "to signify that he was desirous of the friendship of the Roman people, and that he need not fear any hostilities from him." Whether he only pretended this, that he might fall the heavier upon him by surprise, or, from a

I have not been able to discover.
LXXXIX. But the Consul, as he had resolved, went to work with the fortified towns and castles: some of them he drew over from the enemy by force, others by fear, or by offering rewards. And at first he set about projects that were of no great importance, expecting Jugurtha, to protect his subjects, would come to a battle. But when he found that he was at a good distance, and taken up with other affairs; he thought it time to attempt greater and more difficult enterprises. There was in the midst of a vast wilderness a great and strong town, by name Capsa: the founder whereof was said to be Hercules the Libyan. The people thereof were excused from the payment of taxes by Jugurtha, were under a very gentle government, and upon these accounts were thought very loyal: they were secured against an enemy not only by their walls, arms,

LXXXIX. 1. *Majora et aspera*] i. e. majora et magis aspera. Et *majora* intelligitur *magis*.

2. *Hercules Libys*] There were many that went under the name of Hercules, such as Hercules Ægyptius, Tyrius, Celticus, Tyrinthius, Libycus or Libys, &c. See cap. xviii. n. 1.

speritate. Nam, præter oppido propinquo, alia omnia vasta, inculta, egen-
tia aquæ, infesta serpenti-
bus: quarum vis, sicuti
omnium ferarum, inopiâ
cibi acrior. adhuc natura
serpentium ipsa pernicio-
sa siti magis, quàm aliâ
re, accenditur. Ejus po-
tiundi Marium maxuma
cupido invaserat; cum
propter usum belli, tum
quia res aspera videba-
tur; et Metellus oppidum
Thalam magnâ gloriâ ce-
perat, haud dissimiliter si-
tum munitumque: nisi
quòd apud Thalam haud
longè à mœnibus aliquot
fontes erant; Capsenses u-
nâ modò, atque eâ intra
oppidum, jugi aquâ, ce-
terâ pluvîâ utebantur. Id
ibique, et in omni Africa,
qui procul à mari incul-
tiùs agebant, eò faciliùs
tolerabatur, quia Numi-
dæ plerumque lacte et fe-
rinâ carne vescerantur,
neque salem, neque alia
irritamenta gulæ quære-
bant: cibus illis adversum
famem atque sitim, non lu-
bidini, neque luxuriæ erat.
and sought not after salt, or other incentives to appetite: food
they had against hunger and thirst, not for lust nor luxury.

XC. Igitur Consul, o-

and men, but much more by the
natural wildness of the country
about them. For, excepting the
parts nigh the town, all the rest
was waste, uncultivated, in
want of water, and infested
with serpents: whose fierceness,
like that of all wild beasts, be-
comes more violent by want of
food. besides, the nature of ser-
pents, mischievous enough in
itself, is inflamed more by thirst
than any other thing. A very
great desire of making himself
master of this city had seized
Marius; as well for the behoof
of the war, as because it ap-
peared to be a very difficult en-
terprise; and Metellus, to his
great honour, had taken the town
of Thala, not unlike it for si-
tuation and strength: except
that at Thala there were some
springs not far from the walls;
the Capsensians had but one
spring, and that within the town,
all the other water they had was
from the heavens. This was
the more easily born with, both
there, and in all the parts of A-
frica, where the people being at
a distance from the sea, were less
polished in their fashions, because
the Numidians lived mostly on
milk and the flesh of wild beasts,
and sought not after salt, or other incentives to appetite: food
they had against hunger and thirst, not for lust nor luxury.

XC. Wherefore the Consul,

3. In omni Africa, qui} Sallust often moulds his relatives and ad-
jectives according to the sense, without minding gender and number of
antecedents and substantives: cap. xvi. Vicit tamen in senatu illa pars,
qui vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebant. Cap. lviii. Magna pars
volnerati, aut occisi. See Cat. cap. v. n. 2.

mnibus.

innibus exploratis, credo, dis fretus, nam contra tantas difficultates consilio fatis providere non poterat: quippe etiam frumenti inopia tentabatur, quòd Numidæ pabulo pecoris magis, quàm arvo student, et quodcumque natum fuerat, jussu Regis in loca munita contulerant; ager autem aridus et frugum vacuus eâ tempestate, nam æstatis extremum erat; tamen pro rei copia fatis providenter exornat: pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus prædæ fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum adtribuit; A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire jubet, se prædabundum post paucos dies eòdem venturum. Sic incepto suo occulto pergit ad flumen Tanam. *he would come in a few days to the same place. Thus concealing his design, away he marches to the river Tana.*

XCI. Ceterum in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas æqualiter distribu- erat, et ex coriis utres uti

having strictly examined into all circumstances, proceeds in his design, depending upon the gods; I suppose, for he could not provide effectually against so great difficulties by any contrivance of his own: for want of corn too was a hardship he laboured under, because the Numidians apply themselves more to grazing than tillage, and any crop there was, they had carried off by the King's order into fortified places; the fields too were parched and bare of forage at that time, for it was the end of summer; yet, considering all circumstances, he equipped himself with abundance of precaution: all the cattle that they had picked up some days before, he gave to the auxiliary horse to drive; orders his lieutenant-general A. Manlius to march with some light-armed cohorts to the town of Lares, where he had laid up the money for the pay of the army and his provisions; and tells him, that, after having gone a-plundering, he would come in a few days to the same place. Thus concealing his design, away he marches to the river Tana.

XCI. *And in his march he daily disposed of the cattle for the use of the army among the companies of foot and troops of horse proportionally, and took care to* fierent,

XC. 1. *Frumenti inopia tentabatur*] Inopia, says Cortius, is here the nominative. Crispo, inquit, ille res dicuntur tentari, quæ, periculum est, ne eveniant; aut quas querimus, experimur, ut eveniant.

2. *Al oppidum Laris*] Whether Laris be the genitive singular, or the accusative plural, is uncertain; but the latter seems most agreeable to our author's manner.

XCI. 1. *Æqualiter distribuerat*] That is, if, to each centuria or com-

fierent, curabat : simul et inopiam frumenti lenire, et, ignaris omnibus, parare, quæ mox usui forent. denique sexto die, cum ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrius effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere, atque, uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos esse jubet : omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aquâ modò seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque totam itinere facto, confedit, idem proxumâ facit. dein tertiâ, multò ante lucis adventum, pervenit in locum tumultuosum, ab Capsa non amplius duum millium intervallo : ibique, quàm occultissimè potest, cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed ubi dies cœpit, et Numidæ nihil hostile metuentes multi oppido egressi ; repentè omnem equitatum, et cum his velocissimos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam, et portas obsidere jubet : deinde ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites prædari sinere. Quæ postquam oppidani cognove-

have leathern bottles made out of the hides : thus at once he made the want of corn easy to them, and provided, whilst all were ignorant of his design, what by and by would be of use. finally, against the sixth day, when they arrived at the river, a great quantity of leathern bottles were made. There pitching his camp with a slight fortification, he orders the soldiers to take a refreshment, and be in readiness to march precisely at sun-set : and, laying aside all other baggage, to load themselves and the beasts of burden with water only. After this, when he thought it time, he draws out of the camp, and marching all night, incamped again. does the same the next night. then on the third, long before the approach of light, he arrives at a place full of small hills, at the distance of not above two miles from Capsa : and there he stays, as privately as possible, with all his army. But as soon as day appeared, and the Numidians, as being under no apprehensions of an enemy, had gone many of them out of town ; on a sudden he orders all his horse, and with them the nimblest of the foot, to make for Capsa with all speed, and secure the gates : and then follows them himself with all diligence and expedition, and suffers not the soldiers to plunder.

pany of foot, which consisted of 100 men, he gave, for example, ten sheep, then each *turma* or troop of horse, which consisted of thirty men, got three.

2. *Cum occasu solis egrederentur*] *Intellige castris.*

re; res trepidæ, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra mœnia in hostium potestate, coëgere, uti deditionem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum: Numidæ puberes interfecisti; alii omnes venundati: præda militibus divisa. Id facinus contra jus belli, non avaritiâ, neque scelere Consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthæ opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis: genus hominum mobile, infidum, neque beneficio, neque metu coercitum. *people fickle, faithless, and capable of being kept in subjection, neither by kindness*

Which after the townspeople were apprised of, the confusion of their case, the great terror they were under, the unexpected calamity, and withal part of the inhabitants being without the walls in the hands of the enemy, obliged them to make a surrender. However, the town was burnt: the Numidians of age put to the sword; all the rest sold: and the plunder divided among the soldiers. This piece of execution, contrary to the right of war, was occasioned, not by the avarice or cruelty of the Consul; but because the place was very advantageous for Jugurtha, and difficult for us to come at: and the

XCII. Postquam tantam rem Marius, sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit; magnus et clarus antea, major et clarior haberi cœpit. Omnia non bene consulta in virtutem traherentur: milites modesto imperio habiti simul, et locupletes ad cœlum ferre: Numidæ magis, quàm mortalem timere: postremò omnes socii atque hostes credere illi aut mentem divinam, aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed

XCII. After Marius had executed this so important a project, without any detriment to his own men; though he was great and illustrious before, he now begun to be looked upon as greater and more illustrious. All his performances, even when ill advised, were ascribed to good conduct: the soldiers being at once under a gentle command, and enriched with plunder, cried him up to the skies: the Numidians dreaded him as more than man: in short, all, both allies and enemies, did believe he had either a divine mind in him, or that all things were

3. [Contra jus belli] Quod deditis parcere jubet.

4. Coercitum] Coercitum is used here as a word of indefinite time, or as applicable to signify what is future, as well as what is past: and so Perizonius explains it, Ad Sanct. I. Minerv. cap. xv. Haud temere unquam coercitum, et proinde neque facile deinceps coercendum.

Consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit: pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit; plura deserta, propter Capsensium miseras, igni corrumpit: luctu atque cæde omnia complentur. Denique multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu inermi, ad aliam rem aggreditur, non eâdem asperitate, quâ Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longè à flumine Mulucha, quod Jugurthæ Bocchi-que regnum disjungebat, erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, medio-cri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis naturâ, velut opere atque consulto, præceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi Regis thesauri erant, summâ vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte, quàm consilio, melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis frumenti et fons aquæ: aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus lo-

presigned to him by the intimation of the gods. But the Consul, after this successful adventure, marches against other towns: a few, where the Numidians made opposition, he takes by force; more of them, being deserted for fear of the terrible fate of the Capsensians, he destroys by fire: all parts are filled with mourning and slaughter. Finally, having made himself master of many places, and most of them without loss of blood, he goes upon another design, not of the same desperate nature as that against the Capsensians, but no less difficult. For, not far from the river Mulucha, which divided the kingdoms of Jugurtha and Bocchus, there was, in the midst of a plain, a rocky hill, large enough for a small castle, and towering to a prodigious height, with one very narrow ascent left to it: for on all sides it was by nature steep, as if made so by art and design. Which place Marius with might and main sets about the taking of, because the King's treasure was lodged there. But this attempt succeeded more by chance than good management. For the castle had in it plenty of men and arms, great store of corn, and a spring of water: the si-

XCII. 1. *Non eâdem asperitate*] The meaning is, that the project was difficult, nay, as difficult as the taking of Capsa; but that the difficulties in this case, and in that of Capsa, were not of the same kind.

2. *Inter ceteram planitiem*] *Inter* est in medio; atque ita evolvas, *inter planitiem, quæ reliqua circa erant*, si ita loqui licet.

3. *Mediocri castello satis patens*] Significat montem tam latè patuisse, ut caperet mediocre castellum.

cus importunus : iter ca-
stellanorum angustum ad-
modum, utrimque præci-
sum. Vineæ cum ingenti
periculo frustra ageban-
tur. nam cum eæ paul-
lùm procefferant, igni,
aut lapidibus corruppe-
bantur : milites neque pro
opere consistere, propter
iniquitatem loci ; neque
inter vineas sine periculo
administrare : optimus
quisque cadere, aut fau-
ciari ; ceteris metus au-
geri.

XCIII. At Marius, mul-
tis diebus et laboribus con-
suintis, anxius trahere cum
animo, omitteretne ince-
ptum, quoniam frustra e-
rat ; an fortunam opperi-
retur, quâ sæpe prosperè
usus. Quæ cùm multos
dies, noctes æstuan agita-
ret, fortè quidam Ligus, ex
cohortibus auxiliariis mi-
les gregarius, castris aqua-
tum egressus, haud procul
ab latere castelli, quod a-
vorsum præliantibus erat,
animum advortit inter saxa
repentis cochleas : qua-
rum cùm unam atque al-
teram, dein plures peteret,
studio legundi paullatim
propè ad summum mon-
tis egressus est. Ubi post-

*tuation was quite unfit for ram-
parts, turrets, and other works :
the way up to the castle was ve-
ry narrow, with a precipice on
both sides. The vineæ were ap-
plied with vast bazard, and to
no purpose. for after they had
advanced a little, they were de-
stroyed by fire or stones : the sol-
diers could neither stand before
the works, because of the steep-
ness of the ground ; nor manage
their business within the vineæ
without danger : the bravest of
them fell, or were wounded ;
and the rest sadly discouraged.*

XCIII. But Marius, after
spending many days and much
pains, was with much regret
considering in his own mind, whe-
ther he should drop his underta-
king, because it had no success ;
or wait upon fortune, which he
had often found friendly. On
which, when full of distraction
and irresolution, he had employed
his thoughts for several days and
nights, by chance a certain Ligu-
rian, a common soldier of the au-
iliary battalions, having gone
out of the camp to get water, ob-
served some wilks creeping a-
mong the stoncs, not far from that
side of the castle, which lay out
of the besiegers view : of which,
whilst he reached at one and a
second, and then more, through
a desire of gathering, he was got

4. *Pro opere consistere*] By *opere* he means the *vineæ*.

5. *Propter iniquitatem loci*] is literally, because of the unevenness of the ground, i. e. because the ground was not level, but very steep, or had a great ascent ; so that the soldiers stood as on the side of a hill or precipice.

quam solitudinem intellexit, more humani ingenii, cupido ignara visundi invadit. Et fortè in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paullulùm modò prona, dein flexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quò cuncta gignentium natura fert : cujus ramis modò, modò eminentibus saxis nifus Ligus, castelli planitiem perscribit; quòd cuncti Numidæ intenti præliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quæ mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur, non temerè, uti escenderat, sed tentans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium properè adit; acta edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte, quâ ipse escenderat, castellum tentet: pollicetur sese itineris periculi-que ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa cognitum, ex præsentibus misit: quorum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nunciavere. Consul's animus tamen paullùm arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum, numero quinque quàm velocissimos delegit, et cum his, præsidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones: omnis Liguri parere jubet, et ci

up, by little and little, almost to the top of the rock. Where, after he found all was quiet, a curiosity, usual to human nature, of prying into things unknown, seized him. And by chance in this place a large oak-tree had grown out among the stones, bending downwards a little near the root, then taking a turn and shooting upwards, whither nature carries all vegetables: the Ligurian climbing up, one while by the boughs of this, another while by pieces of the rock standing out from the rest, describes the platform of the castle; because all the Numidians were busily engaged in fight with the besiegers. After making all the observations, which by and by he thought might be of service, he returns back the same way, not carelessly, as he went up, but trying and viewing all about him well. Whereupon he goes in all haste to Marius; tells him what he had done, advises him to make an attempt upon the castle on that side where he went up: promises that he would lead the way, and be the foremost in the danger. Marius sent some of those that attended him along with the Ligurian, to examine into the proposal: who, according to their different tempers, brought word the matter was difficult or easy. The Consul's mind however was a little elevated. Wherefore, out of all the trumpeters and cornetiers, he

XIII. *Paullulùm modò prona*] *Modò* may be here rendered at first, i. e. near the root.

negotio

negotio proximum diem *picked five of the most sprightly, and with them four centurions, for a guard: orders them all to follow the direction of the Ligurian, and appoints the next day for the execution of the project.*

XCIV. Sed ubi ex præcepto tempus visum; paratis compositisque omnibus ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi, qui centuriis præerant, prædosti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nususque per saxa facilius foret: super terga gladii et scuta; verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratiâ simul, et offensa quò levis streperent. Igitur prægrediens Ligus saxa, et si quæ vetustate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus adlevati facilius escenderent. interdum timidos insolentiâ itineris levare manu: ubi paullo asperior adscensus,

XCIV. Now when the time appointed was come; having prepared and put all things in order, he, namely, the Ligurian, goes to the place. But those who commanded the companies, viz. the centurions, having been instructed before-hand by their guide, had changed their arms and dress, being bare-headed and bare-foot, that they might look about them, and climb the rock with more ease: their swords and shields were upon their backs; but the latter were of the Numidian kind, made of hides, as well for lightness, as that they might make less noise if they chanced to dash against the rock. The Ligurian therefore leading the way, tied ropes about the stones, and any old tree roots that stuck out, that, supported by these,

XCIV. 1. Illi, qui centuriis præerant, prædosti ab duce] Cortius thinks this reading may be tolerate; but yet has some suspicion, that the words *qui centuriis præerant* have been a marginal note, and brought into the text by some unwary or ignorant transcriber. These being thrown out, the pronoun *illi* will denote the *tubicines*, *cornicines*, and *centuriones*, mentioned toward the end of the preceding chapter, who, being nine in number, made, with their *dux* the Ligurian, ten persons in all, that were to go upon this enterprise.

2. Ponderis gratiâ] i. e. *ponderis levioris gratiâ*. Ita numerus, mensura, magnitudo, et alia ejusmodi haud raro ponuntur, ut tale adjectivum intelligendum sit. Eo modo Cor. Nep. præf. *Plura persequi magnitudo voluminis prohibet*. Non aliter ea intelliguntur, quam *locus*, *tempus*, *valetudo*, *causa*, *gratia*, multa præterea, quæ proprie *media* sunt; sed sæpius in alteram partem nudè sumuntur.

3. Vetustate radices] Per se propter vetustatem. Nam radices magnarum arborum per vetustatem prominere solent.

singulos

singulos præ se inermos mittere; deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi: quæ dubia nifu videbantur potissimum tentare, ac sæpius eâdem adscendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere. Igitur diu multumque fatigati, tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte: quod omnes, sicuti aliis diebus, advorsum hostis aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis, quæ Ligus egerat, cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos prælio Numidas habuerat, tum verò cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine actâ succedere, et simul hostem tormentis fagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidæ sæpe antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis, non castelli mœnibus sese tutabantur; sed pro muro dies noctesque agitare: maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris Jugurthæ servitium minari; secundis rebus feroces esse. Inte-

they might climb up the more easily. sometimes he would pull up by the hand such as were timorous, by reason of their not having been accustomed to this kind of road: where the ascent was a little more rugged, he would send them up unarmed one by one before him; and then followed himself with their arms: what places seemed dangerous to climb, he first of all made trial of, and by going up and coming down the same several times, and then presently stepping to a side, he added courage to the rest. Wherefore, after long and much fatigue, at length they got up to the castle, that was left naked on that side: because all, as on other days, were on the side next the enemy. Marius, when he was informed by messengers what the Ligurian had done, though he had kept the Numidians close at work the whole day, yet then, having encouraged the soldiers, and sallied himself out of the vineæ, forming a testudo, advanced forward to the wall, and at the same time terrified the enemy with his engines, and archers, and slingers, at a distance. But the Numidians, having broke down the vineæ of the Romans often before now, and burnt them too, did not use

4. *Testudine actâ*] The *testudo*, said to have been invented at the Trojan war, was a figure the soldiers cast themselves into, so that their targets should close all together above their heads, and protect them from the missile weapons of the enemy; and this target-fence, from the resemblance it has to a tortoise-shell, got the name of *testudo*. But besides this use of the word, the Romans in general called all their covered defensive machines *testulines*.

rim omnibus Romanis hostibusque prælio intentis, magnâ utrimque vi pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente à tergo signa canere : ac primò mulieres et pueri, qui visum procefferant, fugere ; deinde, uti quisque muro proximus erat, postremò cuncti armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eò acrius Romani instare, fundere, ac plerosque tantummodo fauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriæ certantes murum petere, neque quemquam omnium præda morari. Sic forte correcta Marii temeritas, gloriam ex culpa invenit.

violence, dispersed them, and most of them they only wounded, and then made their way over the bodies of the slain, and, breathing after glory, they ran to the wall, striving who should be foremost, nor did the plunder retard any one of them all. Thus the rash conduct of Marius, rectified by fortune, procured him glory from a fault.

XCV. Ceterum dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla Quaestor cum magno equitatu in castra venit : quos uti ex Latio et à fociis cogeret, Romæ relictus erat. Sed quoniam tanti viri res admonuit ; idoneum visum est, de natura cultusque ejus paucis dicere. neque enim alio loco de

to defend themselves within the walls of the castle ; but patrolled day and night before the walls : railed at the Romans, and upbraided Marius with madness ; threatened our soldiers with being made slaves to Jugurtha ; and were exceeding proud of their advantage. In the mean time, whilst the Romans and enemies were all engaged in fight, with great fury on both sides, the one party contending for glory and victory, the other for their lives, on a sudden the trumpets sounded behind the enemies backs : and first the women and children, who had come out to see the fight, fled ; after them those that were nearest the wall, at last all, armed and unarmed. When this happened, the Romans pushed forward with so much the greater

violence, dispersed them, and most of them they only wounded, and then made their way over the bodies of the slain, and, breathing after glory, they ran to the wall, striving who should be foremost, nor did the plunder retard any one of them all. Thus the rash conduct of Marius, rectified by fortune, procured him glory from a fault.

XCV. But whilst this affair is transacting, his Quaestor, L. Sulla, arrived in the camp with a great body of horse : for the raising whereof in Latium, and among the allies, he had been left at Rome. Now as the subject has led us to the mention of this great man ; I think it proper to say a little of his character and manners. for I am not to speak of the

XCV. 1. Quos uti ex Latio] Quos is here plural, as referring to the collective antecedent equitatu.

Sullæ rebus dicturi sumus: et L. Sisenna optumè et diligentissimè omnium, qui eas res dixere, perfectus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciæ, familiâ propè jam extinctâ majorum ignaviâ, literis Græcis atque Latinis juxtâ atque doctissimè eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriæ cupidior: otio luxurioso; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quòd de uxore potuit honestiùs consuli: facundus, callidus, et amicitia facilis: ad simulandâ negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis: multarum rerum, ac maxumè pecuniæ largitor. Atque felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam, numquam super industriam fortuna fuit: multique dubitavere, fortior, an fe-

affairs of Sulla in any other place: and L. Sisenna, tho' he has compiled his history in the best manner, and with the greatest accuracy of any who have writ on this subject, appears to me to have spoke in a strain not free enough. Sulla then was of the Patrician rank, his family by this time being almost sunk by the want of spirit in his ancestors, he was equally instructed in the learning of Greece and Italy, and very accurately in both, of a great soul, fond of pleasure, but sonder of glory: in times of leisure he was addicted to luxury; yet pleasure never hindered him from serious business, except that he might have acted more for his honour with respect to his wife: he was eloquent, artful, and frank in his friendship: had an incredible reach of wit to disguise matters: was liberal of many things, and especially of his money. And though he was the most fortunate of all men, before his success in the civil wars, yet his

2. *L. Sisenna*] This was a Roman historian, who flourished in the time of the Jugurthine war, and a long while after it too: he wrote several histories, and particularly that of the civil wars of Marius and Sulla; but his works are all lost except a few fragments.

3. *De uxore potuit honestiùs consuli*] *Potuit consuli* are here used impersonally, and signify, that his own honour or reputation might have been better consulted by him in his behaviour with respect to his wife, whom, it is said, he used ill, by indulging himself in too much intimacy with other women. In this sense Plutarch, in his life of Sulla, seems to understand these words of Sallust. Some however take the expression to refer only to a dishonourable marriage he made in his old age with one Valeria.

4. *Numquam super industriam fortuna fuit*] *Numquam fortuna* majora illi contulit, quam ipse meruerat, omnisque suæ fortunæ ipse factor fuit.

licior esset. nam postea quæ fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat magis, an pigreat differere.

for as to what he did afterwards, I am in doubt whether it would give me more shame or sorrow to relate it.

XCVI. Igitur Sulla, ut suprà dictum, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc milites benignè adpellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere: sed ea properantiùs, quàm æs mutuum reddere; ipse ab nullo repetere: magis id laborare, ut illi quàm plurimi deberent: joca atque seria cum humillimis agere: in operibus, in agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse: neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, Consulibus, aut cuiusquam boni famam lædere: tantummodo neque consilio, neque manu priorem alium pati; plerisque antevenire. Quis rebus brevì Mario militibusque carissimus factus. *nor action could he suffer another to be superior to him; and he excelled most. By which behaviour in a short time he came to be in high favour with Marius and the soldiers.*

XCVII. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utilis simul,

fortune was never superior to his merit: and many have made a question of it, whether he was more brave, or more fortunate.

XCVI. Sulla then, as has been said above, after he arrived in Africa, and the camp of Marius with the horse, though raw before, and unacquainted with war, became in a short time the most accomplished of them all. Besides, he was complaisant in his address to the soldiers; he bestowed favours on many upon their request, on others of his own accord, and was backward to receive any: but repaid them in greater haste than borrowed money; though he demanded returns from none: this he rather endeavoured, that as many as possible should be indebted to him: he would engage both in jocular and serious conversation with persons of the lowest rank: in the incampments, in the marches, and upon the watches, he was every where at hand: nor did he in the mean time, as is wont to be the way of a depraved ambition, endeavour to lessen the character of the Consul, or of any worthy person whatever: only neither in counsel

XCVII. But Jugurtha, after he had lost the city Capsa, and other places that were fortified, and withal of great service to

et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, "quàm primùm in Numidiam copias adduceret; prælii faciendi tempus adesse." Quem ubi cunctari accepit, dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere: rursus uti antea, proximos donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiæ partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africâ expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret. Eo præmio illectus Bocchus, cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium jam in hiiberna proficiscentem, vix decimâ parte die reliquâ, invadunt: rati noctem, quæ jam aderat, victis sibi munimento fore; et, si vicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant: contrâ Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem. Igitur simul Consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant, et priusquam exerci-

him, and a vast treasure besides, dispatches messengers to Bocchus, to desire "that he would bring his forces into Numidia with all possible haste; that the season for giving battle was at hand." Whom when he found demurring, and pondering in a wavering manner the reasons for war and peace: again, as before, he bribes those about him with presents, and promises the Moor himself a third part of Numidia, if either the Romans should be driven out of Africa, or an end put to the war, his dominions being left entire. Bocchus, tempted by this bait, comes to Jugurtha with a vast army. Wherefore both their armies being joined, they fall upon Marius now marching into winter-quarters, toward evening, scarce a tenth part of the day being left: supposing the night, which was now at hand, would be a shelter to them if worsted; and no impediment, if they should prevail, because they were well acquainted with the country: and on the other hand, that either case would be harder for the Romans in the dark. Wherefore at one and the same time the Consul had notice from several hands of the approach of

XCVII. 1. *Vix decimâ parte die reliquâ*] i. e. somewhat more than an hour before sun-set. *Die* here may either be the old genitive for *diei*, as in cap. 22. and lii. or, as Cortius rather thinks, the ablative; and then the sentence is to be thus resolved, *die reliquâ*, i. e. *relietâ vix per seu quod ad decimam partem*. Thus Liv. XXIX. cap. vii. *Classis Romana à Messana Locros aliquot horis die superante accessit*.

2. *Nullo impedimento*] *Nullo* is here the dative, according to the ancient form of declining *nullus, unus, alius, solus*, and some other such nouns. See Mr. Ruddiman's grammar, lib. 1. cap. 2. r. 17.

tus aut instrui, aut sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum, aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gætuli, non acie, neque ullo more prælii, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros concurrunt. qui omnes trepidi improvise metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientis alios ab hostibus defendebant: pars equos descendere, obviam ire hostibus: pugna latrocinio magis, quam prælio similis fieri: sine signis, sine ordinibus, equites pedites permixti cedere alios, alios obtruncare, multos, contra adversos acerrumè pugnantis, ab tergo circumvenire: neque virtus, neque arma satis tegere; quòd hostes numero plures et undique

the enemy, and the enemy themselves were upon him, and before the army could either be drawn up, or get together their baggage, in short, before they could receive any signal or orders, the Moorish and Gætulian horse, not in a regular body, nor in any form of battle, but in scattered companies, as chance had clustered them together, came pell-mell on all sides upon our men. who were all surprised with the unexpected alarm, and yet mindful of their wonted bravery, either took to their arms, or protected others from the enemy, whilst they were taking to theirs: part of them mounted their horses, and advanced against the enemy: the fight was more like a rencounter with robbers, than a battle: the enemy's horse and foot being mixed together, without standards, and without keeping to any order, cleanly slaughtered some, mangled others, and wheeled about upon the rear of many,

3. *Sarcinas colligere*] It was usual, before engaging in battle, to bring all the baggage together into one place, and set a guard over it.

4. *Signum, aut imperium ullum*] *Signum* in this place either denotes the signal commonly given by sound of trumpet to begin the battle, or the word called *symbolum* or *teffera*, given by the general to the soldiers, as a badge or mark whereby to distinguish their own men from those of the enemy; or rather it may be taken to signify both. By *imperium* we are to understand the orders usually given by the general, how to behave in the action.

5. *Equites pedites permixti*] Glareanus, says Cortius, is of opinion, that these words are to be understood of the enemy, and that the words *alios, alios, multos*, denote the Romans: and Cortius himself says nothing in opposition to this; but only adds, that, in this case, the *semicolon* or *comma* placed after the word *permixti*, in some of the MSS. and printed editions, must be dashed out: which accordingly I have done; for I do not see what good sense can be made of the place, if these words be taken otherwise.

circumfusi. denique Romani veteres, novique, et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus, aut casus conjunxerat, orbes facere: atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

and were by this means well acquainted with war, as the ground or chance united any of them, formed themselves into round bodies: and so being both secured on all sides, and posted in proper order, they withstood the fury of the enemy.

XCVIII. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio, territum Marius, aut magis, quam antea, demisso animo fuit; sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis, quam familiarissimis, paraverat, vagari passim; ac modò laborantibus suis succurrere, modò hostis, ubi confertissimi obstitant, invadere: manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare, conturbatis omnibus non poterat. Jamque dies consumtus erat, cum ta-

as they were fighting very briskly against those that faced them: neither courage nor arms could effectually secure our men; because the enemy were more numerous, and spread round on all sides. finally, the Roman veterans, and new soldiers too, who had been blended with them,

and were by this means well acquainted with war, as the ground or chance united any of them, formed themselves into round bodies: and so being both secured on all sides, and posted in proper order, they withstood the fury of the enemy.

XCVIII. In this so desperate a case Marius was not daunted, nor was his courage sunk, more than on former occasions; but with his own troop, which he had made up of the bravest fellows in the army, rather than of his nearest friends, flew about every where; and one while relieved his own men in distress, another while fell in amongst the enemy, where they stood thickest: and by fighting did what service he could to his soldiers, since, in this universal confusion, he could not act the general. And now the day was spent, when yet the

6. *Veteres, novique, et ob ea scientes belli*] Though Coriutius seems to suspect, that the words *novique, et ob ea* are spurious, yet he will not take upon him to throw them out; nay, thinks they may bear the sense I have given them in the translation; which, it must be owned, is a little strained, and not at all natural or easy. His comment on the place is, *Denique si Romanos veteres novosque, qui ob id, quòd conjungerentur veteribus, facile morem militie discabant, casus conjunxerat, isti orbes facere.* En tibi Dictyn, qui locum imitatur, VI. cap. i. *Paucis diebus pervenire ad Ægæum mare: ibi multa imbris ventisque, et ob id sevientem mari, indigna experti, passim, ut fors tulerat, dispalantur.*

XCVIII. I. *Manu consulere militibus*] Ineptissime hæc tractant interpretes, cum iam manifestum sit Marium virtute, auxilio suo suæque turmæ consuluisse militibus. Suprà, cap. xxxix. *Quòd armatus dedecore potius, quam manu salutem quaesiverit.*

men barbari nihil remittere; atque, uti Reges præceperant, 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 aquæ magnus erat: alter usui opportunus, quia magnâ parte editus et præceps pauca munimento quærebat. Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet. Ipse paullatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit: dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita Reges, loci difficultate coacti, prælio deterrentur. neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato, effusi confedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari suo more lætari, exultare, strepere vocibus: ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugerent, pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis fa-

barbarians abated nothing of their fury; nay, charged more desperately, imagining the night was their advantage, as the Kings had instructed them before-hand. Upon this Marius takes the measures that were proper in his circumstances, and, that there might be a place of retreat for his men, seizes upon two hills that were near to one another. in one of which, not large enough for a camp, there was a plentiful spring of water: the other was convenient for the purpose, because a great part of it being high and steep, it would require little fortifying. Now he orders Sulla with the horse to pass the night by the water. He himself draws together by degrees the soldiers that were much scattered, the enemy being no less disordered: and then carries them all off, upon a full march, to the hill. Thus the Kings are diverted from the fight, being restrained by the disadvantage of the ground, yet suffered not their men to withdraw to any distance, but incamped in a scattered manner, surrounding both hills with their numbers. And then having made a great many fires, the barbarians made merry most of the night after their own fashion, leaped for joy, and yelled with their voices: their leaders themselves proud, because they had not run away, behaved as conquerors. But all these things were

cilia visu magnoque hortamento erant.

and gave them great encouragement.

XCIX. Plurimum verò Marius imperitiâ hostium confirmatus, quàm maximum silentium haberi jubet: ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere: deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus et paullo antè somno captis, de improviso vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere atque portis crumpere. Mauri atque Gætuli ignoto et horribili sonitu repente excitati, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere aut providere quidquam poterant. ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore, formido, quasi vecordia, ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique. arma et signa militaria pleraque capta: pluresque eo prælio, quàm omnibus superioribus intererant. Nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

C. Dein Marius, uti cœperat, in hiberna: quæ, propter comineatum, in oppidis maritumis agere decreverat. neque tamen

easily perceived by the Romans in the dark, and upon the higher

XCIX. *And Marius being much animated by the unskilful conduct of the enemy, orders a profound silence to be kept: and not so much as sound the trumpets, as they used to do, at the end of every watch: and then, when day approached, the enemy being now weary, and a little before this seized with sleep, on a sudden the watches, as also the trumpeters of the cohorts, troops, and legions, all at once sounded the trumpets, the soldiers set up a shout, and poured down from the camp. The Moors and Gætulians being suddenly awakened with the unexpected and dismal noise, could neither fly, nor take arms, nor act at all, or think of any thing for their own relief. terror, like a phrenzy, had so stupified all of them with the din, clamour, confusion, and fright, none coming to their relief, and our men charging hard. In short, they were all routed and dispersed. most of their arms and military standards were taken, and more men killed in that battle than all the former. For their flight was prevented by sleep and the extraordinary surprise.*

C. *After this Marius marches on, as he had begun, to winter-quarters: which he had resolved to take up in the towns upon the sea-coast, for the sake of provisions.*

C. i. *In hiberna]* Intellige proficiscitur. Verbs of motion, such as *proficisci, ire, tendere*, are frequently suppressed.

secors victoriâ, aut insolens factus; sed pariter ac in conspectu hostium, quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistra A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, præterea cohortes Ligurum curabat: primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugæ, minime cari et regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant: simul Consul, quasi nullo imposito, omnia providere: apud omnes adesse: laudare, increpare merentis. Ipse armatus intentusque, item milites cogebat: neque secus, atque iter facere, castra munire, excubitus in portas cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxilios mittere. præterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, non diffidentia

however, he was not rendered careless or proud by his success; but marched with his army in a square figure, just as if he had been in view of an enemy. Sulla took his station with the horse upon the right, A. Manlius with the slingers and archers, as also the cohorts of the Ligurians, on the left: in the van and rear he had posted the tribunes, with the companies of foot clear of baggage. Deserters being men whose lives they were least tender of, and best acquainted with the country, watched the motions of the enemy: the Consul, at the same time, as if no officer had been appointed, took the oversight of every thing: was present every where: and commended, or reprimanded every one as they deserved. He was armed and upon his guard himself, and obliged the soldiers to be so too: nor was he less cautious in fortifying his camp, and causing the legionary cohorts keep watch at the gates, and the auxiliary horse without the camp, than in performing his march. moreover, he posted others upon the rampart of the works, he went

2. *Præterea cohortes Ligurum*] Quasi dixisset, *Præterea* erant in iis, cum quibus curabat, cohortes Ligurum.

3. *Perfugæ, minime cari*] Perfugis periculosissimum negotium demandabat Marius explorare iter hostium: quia minime tam cari erant, ut cives aut socii Romani, viliore damno, si perissent.

4. *Non diffidentia futuri, quæ imperavisset, quàm*] Perizonius ad Sanct. II. Minerv. cap. ix. completes this sentence thus: *non tam diffidentia futuri negotii eorum, quæ imperavisset*; and Cortius thus: *non tam diffidentia futuri ejus omnis, quæ imperavisset*. And in this case *quæ* is put plural, because of the partitive signification of its antecedent *ejus omnis*. N. B. *Tam* after *non* is frequently suppressed, notwithstanding *quàm* follows. Liv. XXVI. cap. xxxi. *Sed non quid ego fecerim, in disquisitionem venit, quàm quid isti pati debuerint.*

futuri,

futuri, quæ imperavisset, quàm uti militibus exequatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sanè Marius illo et aliis temporibus belli pudore magis, quàm malo, exercitum coercerebat : quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant ; pars quòd à purcritia consuetam duritiam, et alia, quæ ceteri miseriae vocant, voluptati habuisset. Nisi tamen res publica pariter, ac sævissimum imperio, bene atque decorè gesta.

as the rest of the world count very dismal. But yet public affairs were as well, and as gloriously managed, as they could have been under the most rigid command.

CI. Igitur quarto denique die, haud longè ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt : quâ re hostis adesse intellegitur. Sed quia divorsi redeuntès, alius ab alia parte, atque omnes idem significabant ; Consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, advorsum omnia paratus, ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partibus distribuerat : ratus ex omnibus æquè aliquos ab

the rounds to visit the watch himself, not so much from any distrust of the things being done that he had ordered, as that the fatigue might be undergone by the soldiers with cheerfulness, as being what their general took an equal share of himself. And indeed Marius, both upon this and other occasions during the war, kept the army to their duty more by shame than punishment : which, many said, was done purely to court the soldiery ; some said it was because he took a pleasure in hardship, to which from his childhood he had been inured, and other such things,

as the rest of the world count very dismal. But yet public affairs were as well, and as gloriously managed, as they could have been under the most rigid command.

CI. *At last then, upon the fourth day after the battle, not far from the town of Cirta, the scouts all at once, and upon all sides, advancing in great haste, present themselves to view : by which sign the enemy was known to be at hand. But because the several scouts returned, each from a different quarter, and gave all the same sign ; the Consul, being at a loss in what form to draw up the army, altering none of his ranks, waits in the same place where he was, being provided against all attacks. Thus Jugurtha's expectation disappointed him, who had divided his forces into four bodies :*

tergo

5. Militibus—labos volentibus esset] See cap. lxxiii. n. 1.

CI. 1. Citi sese ostendunt] Citi est pro citato cursu advenientes.

2. Advorsum omnia paratus] Incedebat enim, quod supra descripserat, agmine quadrato.

3. Æquè aliquos ab tergo] Æquè jungendum est cum dictione ab tergo.

Norat

tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum adtigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatum et quam maxumè confertis equis ipse alique Mauros invadunt: ceteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, et, si quí in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites præliantur, Bocchus cum pedibus, quos Volux filius ejus adduxerat, neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat, quòd ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites convortit: ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat) exclamat: "nostros frustra pugnare; paullò antè Marium suâ manu interfectum;" simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna, satis impigrè occiso pedi-

supposing some of all would come directly upon the enemy's rear. In the mean time Sulla, whom they came first up with, after encouraging his men, he and other officers with their horse, troop by troop, and in as close order as possible, fall upon the Moors: the rest keeping their ground, defended their own persons from the weapons thrown at a distance, and, if any came into their hands, they cut them down. Whilst the horse are thus engaged, Bocchus with the foot, which his son Volux had brought up, and who, loitering upon their march, had not been at the former battle, falls upon the hinder part of the Roman army. Marius was then busily employed in the van, because Jugurtha was there with a numerous force. The Numidian after this, having got intelligence of Bocchus's coming, wheels off privately with a few attendants to the foot: there he cries out in Latin, (for he had learned to speak it at Numantia): "That our men fought to no purpose; that Marius had been slain a little before by his own hand," and at the same time shows his sword all besprinkled with blood, which he had thus besmear-

Nôrat enim Jugurtha, ab tergo Romanos faciliùs invadi posse; et cum in quatuor partes suos divisisset, sperabat, ut una saltem pars suorum æquè ab tergo Romanos invadere posset.

4. *Ipse alique*] Cortius looks on these words as spurious, and thinks the word *Sulla*, taken in conjunction with the sentence, sufficiently supplies the place of a plural nominative to the verb *invadunt*; as being equivalent to *Sulla cum suis invadunt*.

5. *Ad pedites convortit*] i. e. to the foot which Volux had brought up, and who, with Bocchus as their leader, were attacking the Romans in their rear.

te nostro, cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accipere, magis atrocitate rei, quàm fide nuncii terren-
tur: simulque barbari animos tollere, et in percussos acriùs incedere. Jamque paullùm ab fuga aberant, cùm Sulla, profligatis, quos advorsum ierat, Mauris ab latere incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos et propè jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextrâ, sinistrâ omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius, fugatis equitibus, occurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile campis patentibus: sequi, fugere; occidi, capi; equi, viri adflicti: ac multi, vulneribus acceptis, neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; niti modò, ac statim concidere: postremò omnia, quàm visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus; et inter ca-
humus infecta sanguine.

ed in an encounter with a foot-soldier of ours slain by him with abundance of gallantry. Which when the soldiers heard, they were shocked more with the horridness of the thing, than any credit they gave to the relater: and at the same time the barbarians roused their courage, and advanced more furiously against them under this surprise. And now they were little from running, when Sulla, having routed those against whom he was engaged, falls upon the Moors in their flank. Bocchus is immediately put to flight. But Jugurtha, whilst he endeavours to support his friends, and maintain the victory already well nigh gained, being surrounded by our horse, when all on his right and left were slain, keeping up a vigorous defence, breaks through single amidst the weapons of his enemies. And in the mean time Marius, having routed the horse, comes to the relief of his men, who by this time, he was informed, were giving ground. Finally, the enemy were quite broke in all quarters. Upon this there was a dreadful sight to be seen all over the open fields: some pursuing, others flying; some were killed, some taken; horses and men tumbled together upon the ground: and many, having received wounds, could neither fly, nor
ly still; sometimes they would endeavour to rise, and would immediately fall down again: finally, all parts, as far as sight could reach, were covered with weapons, arms, and dead bodies; and the ground betwixt them stained with blood.

6. *Vitabundus erumpit*] *Vitabundus* non modò similis vitanti est, sed etiam abundè, valdè vitans, ut necesse erat, cùm ab omnibus partibus peteretur.

CII. Postea loci Consul, haud dubiè jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quò initio profectus intenderat. Eò post diem quintum, quàm iterum barbari malè pugnaverant, legati à Boccho veniunt, qui Regis verbis ab Mario petivere, “duo quàm fidißimos ad eum mitteret; velle de se, et de populi Romani commodo, cum is differere.” Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant; tamen placuit verba apud Regem facere: ingenium aut avorsum uti flecterent; aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiæ, non ætati à Manlio concessum, pauca verba humilicemodi locutus.

“Rex Bocche, magna nobis lætitia, cùm te talem virum di monuere, uti aliquando pacem, quàm bellum, malles; ne te optimum cum pessimo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares; simul nobis demerces acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te

CII. *After this the Consul, now unquestionably conqueror, arrived at the town of Cirta, whither at his first setting out he had designed. Thither, upon the fifth day after the barbarians had fought the second time unsuccessfully, came deputies from Bocchus, who, in the King's name, requested of Marius, “to send him two persons in whom he might confide; that he designed to treat with them on subjects concerning himself; and the interest of the Roman people.” He instantly orders L. Sulla and A. Manlius to go. Who, tho' they went upon invitation; yet thought fit to make a speech to the King: in order either to work upon his inclination, if he was backward, or, if he was desirous of a peace, to excite him to greater earnestness. Wherefore Sulla, to whose eloquence, not to his age, the precedence was given by Manlius, spoke briefly to the following effect.*

“King Bocchus, it is great joy to us, that the gods have put it into the heart of such a man as you, to chuse at last peace rather than war; and not stain your own worthy character by closely uniting with the worst of all men, Jugurtha; and at the same time deliver us from the cruel necessity of pursuing you, whose only fault is being errantem

CII. 1. *Necessitudinem—persequi*] i. e. *persequendi*. It is nothing uncommon to see the infinitive subjoined to substantive nouns instead of the gerund in *di*: Cat. cap. xvii. *Quibus in otio—vel molliter vivere copia erat*. Jug. cap. iii. *Lubido tenet—libertatem suam gratificari*. Cap. lxxxix. *Majora et aspera adgredi tempus visum*. Liv. XXI. cap. liy. *Nunc cor-*

errantem et illum scelera-
tissimum persequi. Ad
hoc populo Romano jam
inopi visum, amicos, quàm
fervos quærere: tutius
rati, volentibus, — quàm
coactis imperitare. Tibi
verò nulla opportunior no-
strâ amicitia: primum,
quòd procul absumus, in
quo offensæ minimum,
gratia par, ac si propè
adessemus; dein quòd pa-
rentes abundè habemus,
amicorum neque nobis,
neque cuiquam omnium
fatis. Atque hoc utinam
à principio tibi placuif-
set! profectò ex populo
Romano ad hoc tempus
multò plura bona accepis-
ses, quàm mala perpessus
esses. Sed quoniam hu-
manarum rerum fortuna
pleraque regit; cui scili-
cet placuisse et vim, et
gratiam nostram experiri:
nunc, quando per illam
licet, festina, atque, ut
cœpisti, perge. Multa at-
que opportuna habes, quò
faciliùs errata officiis su-
peres. Postremò hoc in-
pectus tuum demitte, num-
quam populum Romanum

*missed, and that most vile wretch,
with the like vengeance. Moreo-
ver, it was judged better by the
Roman people, even when they
were in a low condition, to pro-
cure friends than slaves: thinking
it safer to rule over such as were
willing, than those that were
forced. And for you no alliance is
more advantageous than ours: in
the first place, because we are a
great way off, in which case
there is the least occasion of dis-
ference, our favour the same as
if we were nigh at hand; and in
the next place, because we have
subjects in abundance, but neither
we, nor any one else, enough of
friends. And I wish you had taken
this resolution at first! without
question, you would have received
by this time more good from the
Roman people, than you would
have suffered evil. But since for-
tune over-rules most of human
affairs; who had a mind, it
seems, you should make a trial
as well of our force as of our
favour: now, when she gives
you liberty, be quick, and go on
as you have begun. You have
many ways and opportunities,
whereby you may easily overba-
lance your miscarriages by good
services. Finally, let this sink*

*pora curare tempus est. Cor. Nep. Lyfand. cap. iii. Inuit consilia Reges
tollere. Virg. Eclog. VIII. v. 89. Talis amor teneat, nec sit mihi cura
mederi. Æneid. II. v. 10. Sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros,
Et breviter Troje supremum audire laborem.*

2. *At hoc tempus*] These words are not in Cortius's text, nor taken
notice of among his *errata*; but since he comments upon them in his
notes, as being in the text, it is plain they have been left out, not of
design, but through inadvertency; and therefore I have restored them.

beneficiis

beneficiis victum. nam bello quid valeat, tute scis." *deep into your breast, that the Roman people have never been outdone in acts of kindness. for what their ability is in war, you know well enough yourself."*

Ad ea Bocchus placidè et benignè ; simul pauca pro delicto verba facit : " se non hostili animo, sed regnum tutatum arma cepisse : nam Numidicæ partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerat, jure belli suam factam, eam vastari ab Mario pati nequivisse : præterea missis antea Romanam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera ommittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum." Dein, copiâ factâ, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognitâ legatione Sullæ et Manlii, metuens id, quod parabatur, donis corrumperat.

To this Bocchus replied in a soft and civil manner; and at the same time made a brief apology for his misconduct: "that he had not taken up arms out of any hostile intention, but to protect his kingdom: for he could not suffer that part of Numidia to be laid waste by Marius, out of which he had by force driven Jugurtha, since it was become his own by the right of war: besides, upon his sending deputies formerly to Rome, an alliance had been refused him. However, he would forbear to insist on things past, and would now again send deputies to the senate, if he were allowed by Marius." But afterwards, though this liberty was granted, the mind of the barbarian was altered by means of his friends, whom Jugurtha, upon getting notice of the embassy of Sulla and Man-

3. *Jure belli suam factam*] Jugurtha, to engage Bocchus effectually to his interest, and to take part with him in this war, had promised him a third part of Numidia, as we are told cap. xcvi.; and it would appear from what Bocchus here says, that this third part had been expressly condescended on, and particularly that it comprehended Capsa, and the other places out of which Marius had forced Jugurtha. Bocchus indeed is a little too forward in calling it *jure belli suam factam*, since it was promised under a condition not yet fulfilled, viz. *Si Romani Africâ expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret*. But we are to remember, that Bocchus is talking to persons whom he supposes to be, and who probably at this time really were ignorant of the articles stipulated betwixt him and Jugurtha; and therefore we are the less to wonder that he makes insinuations of what was not precisely true, especially considering that this would have the appearance of a pretty plausible apology for his past conduct.

4. *Dein, copiâ factâ*] *Intellige mittendi legatos.*

lius, and being apprehensive of that which was in agitation, had corrupted with bribes.

CIII. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quò Jugurtha perfugas omnis præsidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando, quæ sibi duobus præliis venerant, seu admonitus ab amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita, et ingenia validissima erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romanam legatos ire jubet: agendarum rerum, et quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam permittit. Illi maturè ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur: deinde itinere à Gætulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, sine decore ad Sullam perfugiant; quem Consul in expeditionem proficiscens pro Prætoris reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, ut meriti erant, sed adcuratè ac liberaliter habuit. quâ re

CIII. Marius, in the mean time, having put his army into winter-quarters, marches away with the light-armed cohorts and part of the horse into the desert, to besiege a tower of the King's, wherein Jugurtha had put a garrison, all deserters. Then again Bocchus, whether reflecting on what had happened to him in the two battles, or having been advised by such friends as Jugurtha had left uncorrupted, chose out of the whole number of his friends five, of whose fidelity he had good proof, and who were most eminent for parts. He orders them to go as deputies to Marius, and afterwards, if he should think proper, to Rome: and furnishes them with full powers to negotiate affairs, and put an end to the war upon any terms. They set out with all dispatch for the winter-quarters of the Romans: and being afterwards on their journey beset by some Gætulian robbers, and stripped of all they had, they fled in great fright, and without suitable equipage, to Sulla; whom the Consul, when he went upon his expedition, had left Proprætor. He did not treat them like fickle enemies, as they had deserved, but in a handsome manner, and with great generosity. by which usage the barbarians were persua-

CIII. 1. *Perfugas omnis præsidium]* h. e. omne præsidium erant perfugæ.

2. *Adcuratè—habuit]* Adcuratè habere est, cum cura tractare, omnia circumspicere studiosè, quæ ad cultum pertinent.

barbari

Barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiæ falsam, et Sullam, ob munificentiam in sese, amicum rati. Nam etiam tum largitio multis ignara: munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens: dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur Quæstori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit: copias, fidem, magnitudinem Regis sui, et alia, quæ aut utilia, aut benevolentiae credebant oratione extollunt: dein Sullâ omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies XL. ibidem opperiuntur.

they waited there about forty days.

CIV. Marius postquam infecto, quo intenderat, negotio Cirtam redit; de adventu legatorum cer-

ded both that the report of the Roman avarice was groundless, and that Sulla, upon account of his generosity towards them, was their friend. For the practice of giving in order to corruption; even at that time, was unknown to many: no body was thought generous, but cut of good-will: all presents were ascribed to real kindness. Wherefore they unfold the instructions of Bocchus to the Quæstor; and at the same time request of him to be their friend and adviser: in discourse they greatly cried up the forces, honour, and grandeur of their prince, and other things which they thought were either of interest to the Romans, or a mean to attract their liking: then after Sulla had promised all, and they were instructed in what

manner to make their address to Marius and to the senate, they waited there about forty days.

3. *Largitio multis ignara*] *Largitio* invidiosè usurpata est, pro largitione tali, quæ sit sine benevolentia, ambitionis tantum et sui commodi causâ: quæ eo tempore Romæ potissimum invaluerat, Cat. cap. iiii. *Audacia, largitio, avaritia, vigeant.*

4. *Aut utilia, aut benevolentiae*] *Utilia* intelligit Romanis. *Selemnes* dictiones de sociis sunt *boni et utiles*. *Benevolentiae* positum est pro *benevolentie Regi suo concilianda*; and is the genitive, the construction here being the same as that of *gloriosa modo, neque belli patrandi*. See cap. lxxxviii. n. 3.

CIV. 1. *Infecto, quo intenderat, negotio*] *Plerique interpretes, quo intenderat* accipiunt pro *quò profectus erat*, et ita fere de itinere Cirtam facto intelligunt. At Ci. Perizonius ad Sanct. II. Minerv. cap. ix. interpretatur, *infecto negotio eo loci, quò intenderat*. Non tamen persuadet: etsi ita de itineribus loquantur. Exponendum autem, *infecto negotio, quo confecto redire intenderat*.

tior factus, illosque et Sullam venire jubet, item L. Bellienum Præto-
torem Uticâ, præterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab Consule: interea induciæ postulabantur. Ea Sullæ et plerisque placuere: pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quæ fluxæ et mobiles semper in advorsa mutant. Ceterum Mauri, impetratis omnibus rebus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rufo, qui Quæstor stipendium in Africam portaverat: duo ad Regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cum cetera, tum maxumè benignitatem et studium Sullæ lubens accepit. Romæ legatis ejus, postquam errasse Regem et Jugurthæ scelere lapsum, deprecati sunt, amicitiam et fœdus petentibus hoc modo respondetur.

that their prince had been guilty of an error, and had been led away through the wicked artifices of Jugurtha, answer is made in the following manner.

“ Senatus et populus Romanus beneficii et injuriæ memor esse solet. Ce-

being informed of the arrival of the deputies, he orders both them and Sulla to come to him, and likewise L. Bellienus the Prætor from Utica, as also all others of the senatorian rank from all places, in conjunction with whom he takes under consideration the proposals of Bocchus. Liberty for his deputies to proceed to Rome is granted by the Consul: in the mean time a cessation of arms was desired. These things were approved of by Sulla and the majority: a few were for rougher usage, unacquainted, it seems, with human affairs, which being fleeting and fickle, are always changing to the worse. But the Moors, having obtained all their demands, three of them went for Rome, with Cn. Octavius Rufus, who, as Quæstor, had brought over to Africa pay for the army: two return to the King. From them Bocchus, as he with great pleasure received the accounts of other things, so particularly of the kindness and courtesy of Sulla. To his deputies at Rome, applying for an alliance and league, after they had begged pardon, confessing

that their prince had been guilty of an error, and had been led away through the wicked artifices of Jugurtha, answer is made in the following manner.

“ The senate and people of Rome are ever mindful of kindness and injury done them. How-

2. *Ea Sulle et plerisque*] *Ea*, as it is plural and neuter, refers both to *potestas eundi Romam*, and to *induciæ*.

3. *Deprecati sunt*] Cortius completes the sentence thus, *deprecati sunt, dicentes Regem errasse*.

terùm Boccho, quoniam pœnitet, delicti gratiam facit. fœdus et amicitia dabuntur, cùm meruerit."

CV. Quis rebus cognitis, Bocchus per litteras à Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret; cujus arbitrato de communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum præsidio equitum atque peditum, funditorum Balearium: præterea sagittarii et cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causâ: neque his secus, atque aliis armis, adversum tela hostium, quod

ever they pardon Bocchus's offence; in consideration of his repentance. a league and alliance shall be granted, when he shall have deserved it."

CV. Upon information of which, Bocchus requested of Marius by a letter, to send Sulla to him; with whose help he might advise about their common concerns. He was dispatched with a guard of horse and foot, the latter being Balearian slingers: there were also, in his retinue some archers, and a cohort of Pelignians with arms used by the Velites, for the better expedition in their march: nor were they less secured by these, than any other kind of arms, against the

CV. 1. *Cujus arbitratus*] *Arbitratus* vox Ciceroni frequens, pro judicio, beneplacito. Notæ leviore significato accepit, et *cujus arbitratus* dixit, pro quo presentem et voluntatem populi Romani observante.

2. *Funditorum Balearium*] *Insule Balesares* were the islands in the Mediterranean, now called *Majorca* and *Minorca*. Flor. III. cap. viii. tells us, the inhabitants were famous slingers, as being trained up to this art from their infancy. The boys had no victuals allowed them but what they brought down from the top of some high post with their slings. Curtius is pretty positive that *peditum* in this place is superfluous and spurious. *Vox peditum à malo manu irrepfit, et scripserat Crispus: cum præsidio equitum atque funditorum, &c.*

3. *Præterea sagittarii et cohors Peligna*] The sentence may be thus supplied, *præterea erant cum Sulla sagittarii, &c.* The *Peligni* were a people in Italy, their metropolis was *Corfinium*; another of their chief towns was *Sulmo*, famous for being the birth-place of *Ovid*.

4. *Cum velitaribus armis*] The *Velites*, so called à *volando*, were *tirones*, or young soldiers, who were not formed into distinct bodies or companies, as the other orders. In battles they used to hover in loose order before the *hastati*, and begin the fight. Their arms were of the lighter sort, viz. the *parma tripudialis*, i. e. a buckler of three feet diameter, made of wood, and covered over with leather, a Spanish sword, seven *haste*, or javelins for darting at the enemy, with a *galea* or light casque for their head, made generally of the skin of some wild beast. See cap. xli. n. 5.

5. *Colors—muniti*] The same construction as *pars acti*, cap. xiv. and *magna pars vulnerati*, cap. lviii. See cap. lxxxix. n. 3.

ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed itinere, quinto denique die, Volux filius Bocchi, repentè in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit: qui temerè et effusè euntes Sullæ aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliore vero, et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur sese quisque expedire, arma atque tela tentare, intendere: timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, et adversum eos, quos sæpe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum præmissi, rem, uti erat, quietam nunciant.

ed. In the meantime some horse, sent out to reconnoitre them, bring word that matters were peaceable, as they really were.

CVI. Volux adveniens Quæstorem adpellat: "se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul, et præsidio missum." Deinde eum et proximum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post, ubi castra locata, et die vesper erat, repentè Maurus incerto voltu ad Sullam adcurrit: "sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse:" simul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret,

weapons of the enemy, because these, viz. the weapons of the enemy, were light. But at last, upon the fifth day of their march, Volux, the son of Bocchus, all on a sudden presents himself to view in a wide plain with no more than a thousand horse: but who marching in a loose and scattered manner caused both their number appear greater than the truth to Sulla and every body else, and occasioned an apprehension of their being enemies. Whereupon every man puts himself in readiness, tries and trims his arms and weapons: some little fears they had, but greater hopes, as having been victorious formerly, and now to fight against these whom they had often conquered.

ed. In the meantime some horse, sent out to reconnoitre them, bring word that matters were peaceable, as they really were.

CVI. Volux coming up addresses himself to the Quæstor: and tells him, "that he had been sent by his father Bocchus, at once to meet them, and to be their guard." And then they march in company, that and the next day, without any alarm. After this, when the camp was pitched, and the evening of the day was come, all on a sudden the Moor comes running to Sulla with confusion in his looks: and tells him, "he had information from his scouts, that Jugurtha

6. *Sese quisque expedire, arma atque tela tentare, intendere*] Expedire est liberare impedimentis. Tentare et aptare est, et quocumque modo experiri usum armorum telorumque, quæ hic de omni instrumento militari capienda sunt, ut etiam arcus sagittariorum comprehendant, quorum causâ addidit intendere.

rogat.

rogat atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci negat "se toties fufum Numidam pertimescere: virtuti fuorum fatis credere: etiam fi certa peftis adelfet, manfurum potiùs, quàm proditis, quos ducebat, turpi fugâ incertæ ac forfitan pòit paullò morbo interituræ vitæ parceret." Ceterùm ab eodem monitus, "uti noctu proficifcerentur," confilium adprobat: ac ftatim milites cœnatos effe; in castris ignis quàm creberrimos fieri, dein primâ vigiliâ filentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere felfis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu folis castra metabatur, cùm equites Mauri nunciant, "Jugurtham circiter duùm millium intervallo antè confediffe." Quod poftquam auditum, tum verò ingens metus nostros invadit: credere proditos à Voluce et infidiis circumventos. Ac fuere, qui dicerent, manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum fcelus inultum relinquendum.

who cried out, that immediate vengeance fhould be taken, and fuch a piece of villany in him ought not to pafs unpunifhed.

CVI. 1. *Primâ vigiliâ*] i. e. at the end of the fift watch, or three hours after fun-fet: for the Romans divided the night into four watches, each confifting of three hours. See cap. xlv. n. 2. But the ancient Greeks divided the night into three watches, each of which confifted of four hours.

2. *Manu vindicandum*] *Manu vindicant*, qui vi et pœnâ mortis ipfi, non expectato judicio, vindicant.

was not far off:" and at the fime time begs and intreats him, to fly away privately with him in the night. He with obftinate refolution replied, "that he feared not the Numidian, who had been fo often beat: that he could abundantly truft the courage of his men: and even tho' fure deftruction were at hand, he would rather ftand his ground, than, betraying thofe whom he conducted, fave, by a fcandalous flight, a life that was uncertain, and perhaps to perifh a little after by a diftemper." However, being advifed by the fime Volux, "to march in the night," he approves the motion: and immediately orders the foldiers to go to fupper; a great many fires to be made in the camp, and then to march off fiently at the firt watch. And now all being heartily tired with marching in the night, Sulla was pitching his camp juft at fun-rife, when the Moorifh horfe bring word, "that Jugurtha had fat down at the diftance of about two miles before them." After this was underftood, then indeed a mighty confternation feized our men: they thought themfelves betrayed, and drawn into a fneate by Volux. And fime there were,

CVII. At Sulla, quamquam eadem æstumabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet: suos hortatur, “uti fortem animum gererent: sæpe antea paucis strenuis adversum multitudinem bene pugnatum: quanto sibi in prælio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore: nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maximo metu nudum et cæcum corpus ad hostis vortere.” Deinde Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, maximum Jovem obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiæ Bocchi testis adesset, castris abire jubet. Ille lacrumans orare, “ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum; magis calliditate Jugurthæ, cui speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. Ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes opeque ejus ex patre suo penderent; illum nihil palam ausurum, cum ipse filius testis adesset: quare optimum factum videri, per media ejus castra palam

CVII. But Sulla, tho' he was of the same opinion, yet protects the Moor from ill usage: encourages his men “to have a good heart: that often before now a battle had been fought with success by a few brave fellows against multitudes: the less they spared themselves in battle, the more secure they would be: nor ought any one, who had armed his hands, to seek assistance from his unarmed feet, or in the midst of danger to turn his back, that was naked and had no eyes, upon his enemy.” Then invoking the mighty Jove to be a witness of the villany and treachery of Bocchus, he orders Volux, since he acted the part of an enemy, to be gone out of the camp. He with tears begs of him “not to believe this: protesting that nothing of this had been brought about by any treachery in him, but rather thro' the subtilty of Jugurtha, who by his scouts had discovered their march. However, as he had no great numbers, and as his hopes and strength depended on his father; he would not dare to make any open attempt, when he the son was to be a witness of it: wherefore he thought the best thing could be done was, to take their rout fairly through the

CVII. 1. *Cæcum corpus*] i. e. *cæcam partem corporis, tergum*. Ita cap. lxxxv. *Adverso corpore*. Ita cap. lxxviii. *Extrema Africa*. See cap. xxxv. n. 8.

2. *Per media ejus castra*] Mirum factum: hostem per media sua castra incolumem transire sinere: mallet illud *media* abesse, et tolerabilior emergeret sententia, eos præter castra Jugurthæ transiisse; ut supra cap. xxxi. *Per ora incedere*.

transire:

transire: sese, vel præmissis, vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sulla iturum." Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata, ac statim profecti: quia de improviso acciderant, dubio atque hæsitante Jugurthâ, incolumes transcunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quò ire intenderant, perventum.

few days, they arrived at

CVIII. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, multum et familiariter agebat: præmissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator, et subdolè speculatum Bocchi consilia: præterea Dabar, Massugradæ filius, ex gente Masinissæ, ceterum materno genere impar; pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat; Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus acceptusque: quem Bocchus fidum Romanis multis antea tempestatibus expertus, illicò ad Sullam nuntiatum mittit, "paratum sese facere, quæ populus Romanus vellet: colloquio diem, locum, tempus

middle of his camp: that he, either sending the Moors before, or leaving them there, would go single along with Sulla." This proposal, as the case stood, was approved of, and forthwith they set forward: and as they came up unexpectedly, whilst Jugurtha was unresolved and in doubts what to do, they passed without molestation. And then, in a

CVIII. Accertain Numidian, named Aspar, was carrying on negotiations there, in a busy and familiar manner, with Bocchus: having been dispatched thither by Jugurtha, after he heard that Sulla had been sent for, as his envoy, and slyly to pry into Bocchus's intentions: moreover one Dabar, the son of Massugrada, of the family of Masinissa, but of meaner descent by the female side; for his father had been born of a concubine; was much beloved, and in great favour with the Moor, on account of his many excellent endowments of mind: whom Bocchus, having found him a true friend to the Romans on several occasions before, straightway dispatches to Sulla, to acquaint him, "that he was ready to do what the Roman

ipse

CVIII. 1. *Orator*] Messengers, deputies, or ambassadors, sent with instructions, were anciently called *oratores*: Liv. XXX. cap. xvi. *Oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt.* See cap. xlvi. n. 2.

2. *Materno genere impar*] I chuse to render this *by the female side*, because the person here meant was not Dabar's mother, but his grandmother, viz. the mother of his father, Massugrada, who was Masinissa's concubine. See the family of Masinissa delineated, cap. v. n. 5.

3. *Diem, locum, tempus ipse diligeret*] Veluti ex formula *dies, tempus*

simul

ipse dilegeret: consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere, neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret; quò res communis licentiùs gereretur; nam ab insidiis ejus aliter caveri nequivisse." Sed ego comperior, Bocchum magis Punicâ fide, quàm ob quæ prædicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis adtinuisse, multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Jugurthiam Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet: lubidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

But I find, that Bocchus kept in hands both the Romans and the Numidian with the hopes of peace, more out of a Punic dissimulation, than for the reasons he pretended, and that he frequently debated with great concern in his own mind, whether he should deliver up Jugurtha to the Romans, or Sulla to him: that his inclinations pleaded against us, his fear for us.

CIX. Igitur Sulla: "pauca coram Aspare locuturum; cetera occultè, aut nullo, aut quàm paucissimis præsentibus:" simul edocet, quæ responderentur. Postquam, si-

CIX. *Whereupon Sulla replied: "That he would say but little before Aspar: the rest in private, either none at all, or very few being present:" at the same time he instructs him, what answer should be made. After*

simul memorantur. Scripsi *dilegeret*, quòd ita vetustissimi codices hoc verbum exhibeant.

4. *Consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere*] *Consulta* pro *consultendis* seu *consiliis*; significat itaque, ea de quibus consulendum haberet cum Sulla, omnia futura integra et intacta.

5. *Pertimesceret; quòd res*] *Cape*, quasi scriptum esset: *neu legatum Jugurthe*, qui adesset, aut advocatus, etiam in familiariorem usum adsumptus esset, *pertimesceret*; cum ita cautum sit, *quòd res communis licentiùs gereretur: nam ab insidiis Jugurthe aliter caveri nequivisse*.

6. *Punicâ fide*] The Carthaginians were reputed false and treacherous in their dealings; and hence *Punica fides* came to be a proverb, signifying any vile, execrable, or detestable dissimulation. On the other hand, *Attica fides* denotes what is honest, sincere, and may be depended on: Vell. Pat. II. cap. xxiii. *Ades enim certa Atheniensium in Romanos fides fuit; ut semper et in omni re, quicquid sincerâ fide gereretur, id Romani, Atticâ fieri prædicarent.*

cuti voluerat, congressi, dicit: "se missum à Consule venisse quæsitum ab eo, pacem, an bellum agiturus foret." Tum Rex, uti præceptum, "post diem decimum redire" jubet; "ac nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum." deinde ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis procedit, Sulla à Boccho occultè arcessitur: ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur: præterea Dabar internuntius, sanctus vir et ex sententia ambobus. Ac statim sic Rex incipit.

both sides. And straightway the King thus begins.

CX. "Numquam ego ratus sum fore, uti Rex inaximus in hac terra, et omnium, quos novi, privato homini gratiam deberem. Et hercèle, Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus, aliis ultro ego-

they were met, as he had appointed, he tells him: "That he had come hither, having been sent by the Consul, to enquire of him, whether he was for peace or war." Upon this the King, as he had been instructed, desires "him to return the tenth day after; that as yet he had fixed upon nothing, but would give him an answer against that day." after this both departed to their respective camps. But when a good part of the night was past, Sulla is sent for privately by Bocchus: trusty interpreters alone are admitted by both parties: the messenger Dabar too was there, being a man of honour, and equally acceptable to

CX. "I never imagined it would come to pass, that I, the greatest prince in this country, and of all that I know, should be indebted for a favour to a private person. And indeed, Sulla, before I was acquainted with you, I have granted aid to

CIX. 1. *Ambo in sua castra digressi*] Commentators are much divided as to the meaning of this expression: some take *ambo* to refer to Bocchus and Sulla; but Cortius is positive that Sallust means Aspar and Sulla. Some again take *castra* to signify the camp of Bocchus, and that formed by Sulla and the party who came along with him; which two camps we may suppose to have been at no great distance from one another. But Cortius will have it, that the two camps here meant are, the one that of Jugurtha, which was a good way off, as may be gathered from cap. cxii. since it took Aspar eight days in going to it and returning back; and the other that of Marius, in and about Cirta, which was still at a greater distance: and he takes *digressi* to import, not that they actually went, but that they parted for, or as if they had been resolved to go to their respective camps.

2. *Sanctus*——*et ex sententia*] This construction is elegant, and very much akin to *utilia, aut benevolentie*, cap. ciii.

met opem tuli, nullius indigus. Id imminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego lætor: fuerit mihi e-
guisse aliquando amicitix tuæ, quâ apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeò experiri licet: arma, viros, pecuniam, potestatem quidquid animo lubet, fume, utere: et, quoad vives, numquam redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra erit: denique nihil, me sci-
epte, frustra voles. Nam, ut ego æstumo, Regem armis, quàm munificentiam, vinci, minus flagitiosum. Ceterum de re publica vestra, cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque factum umquam volui: finis meos adversum armatos armis tutus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ita placet: gerite, uti vultis, cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare sinam. Præterea si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis."

CXI. Ad ea Sulla pro

many upon their request, to others of my own accord, I stood in need of none. I am glad the case is altered, a thing which others use to be sorry for: let it be my lot at length to have stood in need of your friendship, than which, in my own mind, I esteem nothing more valuable. This so far you may make trial of: take, use my arms, men, money, in short, whatsoever you have a mind to: and, whilst you live, never think your favour is repaid; it shall always remain entire with me: finally, you shall wish for nothing, if I know of it, in vain. For, as I imagine, it is less dishonourable for a prince to be outdone at arms, than in generosity. But as to your public affair, which you have been sent hither to negotiate, take my thoughts in a few words. I neither made war upon the Roman people, nor did I ever design to do it: I defended my own dominions with arms against an armed force. This I pass, since you so incline: prosecute the war with Jugurtha as you please. I shall not stir beyond the river Mulucha, which was the boundary betwixt me and Micipsa, nor will I suffer Jugurtha to come within it. And further, if you shall demand any thing worthy of me and yourselves, you shall not go away with a refusal."

CXI. To this Sulla replied

CX. 1. *Factum umquam volui*] *Factum* eleganter pro *facere*.
2. *Flumen Mulucham*] That this river was the boundary betwixt Bocchus and Jugurtha, we are also told cap. xix. and xcii.

se breviter et modicè; de pace et de communibus rebus multis differuit. Denique Regi patefacit, “quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam ampliùs armis valuisse, non in gratiam habituros: faciundum aliquid, quod illorum magis, quàm suà, retulisse videretur; id adeò in promptu esse, quoniam Jugurthæ copiam haberet: quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, uti illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, fœdus, Numidiæ partem, quam nunc peteret, ultro adventuram.” Rex primò negitare: “ad finitatem, cognationem, præterea fœdus intervenire: ad hoc metuere, ne fluxâ fide usus, popularium animos avorteret; quibus et Jugurtha carus, et Romani invisi erant.” Denique sæpius fatigatus, leniter et ex voluntate Sullæ omnia se facturum promittit. Ceterum ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissimus, quæ, utilia visa, constituunt. Ita, composito dolo, digrediuntur.

briefly and modestly in reference to himself; but as to the peace and the public concerns he spoke at large. Finally, he gave the King to understand, “that the senate and people of Rome, since they had been superior at arms, would not take as a kindness what he promised: he must do something, that might appear to respect their interest more than his own: this too was easy to be done, since he had Jugurtha in his power: whom if he would deliver up to the Romans, the case would be, that they would then be under a very great obligation to him; and the friendship, alliance, and that part of Numidia, which he now demanded, would be freely offered him.” The King at first refused over and over again: pretending “there was affinity, relation, as also a treaty betwixt them: and further, that he was afraid, lest by acting a deceitful part, he should alienate the affections of his subjects; by whom both Jugurtha was beloved, and the Romans hated.” At last, upon his being several times urged to it, he promises, in a submissive manner, and according to Sulla’s desire, that he would do every thing required of him. Moreover they fix upon what they thought proper for carrying on the appearance of a peace, that should include Jugurtha, of which the Numidian, wearied with the war, was very desirous. And thus having laid their plot, they part.

CXII. At

CXI. *Numidicæ partem*] This promise of Sulla was exactly performed; for,

CXII. At Rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthæ legatum adpellat: "sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse conditionibus bellum poni: quamobrem Regis sui sententiam exquireret." Ille lætus in castra Jugurthæ venit. Deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum, et ei nunciat, "Jugurtham cupere omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere; sed Marioparum confidere: sæpe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse. Ceterum si ambobus consultum et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut unâ ab omnibus, quasi de pace, in colloquium veniretur; ibique sibi Sullam traderet. cum talem virum in potestatem haberet, fore, uti jussu senatûs atque populi Romani fœdus fieret: neque hominem nobilem, non suâ ignaviâ, sed ob rempublicam, in hostium potestate relictum iri."

CXII. *But the day following the King speaks to Aspar, Jugurtha's envoy: and tells him, "he understood from Sulla, by Dabar, that the war might be ended upon terms: wherefore he should inquire into the sentiments of his prince." He overjoyed posts away to Jugurtha's camp. And after being instructed by him as to every thing, returns with great expedition the eighth day after to Bocchus, and tells him, "that Jugurtha was very willing to do every thing that should be ordered him; but could not trust Marius: that a peace had been concluded several times before now with the Roman commanders to no purpose. But if he had a mind to study both their interests, and have a lasting peace, he should endeavour to have all parties met together for a conference, under pretence of settling the peace; and then deliver up Sulla to him. it would come to pass, when he had such a man in his power, that a treaty would be concluded by order of the senate and people of Rome: that a man of quality, in the hands of his enemy, not thro' any cowardice in him, but on account of the public, would not be left there."*

for, after the delivery of Jugurtha, all that part of Numidia betwixt the rivers Mulucha and Amplaga was given to Bocchus.

* CXII. 1. *In potestatem haberet*] See Cat. cap. xix. n. 3.

2. *Non suâ ignaviâ*] The Romans were not fond of redeeming cowards; such were often left to the mercy of their enemies: but persons who, in the service of their country, had become prisoners, not through their own cowardice or misconduct, but the treachery of the enemy, were ransomed by them at any price; and this Jugurtha well knew.

CXIII. Hæc

CXIII. Hæc Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promissit. ceterum dolo, an verè, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiæ voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, sæpe ipsæ sibi adversæ. Postea tempore et loco constituto, [in colloquium uti de pace veniretur], Bocchus Sullam modò, modò Jugurthæ legatum adpellare, benignè habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter læti, ac spei bonæ pleni. Sed nocte eâ, quæ proxima fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus adhibitis amicis, ac statim immutatâ voluntate, remotis, dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse, voltu corporis pariter, atque animo varius: quæ scilicet, tacente ipso, occulta pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremò Sullam arcessiri jubet, et ex ejus sententia Numidæ insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit, et ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haud procul abesse; cum paucis amicis et Quæstore nostro, quasi obviis - honoris causâ,

CXIII. *The Moor, musing upon this proposal a good while, at last promised. but whether with a fraudulent design, or sincerely, I do not find. But princes humours generally, as they are very violent, so are they fickle, and often inconsistent. After this, time and place being appointed, [for coming to a conference about the peace], Bocchus called one while for Sulla, another while for Jugurtha's envoy, treated them kindly, promised the same thing to both. They were equally well pleased, and full of good hopes. But in the night, that was immediately before the day appointed for the conference, the Moor calling his friends, and presently, upon a change of his resolution, dismissing them, is said to have ruminated on the matter a long time by himself, with great unsteadiness as well in his countenance as in his thoughts: which plainly, though he was silent, discovered the secrets of his breast. However, at last he orders Sulla to be sent for, and, in concert with him, lays the plot for the Numidian. Then, as soon as it was day, and he was informed, that Jugurtha was not far off; he with a few friends and our Quæstor marches out as if it had been to meet him with a*

CXIII. 1. *Voltu corporis*] The expression is somewhat singular, and one may think *corporis* superfluous: but as it is to be taken explicatively, and in opposition to *animi*, it is not without its own beauty. We meet with several such superfluities in Sallust, such as, *timor animi*, *virtus animi*, *solis ardores*, *navium carine*, &c.

2. *Quæ scilicet*] Nempe remotionem amicorum repentinam, quod secum ipse solus multa agitaverit, quod vultum mutaverit.

procedit

procedit in tumultum, facillimum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis, inermis, ut dictum, accedit; ac statim, signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obtruncati: Jugurtha Sullæ victus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus.

CXIV. Per idem tempus adversum Gallos abducibus nostris, Q. Cæpione et M. Manlio male pugnatum. quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique et inde ad nostram memoriam Romani sic habere: alia omnia virtuti suæ prona esse; cum Gallis pro salute, non pro

design of doing him honour, to a little hill, that was easy to be seen by those who lay in ambuscade. Thither, as had been appointed, the Numidian came unarmed, with most of his friends; and immediately, upon a signal given, he is beset by those who lay in ambush, on all sides at once. The rest are cut to pieces: Jugurtha is delivered in chains to Sulla, and by him carried to Marius.

CXIV. About the same time some battles had been fought with ill success by our generals, Q. Cæpio and M. Manlius, against the Gauls. with the terror whereof all Italy had been put into a consternation. For both they, and all the Romans after them, down to our times, have been of opinion: that every thing else stooped to their bravery; but that they

3. *Sulle victus traditur*] Plutarch informs us, that Sulla was so proud of his success in this affair, that he caused make for himself an *annulus signatorius*, or *sealing ring*, on which was represented Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha to him. But this piece of vanity in Sulla gave great offence to Marius.

CXIV. 1. *Adversum Gallos*] or rather *adversum Germanos*; for those here meant were the Cimbri, Teutoni, and Tigurini, a very numerous people, being upwards of 300,000, going about in quest of new settlements. They had sent to the senate at Rome, desiring they would give them some land, but were refused; as we have the history in Flor. III. cap. iii. *Repulsi igitur, quod nequiverant precibus, armis petere constituunt. Sed nec primum quidem impetum barbarorum Silanus, nec secundum Manlius, nec tertium Cæpio sustinere potuerunt. Omnes fugati, exuti castris. Actum erat, nisi Marius illi seculo contigisset.*

2. *Illique et inde*] Illi, i. e. Itali. The reference of *illi* to Italia is the same as that of *qui* to Africa, cap. lxxxix. n. 3.

3. *Cum Gallis pro salute*] About the year of Rome 364, the Gauls took and burnt the city; which struck such a mighty terror into the Romans, and filled them with such dreadful apprehensions of the Gauls, that for several ages after, even down to the days of our author, the Gallic name was more formidable to them than that of any other nation whatsoever.

quam

gloria certare. Sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum, et Jugurtham victum adduci Romam nunciatum est; Marius Consul absens factus, et ei decreta provincia Gallia, isque Kalendis Januariis magnâ gloriâ Consul triumphavit. Eâ tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitæ.

fought with the Gauls for life, not for glory. But after the news was brought, that the war in Numidia was ended, and that Jugurtha was coming in chains to Rome; Marius, though absent, was made Consul again, and the province of Gaul assigned him, and he triumphed, being Consul, upon the first of January, with great glory. At that time the hopes and security of the state rested upon him.

4. *Marius Consul absens factus*] This shews the high opinion the people then entertained of Marius; for it was a thing exceeding rare, and very extraordinary, nay, it was a dispensing with the law itself, which forbade any one to be elected Consul in his absence, or to be rechosen, till ten years at least had intervened.

5. *Kalendis Januariis magnâ gloriâ Consul triumphavit*] This was the year of Rome 649, and the day on which the new Consuls entered upon their office, which was a great solemnity by itself; but as it was also the day of the triumph, we may well suppose, that the pomp and splendour in which Marius then appeared, was such, as abundantly justifies our author in saying, *Magnâ gloriâ triumphavit*. On this occasion Marius exhibited a sight to the Romans, which they scarcely expected ever to have seen, I mean Jugurtha in chains, as we learn from Eutrop. IV. cap. xxviii. *Ante curram Marii Jugurtha cum duobus filiis ductus est catenatus*. And Plutarch, in his life of Marius, informs us, that Jugurtha, as he walked in the procession, ran distracted. After the ceremony was over, he was cast into prison; and the Lictors were so eager to seize his robe, that they rent it in several pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels with which they were adorned. In this condition he was thrown stark naked into a deep dungeon, that was to be his grave; upon going down into which, *vultu in risum verso*, he uttered these words, *Hercules, quàm frigidum nobis est balneum!* Here, after struggling six days with cold and hunger, he ended his wicked life by a wretched death. Agreeable to this account are the following verses, subjoined to some of the old manuscripts,

*Nesse cupis vulgò non cognita fata Jugurthæ,
Ut Plutarchus ait, carcere clausus obit.*

6. *Eâ tempestate*] This is said emphatically, and in opposition to what followed; for, some years after this, Marius, pursuing the ambitious purposes of his aspiring soul, carried matters to such an immoderate height, as introduced the civil wars betwixt him and Sulla, which brought vast destruction and desolation upon Rome and all Italy.

BOOKS written by **JOHN MAIR, A. M.** and
sold by **A. Kincaid & J. Bell, Edinburgh.**

A Rithmetic rational and practical; wherein the properties of numbers are clearly pointed out, the theory of the science deduced from first principles, the methods of operation demonstratively explained, and the whole reduced to practice in a great variety of useful rules. 3 vols. Price 7 s.

A brief survey of the terraqueous globe; containing, 1st, The description and use of the globes; 2d, The construction and use of maps; 3d, Geography, or a short view of the earth's surface, considered as inhabited by various nations. Price 2 s. bound.

The Tyro's Dictionary, Latin and English; comprehending the more usual primitives of the Latin tongue, digested alphabetically, in the order of the parts of speech. To which are subjoined, in a smaller character, on the lower part of the pages, lists or catalogues of their derivatives and compounds. Designed as an easy and speedy method of introducing youth to a general acquaintance with the structure of the language, and preparing them for the use of a larger dictionary. 2d Edition. Price 4 s.

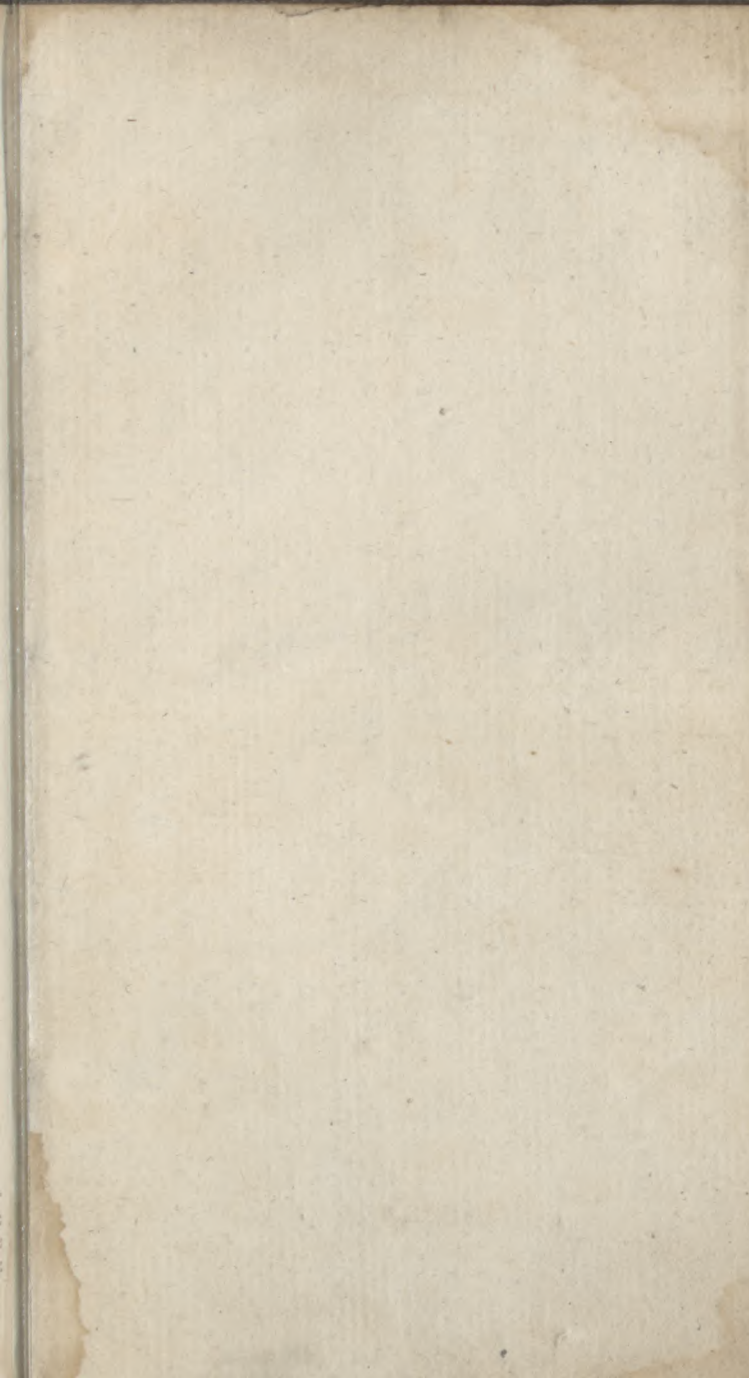
A radical vocabulary, Latin and English; comprehending the more usual primitives of the Latin tongue, digested alphabetically, in the order of the parts of speech. To which is subjoined, An Appendix; containing rules for the gender of nouns, and for the preterites and supines of verbs, in English prose; as also, an explication of the kalends, nones, and ides. Price bound 10 d.

A select century of M. Cordery's colloquies; with an English translation as literal as possible. Price bound 1 s.

The first four books of C. Julius Cæsar's commentaries of his wars in Gaul; with an English translation as literal as possible, and large explanatory notes. Price bound 2 s.

An introduction to Latin syntax: or, An exemplification of the rules of construction, as delivered in Mr. Ruddiman's rudiments, without anticipating posterior rules. To which is subjoined, An epitome of ancient history, from the creation to the birth of Christ. Price bound 2 s.

Book-keeping methodized; or, A methodical treatise of merchant-accounts, according to the Italian form. Wherein the theory of the art is fully explained, and reduced to practice, by variety of suitable examples in all the branches of trade.—To which is added, A large Appendix. Price 6 s.



h. 74

