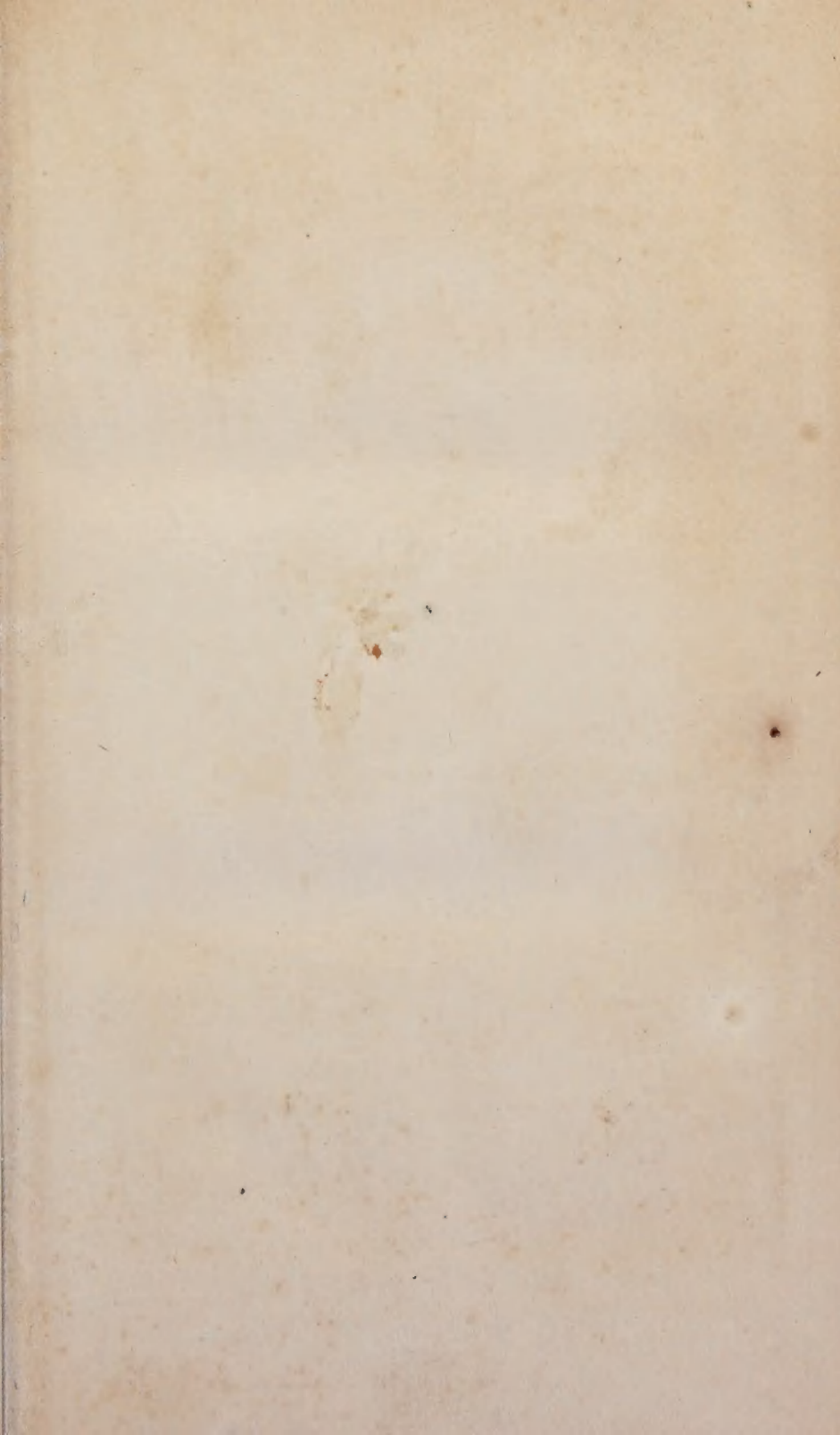


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SALLUST.

NEW YORK:
Harper & Brothers.

1857.

11
SALLUST'S

JUGURTHINE WAR

AND

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE. 11

WITH

AN ENGLISH COMMENTARY,

AND

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL INDEXES.

BY

CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D.,

JAY-PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT LITERATURE IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE, AND RECTOR
OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

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AND

CONSPIRACY OF CATHOLIC

THE

AN ENGLISH CONSPIRACY

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1836

TO THE
REV. JOHN LUDLOW, S.T.D.,
PROVOST OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

THIS WORK

Is Respectfully Dedicated,

AS AN OFFERING

TO ONE, IN WHOM THE RICHES OF INTELLECTUAL CULTURE
ARE SO HAPPILY BLENDED WITH ALL THAT
IS ATTRACTIVE IN THE CHRIS-
TIAN CHARACTER.

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PREFACE.

IN preparing a new edition of Sallust for the press, the editor has taken the greatest care to make such alterations and improvements, in the work, as may render it a still more useful guide to the student than its predecessors have proved. The principal changes will be found to consist in a more enlarged commentary on the Jugurthine war, in the placing of this production of Sallust's before the narrative of the conspiracy of Catiline, and in the two Indexes, the one Geographical, the other Historical, which have been appended to the work. The enlargement of the notes on the Jugurthine war has been made at the request of several instructors, who thought that a more ample commentary on this part of the historian's labours was needed by their pupils. The change introduced into the body of the work, by placing the narrative of the war with Jugurtha before the account of Catiline's conspiracy, cannot but meet with the approbation of all who lay claim to any

acquaintance with Roman literature, or even with Roman history. The old arrangement violates the order of time, since the attempt of Catiline to overthrow the government of his country was subsequent to the war with Jugurtha by a period of nearly fifty years. The impression produced, therefore, on the mind of the student, from his being required to read the two works in an inverted order, must, of necessity, be a confused one. In the account of Catiline's conspiracy, for example, he will find frequent allusions to the calamitous consequences of Sylla's strife with Marius, and will see many of the profligate partisans of the former rallying around the standard of Catiline; while, in the history of the Jugurthine war, if he be made to peruse it after the other, in the ordinary routine of school-reading, he will be introduced to the same Sylla, just entering on a public career, and standing high in the favour and confidence of Marius! How, too, will he be able to appreciate, in their full force, the remarks of Sallust relative to the successive changes in the Roman form of government, and the alternate ascendancy of the aristocratic and popular parties, if he be called upon to direct his attention to results before he is made acquainted with the causes that produced them? The only argument adduced in favour of the old arrangement is, that Sallust composed the narrative of Catiline's conspiracy before that of the Jugurthine war, and that all the manuscripts, and nearly all the editions of the historian,

follow this same order, and place the account of the conspiracy first. Such an argument, however, if it be really deserving of the name, must weigh but little when positive utility is placed in the opposite scale. The order, moreover, for which we contend, is no novelty on the continent of Europe, as may be seen from the works of the President De Brosses, the Abbé Cassagne, and M. Du Rozoir. The last mentioned editor, indeed expresses his very great surprise that the arrangement in question has not by this time become a general one.

With regard to the Indexes that have been added to the work, it may be sufficient to remark, that the object, in preparing them, was to relieve the commentary from what might have proved too heavy a pressure of materials, and have deterred from, rather than invited, a perusal. The geographical and historical matter, with a very few slight exceptions, now stands by itself, and may be consulted with more convenience, and it is hoped, with more decided advantage.

The biographical account of Sallust, and the sketch of his writings, which have been given in the previous editions under the ordinary form, now assume the character of an imaginary conversation, a mode of imparting information which the editor has recently adopted in a course of College-Lectures on Ancient Literature, and which he has found to be extremely well calculated for eliciting and ensuring attention.

In conclusion, the editor feels, that it would be the worst species of affectation in him, were he to conceal the pleasure he has experienced, at the very favourable reception which has been given to the previous editions of this work. And he thinks he may be allowed to state, with pardonable pride, that two separate re-prints, by different editors, total strangers to himself, have also appeared in England, and that too without any effort on his own part to procure in that country, a re-publication of his labours.

C. ANTHON.

COL. COLLEGE, N. Y. }
March 22, 1839. }

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF SALLUST.

DR. BARTON—HENRY ARLINGTON.

DR. B. Well, Henry, how are you pleased with Oxford?—I have met you several times since your arrival among us, but have never before this had an opportunity of conversing with you, or of ascertaining how you liked your new residence.

H. I am delighted with it, my dear Doctor, and feel like a new being amid these classic shades. With the means of improvement now fully under my own control, I am determined to make that use of my time, which shall lead in after life, with the divine blessing, to permanent and honourable distinction. My reading begins, in fact, to assume a new character, and my attention is more and more directed every day to works of solid utility. It is with this view, indeed, that I have sought you on the present occasion, as I have just entered on a course of Roman literature, and wish to consult you about the merits of a writer, in relation to whom, I am, I confess, in a good deal of doubt—I mean the historian Sallust.

DR. B. I can easily conceive, Henry, that an ardent admirer like yourself of the character and services of a Cicero, would be inclined to regard the cold applause, which Sallust bestows upon the saviour of his country, in the light of a defect, and even stain upon his escutcheon as an historian. Nor will I stand forth to defend him. Something, however, must be conceded to the rankling of private animosity, and something to disgust at the ill-disguised and inordinate vanity of the Roman consul. For, after all, Henry, what is history? A mere place of exhibition, where the spectators are too little acquainted with the hidden causes of what they behold, and the actors are too directly interested in the result, to enable us to depend, with any degree of certainty, on the accounts of either the one or the other!

H. Your remark is a very just one, my dear Doctor, and ought to teach us the utter uncertainty of this species of knowledge, except where it bears the impress from on high. History, in the former case, may be likened to the arid plains of Egypt, where the half-buried temple and half-deciphered inscription, tell the tale of other days, but tell it in dark and mysterious language; while, in the latter, she stands like the pyramids of that same Eastern land, alone in the midst of ruins, resting securely on the rock of ages, and pointing upward to the skies.—But I am wandering from my subject. Would it be too great an encroachment on your valuable time, Doctor, were I to ask for a brief sketch of the life of the historian?

Dr. B. Not at all, Henry. I am perfectly at leisure, and will accede to your request with the utmost readiness. Should any thing, however, strike you in the course of my remarks, as being either at variance with your pre-conceived notions, or savouring too much of mere speculation, you will oblige me by a candid communication of your sentiments.

H. There will be very little occasion for this, my dear Doctor, as I am a mere novice in matters of literary history, and am come prepared to listen rather than to oppose. I will avail myself, however, of your very kind offer, to ask an occasional question or two, should any thing appear to me either novel or obscure.

Dr. B. Well then, to begin with the name itself, the German scholars, whose research nothing can escape, are divided in opinion as to the propriety of writing *Sallustius* or *Salustius*, and *Crispus Sallustius* or *Sallustius Crispus*.¹ I believe it will be found, upon an examination of authorities, that *Sallustius* is the more correct form, and *Crispus Sallustius* the more usual arrangement of the manuscripts. It would seem, however, that, in the golden age of Latin literature, it was customary to place the *cognomen* after the *nomen*, and in the silver age to reverse this order.²—But let us proceed to the historian himself. Sallust was born at Amiternum, a town of the Sabines, B. C. 86, or A. U. C. 668. He received his education at Rome, and, in his early youth, appears to have been desirous of devoting himself to literary pursuits.—

H. Allow me to interrupt you, my dear Doctor, and to ask whether it be not a very remarkable circumstance, that so many of the Latin writers were natives, not of the capital, but of the provinces, of Italy?

Dr. B. The most careless inquirer, Henry, into the literary history of Rome, cannot but be struck by the singular fact, that so many

1. *Cort. ad Sall. Cat. init.*—*Gerlach, de vita et scriptis Salustii*, (Ed. Op., vol. ii. p. 2, 3.)—*Hall. Lit. Zeit.* 1829. Nro. 90, p. 77.—*Lindemann, Corp. Gram. Lat.*, vol. 1, p. 202, &c.

2. *Baehi, Gesch. der Röm. Lit.*, p. 377, ed. 2d.

of the distinguished individuals who grace the literary annals of the empire-city, were born, not in Rome itself, but either in foreign lands, or in the provinces of the Italian peninsula. Had the queen of nations adhered in later days to the selfish and exclusive policy, by which all who were not born within her walls were at first debarred from the full enjoyment of the privileges of citizenship, how few of the great names that now adorn the history of her literature could have been claimed by her as her own. Livius Andronicus, for example, was a slave from Magna Graecia; Ennius was a native of the same quarter of Italy; Naevius was a Campanian; Plautus came from Umbria; Pacuvius was born at Brundisium, Terence at Carthage, Catullus at Verona, Cicero at Arpinum, Virgil at Andes, Propertius in Umbria, Horace in Apulia, Livy at Patavium, Ovid at Sulmo, Lucan in Spain, the elder Pliny at Verona, and Tacitus at the Umbrian city of Interamna.—You see then, Henry, that Rome may be said to have acquired her literary, as she did her martial, fame, by the exertions of her allies, the provincials of Italy.

H. Yes, Doctor, and it is only transferring to the operations of intellect the old proverb about the Marsi, that there was no triumph either over them or without them; οὔτε κατὰ Μαρσῶν, οὔτε ἀνευ Μαρσῶν, γενέσθαι θρίαμβον.¹—But let us return to Sallust.

Dr. B. Notwithstanding his early zeal for literary pursuits, our historian appears to have been soon involved in that striving after military or political distinction, which formed so conspicuous a feature of the age in which he lived. We find him, accordingly, at twenty-seven, filling the office of quaestor, which entitled him, of course, to a seat in the senate, and, about six years afterwards, elected to the important post of tribune of the commons. While discharging the duties of this magistracy, he attached himself to the rising fortunes of Julius Caesar, and, during its continuance also, he conducted, along with one of his colleagues, the prosecution against Milo for the murder of Clodius.—Thus far all seems to have gone well with Sallust. In the year of Rome, however, 704, or 50 B. C., he was excluded from the senate, by the censors Appius Claudius Pulcher and Lucius Piso, for an act of gross immorality.²

H. You surprise me, Dr. Barton.—Sallust, whose writings breathe so lofty an air of rigid morality.—Sallust, the stern declaimer against luxury and all its train of attendant vices—a votary at the shrine of licentiousness and profligacy?

Dr. B. The most suspicious kind of morality, my young friend,

1. *Appian, Bell. Civ.*, 1, 46.

2. *Schol. ad Horat. Sat.*, 1, 2, 46.—*Varro, ap. Aul. Gell.*, 17, 18.—*Dio. Cassius*, 10, 63.—*Lactant.*, 2, 12.—*Gerlach, de vita, &c., Salustii*, l. c.

is undoubtedly that noisy species, which is so fond of descanting on the failings and delinquencies of others. Sallust, aye, and even Seneca too, notwithstanding the eulogiums of Diderot upon the latter,¹ remind me very strongly, when regarded as moralists, of Dr. Johnson's remark, that "no man is a hypocrite in his pleasures." Both were, at one period of their lives, irregular and licentious, and it may well be doubted, whether either of them carried into fair and successful operation the moral theories which they were so anxious to promulgate.—And yet, although Sallust was confessedly a man of loose and corrupt principles, it is far from being certain that he was the monster of iniquity which some have been pleased to represent him. In the case at present under consideration, it is more than probable that he owed his exclusion from the senate to the violence of the patrician party, to which he was warmly opposed. The female, whose name is connected with this disgraceful affair was Fausta, the daughter of Sylla, and wife of Milo, and the injured husband is said to have caused the offender to be scourged by his slaves.² Now, as Fausta was not more remarkable for her personal attractions than for utter want of character, it seems rather extraordinary that, at a time when the corruption of manners had almost reached its maximum, the intimacy of a Roman senator with so abandoned a female should be deemed worthy of so severe a punishment as expulsion from his order. I cannot but think, therefore, that Sallust was sacrificed to the party spirit which agitated, and in fact divided, the republic. The prosecution against Milo, as has already been remarked, took place the same year that Sallust was tribune of the commons; and the latter, who was a devoted partisan of Caesar, had found means to defeat the plans of Cicero and the republican party, and procure the condemnation of Milo. Now the censor Appius Pulcher was seeking, it appears, the friendship of Cicero, whose aid was necessary to his projects, and it would seem that, in order to propitiate the good will of the orator, and other individuals of the party of Pompey, he ventured upon a decisive step against Sallust, which he sought to hide beneath the specious pretext of a regard for public morals.³ What think you of this theory, Henry Arlington?

H. I am strongly inclined to adopt it, my dear Doctor, since, admitting it to be true, we may, without regarding Sallust as at all more virtuous than the great body of his contemporaries, be enabled to shield him, by this means, from the virulent abuse of Pompey's freedman Lenæus, whose work should rather be called a frantic

1. *Essai sur les Règnes de Claude et de Neron.*

2. *Aul. Gell.*, 17, 18.

3. *Schoell, Hist. Lit. Rom.*, vol. II. p. 21.—*Bæhr, Gesch. Röm. Lit.*, p. 374.

satire than an historical document.¹—But proceed, if you please, with the life of the Roman.

Dr. B. The ignominious sentence thus inflicted on him, whether merited or not, baffled all his hopes of present preferment, and, quitting the capital, he joined his patron Caesar, who was then in Gaul. Following the fortunes of that eminent commander, through all the changing scenes of the civil contest which soon after ensued, we find him bearing a share eventually in the expedition to Africa, where the scattered remnants of Pompey's party had rallied under the banners of Scipio and Juba. When this region was subdued, he was left by Caesar as praetor of Numidia; and, about the same time, he married Terentia, the divorced wife of Cicero.²

H. What a blessing it must have been, Dr. Barton, to have lived under so virtuous a governor.

Dr. B. If Dio Cassius speak the truth, Henry, I would rather be excused from being governed by such a praetor as Sallust. The historian gives a sorry picture of his administration in Africa, charging him with flagrant extortion, and with the open despoiling of his province. Caesar, he says, assigned this region unto him, "to govern it in appearance, but to plunder it in reality," *λόγῳ μὲν ἀρχεῖν, ἔργῳ δὲ ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψεν.*³ And he seems, according to Dio's statement, to have been by no means backward in fulfilling Caesar's expectations; for, to borrow another phrase from Dio, he did not put in practice what he wrote, *οὐκ ἐμμύησατο τῷ ἔργῳ τοὺς λόγους.* Alas! for poor human nature, Henry, "*quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus!*"

H. You succeeded so well a moment ago, Doctor, in defending Sallust from another charge, that I wish you would again become his advocate on the present occasion. Is there nothing that can be urged in his behalf?

Dr. B. It would not require much skill, Henry, to make out a very plausible case in favour of Sallust, and that too on grounds merely of a probable nature. For it is difficult to conceive, how such conduct, as is alleged against him, can be in any way reconciled with the principles professed by him in his writings, or how a man so deeply guilty, as his enemies made him to be, could have publicly affected such rigid morality, without outraging, in the most shameless manner, the feelings of all his contemporaries. We are tempted to believe, therefore, that Dio Cassius, and the writers who, after him, have repeated these discreditable stories, were led astray by the

1. *Sueton. de Grammat.*, 15.—*Op. ed. Crus.*, vol. ii. p. 353.—Compare *Schol. on Horat. Sat.*, 1, 2, 48.

2. *Pseudo. Cic. Declam.*, c. 8, seqq.

3. *Hist. Rom.*, 43, 9.—*Ed. Reimar*, vol. i. p. 346.

declamations of the numerous enemies of our historian. One of the later editors, indeed, of the works of Sallust, has started a singular hypothesis, according to which, Dio is thought to have followed a popular tradition, which, confounding Sallust with Catiline, from the circumstance of the former's having written the history of the latter, ascribed to the historian the excesses committed by Catiline himself in his government of Africa!—Well, Henry, what is your verdict?

H. I would like to decide, Doctor, in favour of Sallust, but I feel myself bound in candour to pronounce an opinion against him. The arguments, just adduced in his favour, are, to say the best of them, more imposing than solid, and the hypothesis which you were kind enough to mention is too absurd to require a serious refutation.—But what was the fate of Sallust under this charge of extortion and spoliation?

Dr. B. It was such as might have been expected in the peculiar complexion of the times. He was acquitted by Caesar, his all-powerful protector.—After the expiration of his government, Sallust renounced all public employments, and betook himself to a luxurious retirement, with his, as I fear you will term it, ill-gotten wealth. He chose for his favourite retreats, a villa at Tibur, which had belonged to Caesar, and a magnificent palace, which he built in the suburbs of Rome, surrounded by delightful pleasure-grounds, afterwards well known and celebrated by the name of the Gardens of Sallust. Possessed of every attraction, the Sallustian palace and gardens became, after the death of their original proprietor, the residence of successive emperors. Augustus chose them as the scene of his most sumptuous entertainments. The taste of Vespasian preferred them to the palace of the Caesars. Even the virtuous Nerva, and the stern Aurelian, were so attracted by their beauty, that, while at Rome, they made them their constant abode.²—In these gardens, or in his villa at Tibur, Sallust passed the concluding years of his life, dividing his time between literary avocations and the society of his friends, among whom he numbered Lucullus, Messala, and Cornelius Nepos.

H. But, my dear Doctor, if such were Sallust's friends, and such his favourite studies, how is it possible that he could have indulged in that excessive libertinism which has been so often imputed to him?

Dr. B. Your question, Henry, is very well put, and certainly does not admit of an easy answer. I think it more than probable, therefore, that the historian has been here confounded with the dis-

1. Schöll, *Hist. Rom. Lit.*, vol. ii. p. 22.—O. M. Müller *Darstellung, &c.*, p. 47, *seqq.*

2. Nardini *Vet. Rom.*, 47.—Adler, *Beschreib. von Rom.*, p. 221.—Gerhard's *Epist. ad Gerlach*, p. 25.—Dunlop's *Roman Literature*, vol. ii. p. 148.

solite individual of the same name whom Horace mentions in the first book of his satires. For my own part, I do not doubt, as I have already remarked, but that our author was a man of loose morals, and that he rapaciously plundered his province, like most Roman governors of the day. Still, I will never believe him to have been, as he is sometimes depicted, an abandoned profligate. Much of the obloquy, that was heaped upon his name, appears to have emanated from political antagonists, and, of all things in this world, political diatribes are assuredly the most pregnant with falsehood. Now Sallust, it seems, being the decided enemy of Pompey, had said of that Roman, that he was a man "*oris probi, animo inverecundo.*" Lenæus, the freedman of Pompey, to whom you alluded a short time ago, avenged his master by the most virulent abuse of his enemy, in a work which would seem to have made a complete sacrifice of truth to invective.¹

H. From what premises, Doctor, do you draw this latter inference, since the work itself has not come down to us?

Dr. B. Why, Henry, we may fairly judge, I think, of the injustice which he did to the life of the historian, from what he says of him as an author. He calls him, as we learn from Suetonius, "*nebulonem vita scriptisque monstrosum; praeterea priscorum Catonisque ineruditissimum eum.*"² This is the language of one of your thorough-going political partisans, who has entrusted his reason as well as his principles to the safe-keeping of his leader.—I wish we had the life of Sallust written by Asconius Pedianus, in the age of Augustus; it might have served as a corrective of the unfavourable impressions which have been produced by this libel, for it deserves no better name, of the freedman of Pompey.

H. Aye, Doctor, but what will you say to the declamation against Sallust which has actually reached our times, and that too from the pen of Cicero?

Dr. B. Cicero never wrote it, Henry. It appeared long after the death of that orator, and is now generally assigned, by critics, to a rhetorician in the reign of Claudius, called Porcius Latro. It is in the style of what we may suppose Lenæus's work to have been, a tissue of invented or exaggerated calumnies, altogether unworthy of grave credence.³

H. And yet, Doctor, I was told by Boydel, of Christ-church, no longer ago than last evening, that Le Clerc, the Hebrew professor at Amsterdam, and also Meisner of Prague, in their respective accounts

1. *Sueton. de Grammat.*, c. 15.

2. *Sueton.*, l. c.

3. *Schoell, Hist. Rom. Lit.*, vol. ii. p. 23.—*Dunlop, Rom. Lit.*, vol. ii. p. 149.

of the life of Sallust, have adopted these very calumnies which you so openly condemn.

Dr. B. Boydel should have told you also, Henry, that Sallust's character has received more justice in the prefatory memoir and notes of De Brosse,¹ and from the researches of Wieland.²—But come, let us now consider Sallust as a writer. Which of the Greeks does he appear to you to resemble the most?

H. I should say, that his peculiar taste led him to select Thucydides for his model. He had no one among his own countrymen to imitate in the art of historic composition, since that was in a very low state when Sallust began to write. He, therefore, naturally resorted to the productions of the Greek historians, and attempted to transplant into his own language the vigour and conciseness which characterise in so eminent a degree the style of Thucydides.³

Dr. B. Very correctly remarked, my young friend, only you ought to have added, that the strict imitation, with which Sallust has followed his Grecian prototype, has gone far towards lessening the effect of his own original genius. Still we cannot but admire the wonderful success of the Roman writer, in imitating the vigour and conciseness of the Grecian historian, and infusing into his composition something of that dignified austerity which distinguishes the work of his great model.

H. But, Doctor, you surely do not mean to be understood as affirming, that Sallust's *style* is an imitation of that of Thucydides?

Dr. B. The question does you credit, Henry. I mean, when I say that Sallust imitates the historian of the Peloponnesian war, an imitation of his general manner, his rapidity, his force, his power of compression, rather than of his language. Thucydides, for example, often employs long and involved periods, while Sallust is ever abrupt and sententious, even to a fault.—Have you taken notice how often the latter rejects the copulative?

H. I have, Doctor, and I think it produces a monotonous effect, and a total want of that flow and variety which constitute the principal charm of the historic period.—I was walking yesterday, with a fellow-commoner of All-Souls, and, the conversation happening to turn upon Sallust, and the peculiarities of his style, we made up between us the following list of items, about which, my dear Doctor, although a little matter in itself, I would like to have your opinion.—We noticed, in the first place, that, in the ablative absolute, he

1. *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, vol. xxiv. p. 368.—*Histoire de la Repub. Rom.*, vol. iii. p. 307.

2. *Ad. Horat. Sat.*, 2, 48, p. 57-73.

3. *Dunlop's Rom. Lit.*, vol. ii. p. 149, Lond. ed.

sometimes suppresses the noun; as, *proditis quos ducebat*;¹ and the antecedent to the relative; as, *quam ob quae praedicabat*.² We observed also particular expressions frequently occurring; as, *ex sententia, etiam tum, sine mora, &c.* Then again, we found several instances, where two words nearly synonymous were employed; as, *carus, acceptusque,—varius incertusque,—bonum atque honestum,—rogat atque hortatur, &c.* We remarked, also, the use of the infinitive for the gerund; as *gratificari* for *gratificandi*,³—*adgredi*, for *adgrediendi*;⁴ and the omission of the connectives *et* and *que* occurs on almost every page. Another peculiarity, also, forced itself upon our attention, his use of two different constructions in the compass of the same sentence; and, as for his archaisms, we voted the greater part of them to be decided specimens of the worst kind of affectation.—Well, Doctor, what do you think of our *critique*?

Dr. B. I like it, Henry; and think that you and your fellow-Oxonian have given a very fair sketch of the minor peculiarities of Sallust. Whether his archaisms, however, deserve the name of affectations is a point on which you will find many differing from you. My own opinion is with you and your friend. Sallust introduces into his history a number of words almost considered in his time as obsolete, and which were selected from the works of the older authors of Rome, particularly Cato the censor; and it is here that he laid himself open to attack from Pollio in his letters to Plancus. His style, on the whole, indicates too much study and careful pruning, and is deficient in gracefulness and ease. I would not advise you to make him your model.

H. This reminds me, Doctor, of old Roger Ascham's work, "The Schoolmaster," which I slightly examined the other day in the Bodleian, and where I found the opinion of Sir John Cheke relative to the merits of Sallust's Latinity. Sir John said, "that he could not recommend Sallust as a good pattern of style for young men, because in his writings there was more art than nature, and more labour than art; and in his labour, also, too much toil, as it were with an uncontented care to write better than he could."—But, Doctor, how stands Sallust, as regards the delineation of character?

Dr. B. Here his merits are undoubted. Five or six* of the characters drawn by him have been regarded in all ages as master-pieces of their kind. I need hardly mention the portraits of Catiline, Jugurtha, and Marius, nor the celebrated parallel between Caesar and

1. *Jug.*, c. 106.

2. *Jug.*, c. 108.

3. *Jug.*, c. 3.

4. *Jug.*, c. 89.

Cato. There is something in the latter which always reminds me of the well-known sketch of Chatham, the father of Pitt:—"The secretary stood alone," &c. Cato and Chatham were congenial spirits, and a Pythagorean would cite them as an illustration of his doctrine of the metempsychosis.

H. What think you, Doctor, of the specimens of eloquence that are afforded by the speeches of Sallust?

Dr. B. I think them admirable of their kind, Henry, and in excellent keeping with the characters to whom they are respectively assigned. Nothing, for example, can be better adapted to the character of Caesar, as far as we have been made acquainted with it by contemporary testimony, than the cool, and argumentative, and specious harangue, in which he seeks to rescue the conspirators from the fate which is so justly their due. In like manner, the bold and fervid language assigned to the Roman Cato, makes him stand forth at once in bold relief, and in genuine colours, from amid the vice and degeneracy of his time. And, again, in Memmius, we have the bold and aspiring leader of the populace, aiming blow after blow against the ill-gotten power of a corrupt aristocracy; while the words of Marius are the effusions of a blunt and gallant soldier, who had as yet displayed no traces of the cold-blooded assassin, the tyrant, buffoon, and usurper.

H. But is it possible, Dr. Barton, that Sallust can be correct, in making Caesar a sceptic with regard to the soul's immortality?

Dr. B. Aye, Henry, and worse than a sceptic, a downright unbeliever. The whole tenour of Caesar's life is in strict accordance with this. His secret disregard for all morality, his open contempt for all honourable principles, his cold and selfish and murderous ambition, as if the lives of his fellow-men were but the playthings of an hour—every thing, in short, in the character of this remarkable man, reveals to our view a bosom warmed by no spark of social feeling, but as dark and as silent as the grave. It was but natural, therefore, that such a mind should see, or rather wish to see, in the horizon of the future, nothing but the gloom of annihilation, and should regard the doctrine of a future state of existence as a bubble and a dream. How different from all this is the language of our own philosopher, who had penetrated deeply into the mysteries of nature, and yet, with humbled feelings, could stoop to kindle the torch of knowledge at the altars of his God. "I envy no quality of the mind," he remarks, "or of intellect in others, be it genius, power, wit, or fancy: but if I could choose what would be most delightful, and I believe most useful to me, I should prefer a firm religious belief to every other blessing; for it makes life a discipline of goodness; creates new hopes, when all earthly hopes vanish; and throws

over the decay, the destruction of existence, the most gorgeous of all lights; awakens life even in death, and from corruption and decay calls up beauty and divinity; makes an instrument of torture and shame the ladder of ascent to Paradise; and, far above all combinations of earthly hopes, calls up the most delightful visions of palms and amaranths, the gardens of the blest, the security of everlasting joys, where the sensualist and the sceptic view only gloom, decay, annihilation, and despair."

H. Beautifully expressed, Dr. Barton, and as true as it is beautiful. You are quoting, if I mistake not, Sir Humphrey Davy, the pride of English science. —How meanly, by the side of this, appear the atheistical speculations of La Place, who could see in the wonders of the universe no indications of the finger of a Deity.

Dr. B. Why, Henry, as for atheists, if such singular beings do in fact exist, there is one simple argument which they can never answer. Ere we can say that there is no God, we must have roamed over all nature, and seen that no mark of a divine footstep was there; and we must have gotten intimacy with every existent spirit in the universe, and learned from each that never did a revelation of the Deity visit him; and we must have searched, not into the records of one solitary planet, but into the archives of all worlds, and thence gathered, that, throughout the wide realms of immensity, not one exhibition of a reigning and living God ever has been made. In other words, before man can deny the existence of God, he must be a God himself, for he must possess the ubiquity and omniscience of the Godhead.²—But let us return from our digression. Where were we?

H. We were alluding to the skill which Sallust displays in adapting his speeches to different characters.

Dr. B. Well, then, we will now take up the consideration of his works.—The first production of Sallust was the "Conspiracy of Catiline." He had attained the age of twenty-two years when the conspiracy broke out, and was an eye-witness of the whole proceedings. He had, therefore, every means in his power for giving an accurate history of this very remarkable event, nor has he neglected to employ them. In the detail of facts, he is entitled to our fullest confidence; for, in every thing of importance, he coincides fully with Cicero, whose Catilinarian orations form, in fact, an excellent commentary on the work of the historian. But Sallust lived too near the times which he describes to be an impartial writer. Private animosity and party feeling warped his judgment; and it is frequently but too apparent, that we are listening not to the philosophic historian, but to

1. *Salmonia*, p. 158, Lond. ed.

2. *Chalmers' Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. ii. p. 262, Lond. ed.

the political partisan. He is too favourable to Caesar; he is unjust toward Cicero; and, although fond of displaying his skill in drawing characters, he exercises none of it on the Roman orator. But to this we have already alluded. As for the preface to the work, it is, like that to the Jugurthine War, rather a compliment paid by the author to his own character and pursuits, than a pertinent introduction to an historical narrative.

H. With regard, Doctor, to the subject of that narrative, do you not think the picture of the conspiracy is somewhat overcharged, and that it was merely an effort, on the part of the lower orders, to break the chains imposed upon them by an odious and tyrannical aristocracy?

Dr. B. Some persons, at the present day, are inclined to favour this opinion,¹ Henry, but I am afraid they are guided, in forming it, rather too much by their own private feelings and the political aspect of their own times. They appear to forget altogether the character of the leader in this nefarious undertaking, and do not perceive that, if his immediate followers were oppressed by any thing, it was by the heavy burden of their own vices. But of all this we will talk at some other time.—Let us proceed to the Jugurthine war. Although not an eye-witness of this contest, yet Sallust's situation, as governor of Numidia, which seems to have suggested the composition, was favourable to the authority of the work, as it afforded him the means of collecting materials and procuring information.

H. Do you think, Doctor, that his residence in Africa was of any advantage to him as regarded a knowledge of its earlier history?

Dr. B. Of none whatever. His account of the first settling of Africa is a mere fable, although he quotes in its behalf the Punic books of King Hiempsal, (referring probably to documents preserved in his archives,²) and the traditions of the inhabitants themselves. His geographical descriptions, however, if we except a few slight errors, are extremely valuable.—But to return to his account of the war. Sallust has been charged with partiality towards the character of Marius, and with giving, for the sake of his favourite leader, an unfair account of the massacre at Vaga. In this, however, I cannot concur; and the best answer to the charge in question is the ample justice which he does to Metellus, in describing the war as almost brought to a close by him previous to the arrival of Marius. As a piece of composition, this narrative deserves to rank very highly, and the varying nature of the contest, the talents, the endless resources, the total want of principle, the sufferings of conscience, which are

1. *Westminster Review*, No. xxxiii. p. 145, *seqq.*

2. *Dunlop's Roman Lit.*, vol. ii. p. 155, Lond. ed.

all found combined in the character of Jugurtha, stand forth in vivid and picturesque colours, and convey a moral lesson not easy to be effaced.¹

H. I have often dwelt upon that picture, Dr. Barton, and upon the miseries of suspicion and remorse which Jugurtha created for himself by his own atrocities; and it has been often a question with me, whether he were not more wretched, on the throne, than in the dungeon where he terminated his miserable existence.

Dr. B. Let us pass now to the History of Sallust. This was a civil and military history of the republic, in five books, including a period, however, of only thirteen years, from the resignation of the dictatorship by Sylla, till the promulgation of the Manilian law. The period thus embraced was a short but momentous one; Mithridates, in the East, displaying all the resources of his powerful genius against the Roman rule, and Sertorius, in the West, turning the arms of the republic against itself, while the bosom of Italy was the scene of a formidable commotion, excited by a host of gladiators and slaves. The work was introduced by two discourses, the one containing a delineation of the government of Rome, and the habits and manners of its people, from the earliest period to the commencement of the civil wars; the other giving a general view of the dissensions between Sylla and Marius.²

H. Why, Doctor, it must have connected the termination of the Jugurthine war with the commencement of Catiline's conspiracy. What a pity it has not come down to us.

Dr. B. And the more so, too, since all the accounts of Roman history which have been written are defective during the very period which it embraced. Nearly seven hundred fragments, belonging to it, have been collected from scholiasts and grammarians, by the President de Brosses,³ but they are too short and unconnected to serve any valuable purpose. When I say this, however, I mean to be understood as excepting four orations and two letters, and a fragment giving a description of a splendid entertainment, with which Metellus was honoured on his return, after a year's absence, to his government of Farther Spain. This work was the production of Sallust's matured intellect, and the last which he composed. It was inscribed to Lucullus, the son of the celebrated commander.

H. Are there not, Doctor, two political discourses, concerning

1. *Dunlop's Roman Lit.*, vol. ii. p. 156.

2. *Fabric. Bibl. Lat.*, vol. i. p. 239.—*Gerlach, ed. Sall.*, p. 45.—*Kreysig, Comment. de Sall. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 10.—*Baehr, Gesch. Röm. Lit.*, p. 381.—*Müller, Schweizer Gesch.*, vol. i. p. 9.

3. *Hist. de la Republ. Romaine, par Salluste, en partie trad. du Latin, en partie rétablie et composée sur les fragmens, par Ch. de Brosses*, Dijon, 1777.

the administration of the government, in the form of letters to Julius Caesar, which are supposed to have been the productions of Sallust?

Dr. B. They are commonly thought to have been composed by him, but the grounds of this opinion are far from satisfactory to one who examines the subject with any attention.¹

H. Many thanks to you, my dear Doctor, for your kindness in devoting so much of your valuable time to this notice of Sallust and his writings. I hope I may be able to profit by them in the prosecution of my private studies, and that it will be allowed me occasionally to consult you on other points of classical biography.

Dr. B. You will always find me ready, and willing, Henry, to co-operate in so praiseworthy an undertaking. God bless you, my dear boy; and may you become in after-life an honour to your friends and an ornament to our common country: for the truest definition of happiness is, a cultivated intellect in unison with a virtuous heart.—Farewell.

1. *Fabric. Bibl. Lat.*, vol. i. p. 200.—*Douza, ad fragm. Sall.*, p. 153, *seqq.*—*Gerlach.*, vol. ii. p. 14, *seqq.*—*Wolf. Praef. ad Cic. Or. pro Marcell*, p. 8, col. xxix.

THE JUGURTHINE WAR.



C. CRISPI

SALLUSTII

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

I. ¹FALSO queritur de natura sua genus humanum, ²quod, imbecilla atque aevi brevis, forte potius, quam virtute regatur. ³Nam contra, reputando, neque majus aliud, neque praestabilius ⁴invenias; ⁵magisque naturae industriam hominum, quam vim aut tempus deesse. ⁶Sed dux atque imperator vitae mortalium animus est: qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis via ⁷grassatur, abunde ⁸pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortunae eget; ⁹quippe probitatem, industriam, alias artis bonas neque dare, neque eripere potest. Sin, captus pravis cupidinibus, ¹⁰ad inertiam et voluptatis corporis pessum datus est; ¹¹perniciosa lubidine paullisper usus, ubi per secordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere, naturae infirmitas accusatur: ¹²suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. ¹³Quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multumque etiam periculosa, petunt; ¹⁴neque regerentur magis, quam regerent casus, et eo magnitudinis procederent, ¹⁵ubi, pro mortalibus, gloria aeterni fierent.

II. NAM, uti ¹⁶genus hominum compositum ex anima et corpore, ita res cunctae, studiaque omnia nostra, corporis alia, alia animi naturam ¹⁷sequuntur. Igitur ¹⁸praeclara facies, magnae divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis, alia hujusmodi, omnia brevi ¹⁹dilabuntur; at ²⁰ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. Postremo, ²¹corporis

et fortunae bonorum, ut initium, finis est: omnia orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt: animus incorruptus, aeternus, rector humani generis, ¹agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. ²Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui, dediti corporis gaudiis, per luxum atque ignaviam aetatem agunt; ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius, neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, ³incultu atque secordia torpescere sinunt; cum praesertim tam multae variaequae sint ⁴artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

III. VERUM ⁵ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo ⁶omnis cura rerum publicarum, minime mihi hac tempore cupiunda videntur: ⁷quoniam neque virtuti honos datur; neque illi, quibus per fraudem jus fuit, tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam, aut ⁸parentes, quamquam et possis, et ⁹delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est; cum praesertim omnes rerum mutationes caedem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant; frustra autem niti, neque aliud ¹⁰fatigando, nisi odium, quaerere, extremae dementiae est; nisi forte ¹¹quem inhonesta et perniciose lubido tenet, potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam ¹²gratificari.

IV. CETERUM, ex aliis negotiis ¹³quae ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est ¹⁴memoria rerum gestarum: cujus de virtute quia multi dixere, praetereundum puto; simul, ne, ¹⁵per insolentiam, quis existimet, memet, studium laudando, extollere. Atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi procul ¹⁶a republica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant; ¹⁷certe, quibus maxuma industria videtur, ¹⁸salutare plebem, et convivii gratiam quaerere. Qui si reputaverint, et ¹⁹quibus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sum, et quales viri idem adsequi nequiverint, et postea quae genera hominum in senatum pervenerint; profecto existumabunt, me magis ²⁰merito, quam ignavia, iudicium animi mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo, quam ex aliorum negotiis, reipublicae venturum. Nam saepe audivi, ²¹Q. Maxu-

mum, P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis nostrae praecclaros viros solitos ita dicere, CUM MAJORUM ¹IMAGINES INTUERENTUR, VEHEMENTISSIME SIBI ANIMUM AD VIRTUTEM ACCENDI. ²Scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere; sed, memoria rerum gestarum, eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus ³eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit. At contra, quis est omnium, ⁴his moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria, cum maioribus suis contendat? etiam ⁵homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, ⁶furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia et honores nituntur; proinde quasi praetura et consulatus, atque alia omnia hujuscemodi, per se ipsa clara, magnifica sint, ⁷ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum qui sustinent virtus est. Verum ego ⁸liberius altiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget taedetque: nunc ad inceptum redeo.

V. BELLUM scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum ⁹Jugurtha, rege Numidarum, gessit: primum, quia magnum et ¹⁰atrox, variaque victoria fuit: dein, quia tum primum superbiae nobilitatis ¹¹obviam itum est; quae contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque vecordiae processit, uti studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem faceret. Sed, priusquam hujuscemodi reinitium expedio, ¹²pauca supra repetam; ¹³quo, ad cognoscendum, omnia illustra magis, magisque in aperto sint. ¹⁴Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginensium Hannibal, post magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiae opes maxime adtriverat, Masinissa, rex Numidarum, in amicitia receptus a P. Scipione, ¹⁵cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et ¹⁶praecclara rei militaris facinora fecerat: ob quae, victis Carthaginensibus, et capto Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus, quascumque urbis et agros manu ceperat, ¹⁷regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit: ¹⁸imperii vitaeque

ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa, filius, regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa, fratribus, morbo ¹absumptis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit; Jugurthamque, Mastanabalis fratris filium, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum reliquerat, ²eodem cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

VI. QUI ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio validus, non se ³luxu, neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, ⁴equitare, jaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare: ⁵et, 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, minum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existumans virtutem Jugurthae regno suo gloriae fore; tamen, postquam ⁶hominem adolescentem, exacta sua aetate, parvis liberis, ⁷magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer negotio permotus, multa cum animo suoolvebat. Terrebat natura mortalium, ⁸avida imperii, et praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem: praeterea opportunitas suaeque et ⁹liberorum aetatis, quae etiam mediocris viros spe praedae transvorsos agit: ad hoc, studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa; ex quibus, si talem virum interfecisset, ne qua ⁹seditio, aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

VII. HIS difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt, neque per vim, neque insidiis, opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum ¹⁰popularibus; quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et adpetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis, et eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur, bello ¹¹Numantino, Micipsa, cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans, vel ostentando virtutem, vel hostium saevitia, facile occasurum, praefecit Numidis quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat ¹²impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator, et morem hostium cognovit;

multo labore, multaque cura, praeterea modestissime parando, et saepe obviam eundo periculis, in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillimum in primis est, et praelio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio; ¹quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnis fere ²res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque in dies amplecti; quippe cujus neque consilium, neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat ³munificentia animi, et ingenii sollertia, quis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. EA tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures, novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiae bono honestoque ⁴potiores erant, factiosi, domi potentes, apud socios clari magis, quam honesti: qui Jugurthae ⁵non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, SI MICIPSA REX OCCIDISSET, FORE, UTI SOLUS IMPERII NUMIDIAE POTIRETUR: IN IPSO MAXUMAM VIRTUTEM, ⁶ROMAE OMNIA VENALIA ESSE. Sed postquam, Numantia deleta, P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, ipse ⁷revorti domum decrevit; donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in praetorium abduxit, ibique secreto monuit, “uti potius ⁸publice, quam privatim, amicitiam populi R. coleret; neu quibus largiri insuesceret: periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset: si permanere vellet ⁹in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam, et regnum venturum; sin properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia praecipitem casurum.”

IX. SIC locutus, cum literis, quas Micipsae redderet, dimisit: earum sententia haec erat. “Jugurthae tui bello Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit; quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse: nobis ob merita carus est; uti idem senatui sit et populo Romano, summa ope nitentur. Tibi quidem ¹⁰pro nostra amicitia gratulor: en habes virum dignum te, atque avo suo Masinissa.” ¹¹Igitur rex, ubi, quae fama acceperat, ex literis imperatoris ita esse

cognovit, cum virtute viri, tum gratia permotus, flexit animum suum, et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere adgressus est; statimque adoptavit, et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos, morbo atque aetate confectus, cum sibi finem vitae adesse intellegeret, coram amicis et cognatis, item Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba ¹cum Jugurtha habuisse.

X. "PARVUM ego, Jugurtha, te, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, ²in meum regnum accepi; existumans non minus me tibi quam liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore: ³neque ea res falsum habuit. Nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua omittam, novissime, rediens Numantria, meque regnumque meum ⁴gloria honoravisti: tua virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti: in Hispania nomen familiae renovatum: postremo, quod difficultum inter mortalis, gloria invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura vitae finem facit, per hanc dextram, ⁵per regni fidem moneo obtestorque, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere, quam sanguine conjunctos retinere. ⁶Non exercitus, neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior, quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis; sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maxumae ⁷dilabuntur. Ceterum ante hos te, Jugurtha, qui aetate et sapientia prior es, ⁸ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. Nam, in omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiamsi accipit injuriam, quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem, et exitimini, ne ego meliores liberos sumsisse videar, quam genuisse."

XI. AD ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem ⁹ficta locutum intellegebat, et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro

tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis diebus moritur. Postquam illi, more regio, ¹justa magnifice fecerant, reguli in unum convenere, uti inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis, natura ²ferox, etiam antea ignobilitatem Jugurthae, quia maternò genere impar erat, despiciens, ³dextra Adherbalem adsedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, uti aetati concederet, fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi, ⁴cum multa de administrando imperio dissererent, Jugurtha inter alias res jacit: OPORTERE QUINQUENNII CONSULTA OMNIA ET DECRETA RESCINDI; NAM PER EA TEMPORA CONFECTUM ANNIS MICIPSAM PARUM ANIMO VALUISSE. TUM IDEM, Hiempsal, PLACERE SIBI, respondit; NAM ⁵IPSUM ILLUM TRIBUS HIS PROXUMIS ANNIS ADOPTIONE IN REGNUM PERVENISSE. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthae altius, quam quisquam ratus, descendit. Itaque, ex eo tempore, ira et metu anxius moliri, parare atque ea modo animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quae ubi tardius procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

XII. PRIMO conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, ⁶propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros, finisque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio concessere. Sed Hiempsal, in oppido Thirmida, forte ejus domo utebatur, qui, ⁷proximus lictor Jugurthae, carus acceptusque semper fuerat; ⁸quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat, uti tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum clavis adulterinas pareret; nam verae ad Hiempsalem referebantur; ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi confecit; atque, ut doctus erat, noctu Jugurthae milites introducit. Qui postquam in aedis irrupere, ⁹diversi regem quaerere: dormientis alios, alios occursantis interficere: scrutari loca abdita; clausa

effringere : strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere : cum Hiempsal interim reperitur, occultans sese tugurio mulieris ancillae, quo, initio, pavidus et ignarus loci, perfugerat. Numidae caput ejus, ut jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

XIII. CETERUM fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgatur : Adherbalem ¹omnisque, qui sub imperio Micipsae fuerant, metus invadit : in duas partis discedunt : plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maximas potest copias armat ; urbis ²partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adjungit ; omni Numidiae imperare parat. Adherbal, ³tamen etsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de caede fratris et fortunis suis ; tamen, fretus multitudinem militum, parabat armis contendere. Sed, ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex praelio profugit in ⁴provinciam, ac deinde Romam contendit. Tum Jugurtha, ⁵patratis consiliis, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum, neque advorsus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua, spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam mittit, ⁶quis praecepit, uti primum veteres amicos muneribus expleant ; deinde novos adquirant ; postremo, quemcumque possint largiundo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed, ubi Romam legati venere, et, ex praecepto regis, hospitibus, ⁷aliisque, quorum ea tempestate auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere ; tanta commutatio incessit, uti ex maxuma invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret ; quorum pars spe, alii praemio inducti, ⁸singulos ex senatu ambiundo, nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur, legati ubi satis confidunt, die constituto, ⁹senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

XIV. " PATRES conscripti, Micipsa, pater meus, moriens, praecepit, uti regnum Numidiae tantummodo ¹⁰procuratore existumarem meum ; ceterum jus et imperium penes vos esse : simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam

maximo usui esse populo Romano : vos mihi ¹cognatorum vos in adfinium locum ducerem : si ea fecissem, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni ²habere. Quae cum praecepta parentis mei agitarem, Jugurtha, homo omnium, quos terra sustinet, sceleratissimus, contemto imperio vestro, Masinissae me nepotem, et jam al stirpe socium et amicum populo Romano, regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. ³Atque ego, Patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, ⁴vellem, potius ob mea, quam ob majorum beneficia posse auxilium petere ; ac maxime deberi mihi a populo Romano, quibus non egerem ; secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed, quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas, ⁵neque mihi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret ; ad vos confugi, Patres conscripti, quibus, quod miserrimum, cogor prius oneri, quam usui esse. Ceteri reges, aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram adpetiverunt : familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit ; ⁶quo tempore magis fides ejus, quam fortuna petenda erat. ⁷Quorum progeniem vos, Patres conscripti, nolite pati frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil caussae haberem, praeter miserandam fortunam ; quod paullo ante rex, genere, fama, atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus aerumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto ; ⁸tamen erat majestatis Romani populi, prohibere injuriam, neque cujusquam regnum per scelus cresceret. Verum ego his finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit ; unde pater et avus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia erepta sunt, Patres conscripti : ⁹vos in mea injuria despecti estis. Eheu me miserum ! Huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia evasere, uti, quem tu parem cum liberis, regnique participem fecisti, is ¹⁰potissimum stirpis tuae extincor sit ? Nunquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit ? ¹¹semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versabimur ? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure omnia saeva patiebamur : hostes ab

latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam ¹illa pestis ejecta, laeti pacem agitabamus; quippe quis hostis nullus, nisi forte quem jussissetis. Ecce autem ex improvise, Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia ²sese eferens, fratre meo, atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui praedam fecit: post, ubi me ³isdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus, quam vim, aut bellum exspectantem, in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, ⁴extorrem patria, domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis effecit, ut ubivis tutius, quam in meo regno essem. Ego sic existumabam, Patres conscripti, ut praedicantem audiveram patrem meum, qui vestram amicitiam colerent, eos ⁵multum laborem suscipere; ceterum ex omnibus maxime tutos esse. ⁶Quod in familia nostra fuit, praestitit, uti in omnibus bellis vobis adessent; nos uti per otium tuti simus, in manu vestra est, Patres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; ⁷tertium, Jugurtham, beneficiis suis ratus nobis conjunctum fore: alter eorum necatus, alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam? quo potissimum infelix accedam? ⁸Generis praesidia omnia extincta sunt: pater, uti necesse erat, naturae concessit: fratri, ⁹quem minime decuit, propinquus, per scelus, vitam eripuit: ¹⁰adfines, amicos, propinquos ceteros, alium alia clades oppressit: capti ab Jugurtha, ¹¹pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti; pauci, quibus relicta anima, clausi in tenebris, cum moerore et luctu, morte graviolem vitam ¹²exigunt. Si omnia, quae aut amisi, aut ex necessariis adversa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex improvise accidisset, vos implorarem, Patres conscripti, quibus, pro magnitudine imperii, jus et injurias omnis curae esse decet. ¹³Nunc vero exsul patria, domo, solus, et ¹⁴omnium honestarum rerum egeus, quo accedam, aut quos adpellam? nationesne, an reges, qui omnes familiae nostrae ¹⁵ob 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? ¹Postremo, Masinissa nos ita instituit, Patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus, nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne foedera nova acciperemus; abunde magna praesidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore: si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, ²una nobis occidendum esse. Virtute ac dis volentibus ³magni estis et opulenti: omnia secunda et obedientia sunt: quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne ⁴quos privata amicitia Jugurthae, parum cognita, transvorsos agat: quos ego audio maxuma ope niti, ambire, ⁵fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognita caussa, statuatis: fingere me verba, fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. ⁶Quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore, in has miserias projectus sum, eadem haec simulantem videam; et aliquando aut apud vos, aut apud deos immortalis, rerum humanarum cura oriatur: ⁷ne, ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatu, impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis, mearumque miseriarum gravis poenas reddet. ⁸Jam jam, frater, animo meo carissime, quamquam immaturo, et unde minime decuit, vita erepta est; tamen laetandum magis, quam dolendum puto casum tuum; non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem, et omnis has, quae me premunt, aerumnas cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala praecipitatus ex patrio regno, ⁹rerum humanarum spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam; tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens, an regno consulam, cujus vitae necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam ¹⁰emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, ¹¹neu jure contemptus viderer, si, defessus malis, injuriae concessissem. Nunc ¹²neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres conscripti, per vos, per liberos atque parentes, per majestatem populi Romani subvenite misero mihi; ite obviam injuriae; nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae tabescere.”

XV. POSTQUAM rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugur-

thae, largitione magis quam ¹caussa freti, paucis respondent: "Hiempsalem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum: Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequivisset: Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne alium putarent, ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent." Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: fautores legatorum, praeterea magna pars, ²gratia depravati, Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis, pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequum divitiis ³carius, subveniendum Adherbali, et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant: sed ex omnibus maxime Aemilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum; ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubricitate continuit.

XVI. VICIT tamen in senatu pars illa, ⁴qui 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. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis, acerrime victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romae in amicis habuerat, tamen ⁵adcuratissime recepit; dando et pollicitando perfecit, uti famae, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferet. Reliquos legatos eadem via adgressus, plerosque capit; paucis carior fides, quam pecunia fuit. In divisione, quae pars Numidiae ⁶Mauretania adtingit, agro, viris opulentior, Jugurthae traditur: illam alteram specie, quam usu, potiore, quae portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

XVII. ⁷RES postulare videtur Africae situm paucis

exponere, et eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, adtingere. Sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem, aut asperitatem, item solitudines, minus frequentata sunt, ¹de is haud facile compertum narraverim: cetera quam paucissimis absolvam. In divisione orbis terrae plerique ²in partem tertiam Africam posuere: pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse; sed Africam in Europa. ³Ea finis habet, ab occidente ⁴fretum nostri maris et oceani; ab ortu solis, ⁵declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolae adpellant. Mare saevum, importuosum: ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, ⁶arbori infecundus: coelo, terra, penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum: plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro, aut bestiis interiere: nam morbus haud saepe quemquam superat. Ad hoc, malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se permixti sint; ⁷quamquam ab ea fama, quae plerosque obtinet, diversum est; tamen, uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terrae putant, quam paucissimis dicam. Ceterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

XVIII. Africam initio habuere ⁸Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi, inculti; quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus, neque lege, neque imperio cujusquam regebantur: vagi, palantes, qua nox coëgerat, sedes habebant. Sed, postquam in Hispania ⁹Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce, ac passim multis, sibi quique, imperium petentibus, brevi dilabatur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persae et Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari locos occupavere. Sed Persae ¹⁰intra oceanum magis: iique alveos navium inversos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis ¹¹emundi, aut mutandi copia erat: mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibe-

bant. Hi paullatim per connubia Gaetulos sibi miscuere : et quia, saepe ¹tentantes agros, alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Numidas adpellavere. Ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae ²mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, ³incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinae sunt. Medis autem et Armenis accessere Libyes (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant ; Gaetuli ⁴sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus) hique mature oppida habuere ; nam, freto divisi ab Hispania, mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrumpere, barbara lingua ⁵Mauros pro Medis adpellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit : ac postea ⁶nomine Numidae, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possidere ea loca, quae proxume Carthaginem Numidia adpellatur. Dein ⁷utrique, alteris freti, finitimos armis aut metu sub imperium cogere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere ; magis hi qui ad nostrum mare processerant ; quia Libyes, quam Gaetuli, minus bellicosi : denique Africae ⁸pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est : victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

XIX. POSTEA Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia, pars imperii cupidine, sollicitata plebe, et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim, aliasque urbis in ora maritima condidere : haeque brevi multum auctae, pars ⁹originibus praesidio, aliae decori fuere : nam de Carthagine silere melius puto, quam parum dicere ; quoniam alio properare tempus monet. Igitur ¹⁰ad Catabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari, prima Cyrene est, colonia ¹¹Thereôn, ac deinceps duae Syrtes, interque eas ¹²Leptis : dein ¹³Philaenôn arae, quem, Aegyptum versus, finem imperii habuere Carthaginienses : ¹⁴post aliae Punicae urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Mauretanium Numidae tenent : proxume Hispaniam Mauri sunt : super Numidiam Gaetulos accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare ; post eos ¹⁵Aethiopas esse ; dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino ¹⁶pleraque

ex Punicis oppida, et finis Carthaginiensium, quos novissime habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat: Gaetulorum magna pars et Numidia usque ad flumen Mulucham sub Jugurtha erant: Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus ¹imperitabat, praeter nomen, cetera ignarus populi Romani; itemque nobis neque bello, neque pace, antea cognitus. De Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

XX. POSTQUAM, regno diviso, legati Africa discessere, et Jugurtha contra ²timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum sese videt; certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paullo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus: at is, ³quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus injuriae, metuens magis, quam metuendus. Igitur ex improvise, finis ejus cum magna manu invasit, multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia praeda capit, aedificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit; dein cum omni multitudine in regnum suum ⁴convertit, existumans dolore permotum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli caussam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat, et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit: qui tametsi ⁵contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit, quam bellum sumere; quia tentatum antea secus cesserat. Neque tamen eo magis cupido Jugurthae minuebatur; quippe qui totum ejus regnum ⁶animo jam invaserat. Itaque non, ut antea, cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato, bellum gerere coepit, et aperte totius Numidiae imperium petere. Ceterum, qua pergebat, urbis, agros vastare, praedas agere; suis animum, terrorem hostibus augere.

XXI. ADHERBAL ubi intellegit, ⁷eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset, aut armis retinendum, neces-

sario copias parat, et Jugurthae obvius procedit. Interim haud longe a mari, prope Cirtam oppidum, utriusque consedit exercitus: et, quia die extremum erat, praelium non inceptum. Ubi plerumque noctis processit, ¹obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentes fugant funduntque; Adherbal cum paucis equitibus. Cirtam profugit, et, ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentes moenibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumscedit, ²vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare adgreditur; maxime festinans ³tempus legatorum antecapere, quos, ante praelium factum, Romam ab Adherbale missos audiverat. Sed, postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adolescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambo reges adeant, senatus populi que Romani verbis nuncient, ⁴“ velle et censere, eos ab armis discedere; de controversiis suis jure potius, quam bello disceptare; ita seque illisque dignum fore.”

XXII. LEGATI in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis, quod Romae, dum proficisci parant, de praelio facto et oppugnatione Cirtae audiebatur: sed is rumor ⁵clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha accepta oratione respondit: “ sibi neque majus quidquam, neque carius auctoritate senati: ab adolescentia ita enisum, uti ab optimo quoque probaretur: virtute, non malitia, P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse: ob easdem artis ab Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum: ceterum, quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare: Adherbalem dolis vitae suae insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, scelere obviam isse: populum Romanum ⁶neque recte, neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerint: postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum.” Ita ⁷utrique digrediuntur. Adherbalis adpellandi copia non fuit.

XXIII. JUGURTHA, ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque, propter loci naturam, Cirtam armis expugnare po-

test, ¹vallo atque fossa moenia circumdat, turris exstruit, easque praesidiis firmat: praeterea dies, noctes, aut per vim, aut dolis tentare; defensoribus moenium praemia modo, modo ²formidinem ostentare; suos hortando ad virtutem erigere; prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal, ubi intellegit omnis suas fortunas in extremo sitas, ³hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariorum bellum trahi non posse; ex his, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duo maxime impigros delegit: eos, multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum, confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent.

XXIV. NUMIDAE paucis diebus jussa efficiunt: litterae Adherbalis in senatu ⁴recitatae, quarum sententia haec fuit. "Non mea culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, Patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthae subigit: quem tanta lubido extinguendi me invasit, uti ⁵neque vos, neque deos immortalis in animo habeat; sanguinem meum, quam omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem, socius et amicus populi Romani, armis obsessus teneor: neque mihi Micipsae patris beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur: ferro, an fame acrius urguear, incertus sum. ⁶Plura de Jugurtha scribere dehortatur fortuna mea: etiam antea expertus sum, parum fidei miseris esse: ⁷nisi tamen, intellego, illum supra, quam ego sum, petere, neque simul amicitiam vestram, et regnum meum sperare: utrum ⁸gravius existumet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem, fratrem meum; dein patrio regno me expulit:—⁹quae sane fuerint nostrae injuriae, nihil ad vos. Verum nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet: me, quem imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. ¹⁰Quid reliquum, nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, et haec quae scribo, et quae antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed, quoniam eo natus sum, ¹¹ut Jugurthae scele-

rum ostentui essem, non jam mortem neque aerumnas,

tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiae, quod vestrum est, uti lubet, consulite: me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, per amicitiae fidem; si ulla apud vos memoria avi mei Masinissae."

XXV. HIS litteris recitatis, fuere, qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, et quam primum Adherbali subveniendum; ¹de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam non paruisset legatis. Sed ab isdem regis fautoribus summa ope enisum, ne decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu, nobiles, ²amplis honoribus; in quis M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis, et tum senati princeps. Hi, quod ³in invidia res erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim escendere: dein brevi Uticam adpulsi litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, QUAM OCISSE AD PROVINCIAM ACCEDAT; SEQUE AD EUM AB SENATU MISSOS. Ille ubi accepit, homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae pollere audiverat, ⁴contra inceptum suum venisse; primo commotus, metu atque lubidine divorsus agitabatur. Timebat iram senati, ni paruisset legatis: porro animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, summa vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur, maxume sperans, diducta manu hostium, aut vi, aut dolis, sese casum victoriae inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit, neque, quod intenderat, efficere potest, uti prius, quam legatos ⁵conveniret, Adherbalis potiretur: ne, amplius morando, Scaurum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac, tamen etsi senati verbis minae graves nunciabantur, quod oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumpta, legati frustra discessere.

XXVI. EA postquam Cirtae audita sunt, ⁶Italici, quorum virtute moenia defensabantur, confisi, deditioe facta, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore,

Adherbali suadent, uti seque, et oppidum Jugurthae tradat; tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur; de ceteris senatui curae fore. At ille, tametsi omnia ¹potiora fide Jugurthae rebatur; quia penes eosdem, si advorsaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditioem facit. Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat: dein omnis puberes, Numidas et negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatis obviis, interfecit.

XXVII. QUOD postquam Romae cognitum, et res in senatu agitari coepta, idem illi ²ministri regis interpellando, ac saepe gratia, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac, ni C. Memmius, ³tribunus plebis designatus, ⁴vir acer, et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset, ID AGI, UTI PER PAUCOS FACTIOSOS JUGURTHAE SCELUS CONDONARETUR, ⁵profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa erat: tanta vis gratiae, atque pecuniae regis. Sed, ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, ⁶lege Sempronia provinciae futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretae: consules declarantur P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius: Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit: deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur: stipendium, alia, quae bello usui forent, decernuntur.

XXVIII. AT Jugurtha, contra spem nuncio accepto, quippe cui Romae omnia ⁷venum ire in animo haeserat; filium, et cum eo duo familiaris, ad senatum legatos mittit: hisque, ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, praecepit, "omnis mortalis pecunia adgrediantur." Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus, PLACERETNE LEGATOS JUGURTHAE ⁸RECIPI MOENIBUS: iique decrevere, "nisi regnum, ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in ⁹diebus proxumis decem Italia decederent." Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nunciari jubet; ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, ¹⁰legat sibi homines nobilis, factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quae deliquisset, munita fore sperabat: in quis fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu

supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multae bonaeque ¹artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnis avaritia praepediebat: 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, transvectae. Igitur Calpurnius initio, paratis com meatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est, multos mortalis, et urbis aliquot pugnando capit.

XXIX. SED, ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia tentare, bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere coepit, ²animus aeger avaritia facile conversus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus: qui, tametsi a principio, plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrime regem impugnaverat; tamen, magnitudine pecuniae, a bono honestoque in pravam abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primum tantummodo belli moram ³redimebat, existumans, sese aliquid interim Romae pretio, aut gratia effecturum: postea vero quam participem negotii Scaurum acceperat; in maxumam spem adductus recuperandae pacis, statuit cum eis de omnibus pactionibus praesens agere. Ceterum interea, ⁴fidei causa, mittitur a consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum Jugurthae Vagam; cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat; quoniam deditionis mora induciae agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit; ac pauca, ⁵praesenti consilio, locutus de invidia facti, atque in deditionem uti acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit: dein postero die, ⁶quasi per saturam exquisitis sententiis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed, uti ⁷pro consilio imperatum, elephantum triginta, pecus atque equi multi, cum parvo argenti pondere quaestori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXX. POSTQUAM res in Africa gestas, quoque modo actae forent, fama divulgavit, Romae per omnis locos et

conventus ¹de facto consulis agitari: apud plebem gravis invidia: Patres, probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subverterent, parum constabat. Ac maxume eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiae ferebatur, a vero, bono impediēbat. At C. Memmius, cujus 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 desererent: multa superba, crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere: prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed, quoniam ea tempestate Memmii facundia ²clara pollensque fuit, decere existumavi, unam ex tam multis orationem perscribere; ac potissimum, quae in concione, post reditum Bestiae, hujuscemodi verbis disseruit.

XXXI. “MULTA ³dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium reipublicae omnia superet; opes factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum, ac maxume, quod innocentiae plus periculi, quam honoris, est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, ⁴his annis xv. quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum; quam foede, quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores; ⁵ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque secordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem, ⁶obnoxii inimicis, exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis, quibus decet terrori esse. Sed, quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit: ⁷certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente tradita est experiar: verum id frustra, an ⁸ob rem faciam, in vestra manu situm, Quirites. ⁹Neque ego hortor, quod saepe majores vestri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil ¹⁰secessionē opus: necesse est ¹¹suomet ipsi more praecipites eant. Occiso Tiberio Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam ¹²quaestiones habitae sunt: post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvii caedem, item multi vestri ordinis in carcere necati sunt; ¹³utriusque cladis non lex, verum libido eorum finem fecit. ¹⁴Sed sane fuerit regni paratio, plebi sua restituere: quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci

nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini, aerarium expilari; reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eosdem et ¹summam gloriam, et maximas divitias esse: tamen haec talia facinora impune suscepisse, parum habuere: itaque postremo leges, majestas vestra, divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui fecere, pudet aut poenitet: sed ²incedunt per ora vestra magnifice, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes: perinde quasi honori, non praedae habeant. Servi aere parati imperia injusta dominorum non perferunt: vos, Quirites, ³imperio nati, aequo animo servitutem toleratis. At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere? homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissimi, idemque superbissimi; quis fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt. Pars eorum ⁴occidisse tribunos plebis, alii ⁵quaestiones injustas, plerique caedem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. Ita quam quisque pessime fecit, tam maxime tutus est: ⁶metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere; quos omnis eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coëgit: sed haec inter bonos amicitia est, inter malos factio. ⁷Quod si tam libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt; profecto neque respublica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et beneficia vestra penes optimos, non audacissimos, forent. Majores vestri, parandi juris et majestatis constituendae gratia, ⁸bis, per secessionem, armati Aventinum occupavere: vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, non summa ope nitimini? atque eo vehementius, ⁹quo majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse? Dicit aliquis, Quid igitur censes? ¹⁰Vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempublicam: non manu, neque vi, quod magis fecisse, quam illis accidisse indignum; verum quaestionibus et indicio ipsius Jugurthae: ¹¹qui, si dediticius est, profecto jussis vestris obediens erit: sin ea contemnit, scilicet existumabitis, qualis illa pax,

aut deditio, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumae divitiae, in rempublicam damna, dedecora pervenerint. Nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et ¹illa, quam haec tempora, magis placent, cum regna, provinciae, ²leges, jura, judicia, bella, paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant; ³vos autem, hoc est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere: nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum recusare audebat? ⁴Atque ego, tamen etsi viro flagitiosissimum existumo impune injuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo paterer, nisi misericordia in perniciem casura esset. Nam et illis, ⁵quantum importunitatis habent, parum est, impune male fecisse, nisi ⁶deinde faciendi licentia eripitur: et vobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum intellegetis, aut serviundum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem, aut concordiae quae spes? dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias, vos prohibere: postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne ⁷in tam divorsis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque, ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non peculatus aerarii factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae: quae, quamquam gravia, tamen ⁸consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrumo prodita senati auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum: domi militiaeque respublica venalis fuit. ⁹Quae nisi quaesita erunt, ni vindicatum in noxios, quid reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obedientes vivamus? nam impune quae libet facere, id est regem esse. Neque ego, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis civis vestros perperam, quam recte fecisse; sed ne, ignoscendo malis, bonos perditum eatis. ¹⁰Ad hoc, in republica multo praestat beneficii quam maleficii immemorem esse: bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi negligas; at malus improbior. Ad hoc, si injuriae non sint, haud saepe auxilii egeas."

XXXII. HAEC atque alia hujuscemodi saepe dicundo, Memmius populo persuadet, uti ¹L. Cassius, qui tum praetor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur, interposita fide publica, Romam duceret; quo facilius, indicio regis, Scauri et reliquorum, ²quos pecuniae captae arcessebant, delicta patefierent. Dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relictī a Bestia exercitui praeerant, secuti morem imperatoris, plurima et flagitiosissima facinora fecere. Fuere qui, auro corrupti, ³elephantos Jugurthae traderent: alii perfugas vendere: pars ex pacatis praedas agebant: tanta vis avaritiae in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat. At Cassius, ⁴perlata rogatione a C. Memmio, ac percussa omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur: ei timido, et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis, persuadet, “quo se populo Romano dedidisset, ne vim, quam misericordiam, experiri mallet.” Privatim praeterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris, quam publicam, ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio.

XXXIII. IGITUR Jugurtha, ⁵contra decus regium, cultu quam maxime miserabili, cum Cassio Romam venit: ac, tamen etsi in ipso ⁶magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta gesserat, C. Baebium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentia contra jus et injurias omnis munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocata concione; quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, et pars in vincula duci jubebat, pars, ni socios sceleris aperiret, more majorum, ⁷de hoste supplicium sumi; dignitati, quam irae, magis consulens, sedare motus, et animos mollire, postremo confirmare, fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium coepit, producto Jugurtha, ⁸verba facit, Romae Numidiaque facinora ejus memorat, scelera in patrem, fratresque ostendit: “quibus juvantibus, quibusque ministris egerit, quamquam 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 sociis saluti fore; sese suasque spes ⁹corrupturum.”

XXXIV. DEIN, ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Baebius, tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere jubet: ac, tamen etsi multitudo, quae in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, ¹terrebat eum clamore, voltu, saepe impetu, atque aliis omnibus, ²quae ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex concione discessit; Jugurthae Bestiaeque et ceteris, quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

XXXV. EA erat tempestate Romae Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussae filius, Masinissae nepos; qui, quia, in dissensione regum, Jugurthae advorsus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui ³proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissae sit, Jugurtham ob scelera invidia cum metu urgeat, regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. Avidus consul ⁴belli gerundi, ⁵movere quam senescere omnia malebat: ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quae postquam Massiva agitare coepit, neque Jugurthae in amicis satis praesidii est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor impediabat; Bomilcari, proximo ac maxime fido sibi, imperat, "pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivae paret, ac ⁶maxime occulte; sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat." Bomilcar mature regis mandata exsequitur: et, per homines talis negotii artifices, itinera egressusque ejus, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat: deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad caedem parati, paullo inconsultius Massivam adgreditur, illum obtruncat: sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus, et imprimis Albino consule, ⁷indicium profitetur. Fit reus magis ex aequo bonoque, quam ex jure gentium, Bomilcar, comes ejus qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha, manifestus tanti sceleris, non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam ⁸animum advortit, supra gratiam atque

pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat; regno magis, quam vadibus consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus, ne ¹reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumtum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus profectus est, jussus ab senatu Italia decedere. Sed, postquam Roma egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse, ²URBEM VENALEM ET MATURE PERITURAM, SI EMPTOREM INVENERIT!

XXXVI. INTERIM Albinus, renovato bello, commeatum, stipendium, alia quae militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante ³comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, et alias, deinde alias morae caussas facere: polliceri deditionem, ac deinde metum simulare: instanti cedere, et paullo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo, modo pacis mora, consulem ludificare. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii regis existumarent, neque ⁴ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum secordia magis, quam dolo, crederent. Sed postquam, dilapso tempore, comitorum dies adventabat, Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris pro praetore relicto, Romam decessit.

XXXVII. EA tempestate Romae seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter respublica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistantibus collegis, continuare magistratum nitebantur: quae dissensio ⁵totius anni comitia impediabat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro praetore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut confiendi belli, aut terrore exercitus ab rege ⁶pecuniae capiundae, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat: magnis itineribus, hieme aspera, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam et saevitia temporis, et opportunitate loci, neque capi, neque obsideri poterat, (nam circum murum, situm in praerupti montis extremo, planicies limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat,) tamen, aut simulandi gratia, quo

regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus, vineas agere, argerem jacere, alia, quae incepto usui forent, properare.

XXXVIII. AT Jugurtha, cognita ¹vanitate atque imperitia legati, subdolos augere amentiam: missitare supplicantis legatos: ipse, quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones sese, veluti cedentem, insequeretur. Interea per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum tentabat: centuriones ducesque turmarum, partim uti transfugerent, alii, signo dato, locum uti desererent: ita delicta occultiora fore. Quae postquam ex sententia instruit, ²intempesta nocte, de improvise multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, tumultu percussi insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis: vis magna hostium; coelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum; periculum anceps: postremo fugere, an manere, tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum, cum duabus turmis Thracum, et paucis gregariis militibus, transiere ad regem: et ³centurio primi pili tertiae legionis, per munitionem, quam, uti defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit: eaque Numidae cuncti irrupere. Nostri foeda fuga, plerique abjectis armis, proximum collem occupavere. Nox atque praeda castrorum ⁴hostes, quo minus victoria 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 foedus faceret, incolumis omnis sub jugum missurum: praeterea, uti diebus decem Numidia decederet." Quae quamquam gravia et flagitii plena erant, tamen, ⁵quia mortis metu mutabantur, sicuti regi libuerat, pax convenit.

XXXIX. SED, ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, ⁶metus atque moeror civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloria

imperii : pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati : Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxime qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, quod armatus, ¹dedecore potius, quam manu salutem quaesiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam, ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de foedere consulebat : et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere : ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcessere : denique modis omnibus festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, SUO ATQUE POPULI INJUSSU NULLUM POTUISSE FOEDUS FIERI. Consul impeditus a tribunis plebis ne, quas paraverat copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur : nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus, in ²provincia hiemabat. Postquam eo venit ; quamquam persequi Jugurtham et mederi fraternae invidiae animus ardebat ; cognitis militibus, quos, praeter fugam, soluto imperio, licentia atque lascivia corruperant, ex copia rerum statuit, nihil sibi agitandum.

XL. INTEREA Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus, tribunus plebis, ³rogationem ad populum promulgat, “ uti quaeretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglegisset ; quique ab eo in legationibus, aut imperiis pecunias accepissent ; qui elephantos, 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, occulte per amicos, ac maxime per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu est, quam intenta fuerit, quantaque vi rogationem ⁴jusserit, decreverit, voluerit ; magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura reipublicae : tanta lubido in partibus : Igitur, ceteris metu percussis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae supra docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis, et suorum fugam, ⁵trepida etiam tum civitate, cum ex Mamilia rogatione tres quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo numero creare-

tur. Sed quaestio exercita aspere violenterque, ex rumore, et lubricitate plebis : ut saepe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

XLI. CETERUM ¹mos partium popularium et senati factionum, ac deinde omnium ²malarum artium, paucis ante annis Romae ortus, otio et abundantia earum rerum, quae prima mortales ducunt. Nam, ante Carthaginem deletam, populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rempublicam tractabant : neque gloriae, neque dominationis certamen inter civis erat : metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed, ubi illa formido mentibus discessit ; scilicet ea, quae secundae res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Ita, quod in adversis rebus optaverant, otium, postquam adepti sunt, ³asperius acerbiusque fuit. Namque coepere nobilitas ⁴dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubricitatem vertere : sibi quisque ⁵ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt ; respublica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat : plebis vis, soluta atque dispersa in multitudine, minus poterat : paucorum arbitrio belli domique ⁶agitabatur : penes eosdem aerarium, provinciae, magistratus, gloriae triumphique erant : populus militia atque inopia urgebatur ; praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes, aut parvi liberi militum, ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia, sine modo modestiaque, invadere, polluere et vastare omnia ; ⁷nihil pensi, neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praecipitavit. Nam ubi primum ⁸ex nobilitate reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustae potentiae anteponebant ; moveri civitas, et permixtio civilis, quasi discessio terrae, oriri coepit.

XLII. NAM postquam Tiberius et C. Gracchus, ⁹quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum reipublicae addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem, et paucorum scelera patefacere coepere, nobilitas noxia, atque eo percussa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum

per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat; et primo ¹Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverant. Et sane Gracchis, cupidine victoriae, haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed ²bono vinci satius est, quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubricitate sua usa, multos mortalis ferro aut fuga exstinxit; plusque in reliquum sibi timoris, quam potentiae, addidit. Quae res plerumque magnas civitatis pessum dedit; dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo, et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed, de ³studiis partium et omnibus civitatis moribus si singulatim, aut pro magnitudine, parem disserere, tempus, quam res, maturius deserat. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

XLIII. Post Auli foedus, exercitusque nostri foedam fugam, Q. Metellus et M. Silanus, consules designati, provincias inter se partiverant: Metelloque Numidia evenerat, ⁴acri viro, et quamquam advorso populi partium, fama tamen aequabili et inviolata. Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, ⁵alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, praesidia undique arcessere: arma, tela, equos, cetera instrumenta militiae parare: ad hoc commeatum affatim: denique omnia, quae ⁶bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent. Ceterum ad ea patranda senati auctoritate socii nomenque Latinum, reges ultro auxilia mittere; postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque, ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, cum propter bonas artium, tum maxime, quod ⁷advorsum divitias animum invictum gerebat; et avaritia magistratum ante id tempus in Numidia nostrae opes contusae, hostiumque auctae erant.

XLIV. SED, ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur ⁸Sp. Albinus pro consule, iners, imbellis, neque periculi

neque laboris patiens, lingua, quam manu, promptior, praedator ex sociis, et ipse praeda hostium, sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis, quam ex copia militum auxilii, aut spei bonae accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et ¹aestivorum tempus comitorum mora imminuerat, et exspectatione eventi civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum adtingere, quam, majorum disciplina, milites laborare coëgisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade percussus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, ²quantum temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris habebat: nisi cum odos, aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque more militari vigiliae ³deducebantur: uti cuique lubebat, ab signis aberat. Lixae permixti cum militibus die noctuque vagabantur, et palantes agros vastare, ⁴villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere; eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio, et aliis talibus: praeterea, frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari: postremo ⁵quaecumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaequae probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, et alia amplius.

XLV. SED in ea difficultate Metellum non minus, quam in rebus hostilibus, magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior; ⁶tanta temperantia inter ambitionem saevitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto primum adjumenta ignaviae sustulisse, "ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet; ne lixae exercitum sequerentur; ne miles gregarius in castris, neve in agmine servum aut jumentum haberet:" ⁷ceteris arte modum statuisset: praeterea transvorsis itineribus quotidie castra movere; juxta, ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire, vigiliis crebras ponere, et ipse cum legatis ⁸circumire: item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egrederetur, uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibi-

bendo a delictis magis, quam vindicando, exercitum brevi ¹confirmavit.

XLVI. INTEREA Jugurtha, ubi, quae Metellus agebat, ex nunciis accepit; simul de ²innocentia ejus certior Romae factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea ³experimentis 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 maxime vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent:” ceterum palam, quae ex voluntate forent, regi nunciari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus, intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit: ubi, ⁴contra belli faciem, tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris: ex oppidis et mapalibus praefecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremo omnia, quae imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent. ⁵munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere, et insidiis locum tentari. 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 praefectis cohortium dispertiverat, uti cum his permixti ⁶velites, quacumque accederent, equitatus hostium propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum et militiae erat, uti, absens, an praesens, pacem an bellum gerens, perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

XLVII. ERAT haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vaga, ⁷forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum; ubi et incolere et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi

mortales. ¹Huic consul, simul tentandi gratia et opperiundi, si paterentur opportunitates loci, praesidium imposuit; praeterea imperavit frumentum, et alia, quae bello usui forent: ratus id, quod res monebat, ²frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatu juvaturam exercitum, et jam pacatis rebus munimento fore. Inter haec negotia Jugurtha ³impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare; praeter suam liberorumque vitam, omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat: regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere, neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

XLVIII. JUGURTHA ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac se ⁴suis artibus tentari animadvertit; quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrimum erat, urbs maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium tentati; coactus rerum necessitudine, statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriae adductus ex opportunitate loci, ⁵quas maxumas copias potest omnium generum parat, ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiae, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul; a quo aberat mons ferme millia passuum xx, ⁶tractu pari, vastus ab natura et humano cultu: sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertinens, vestitus oleastro ac mirtetis, aliisque generibus arborum, quae humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. ⁷Media autem planicies deserta, penuria aquae, praeter flumini propinqua loca: ea consita arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

XLIX. Igitur in eo colle, quem ⁸transverso itinere porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha, extenuata suorum acie, consedit: elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit, eumque edocet, quae ageret; ipse ⁹propior montem cum omni equitatu pedites delectos collocat: dein singulas turmas atque manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, "uti memores pristinae virtutis et

victoriae seque regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant: cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint: ducem illis, non animum mutatum: quae ab imperatore ¹decuerint, omnia suis provisa: locum superiorem, uti prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent: proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato, Romanos invadere: illum diem aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum, aut maxumarum aerumnarum initium fore." Ad hoc viritum, ²ut quemque, ob militare facinus, pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, et eum ipsum aliis ostentare: postremo, pro cujusque ingenio, pollicendo, minitendo, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare; cum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu ³conspicatur: primo dubius, ⁴quidnam insolita facies ostenderet, (nam inter virgulta equi Numidaeque consederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen ⁵incerti, quidnam esset; cum natura loci, tum dolo, ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati) dein, brevi cognitis insidiis, paullisper ⁶agmen constitit: ibi ⁷commutatis ordinibus, in dextero latere quod proximum hostis erat, ⁸triplicibus subsidiis, aciem instruxit: ⁹inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit: equitatum omnem in cornibus locat: ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transvorsis principiis, in planum deducit.

L. SED, ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvortit, veritus, ex anni tempore et inopia aquae, ne siti ¹⁰conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum praemisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet; existumans, hostis crebro impetu et transvorsis praeliis iter suum remoratorios, et, quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum tentaturos. Dein ipse pro re atque loco, ¹¹sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere: Marium post principia habere: ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum

agmen Metelli ¹primos suos praetergressum videt, praesidio quasi duum millium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat; ne forte cedentibus advorsarii receptui, ac post munimenta foret: dein, repente signo dato, hostis invadit. Numidae alii ²postremos caedere; pars a sinistra ac dextera tentare: infensi adesse atque instare: omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare: quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ³ludificati incerto praelio, ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriundi, aut manum conserendi copia erat. Antea jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicumque Romanorum turba insequi coeperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxime divorsi. Ita ⁴numero priores, si ab persequendo hostis deterrere nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo, aut lateribus circumveniebant: sin opportunior fugae collis, quam campi fuerant, ⁵ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebant.

LI. CETERUM facies totius negotii varia, incerta, ⁶foeda atque miserabilis: dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi: neque signa, neque ordines observare: ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare: ⁷arma, 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 aestu languidis, Metellus ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paullatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit, et cohortis legionarias quatuor advorsum pedites hostium collocat: eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, "ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostis fugientes vincere: neque ⁸illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita." Sed ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus: circumire, hortari, renovare praelium, et ipse cum delectis tentare omnia: subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, ⁹quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

LII. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant; ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus advorsus: Jugurthae alia omnia, praeter milites, opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intellegunt, neque sibi perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, et jam die vesper erat; ¹advorso colle, sicuti praeceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco, Numidae fusi fugatique: pauci interiire; plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium praefectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius praetergressus est, paullatim suos ²in aequum locum deducit: ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo praemissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat: neque remittit, ³quid ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedissee jam, et animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthae praelio clamorem augeri; veritus, ne legatus, cognita re, laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum ⁴arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri obficeret, latius porrigit; eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

LIII. ROMANI ex improvise pulveris vim magnam animadvortunt, nam ⁵prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari: post, ubi ⁶aequabilem manere, et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque adpropinquare vident, cognita re, prope-rantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum, utrimque magno clamore concurrunt. Numidae tantummodo ⁷remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant; postquam impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt: ac plerique, abjectis armis, collis, aut noctis, quae jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quatuor capti, reliqui omnes, numero quadraginta, interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et praelio ⁸fessi laetique erant; tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam

procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum ¹nihil languidi, neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo, obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, ²strepitu, velut hostes adventarent, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul, et tumultum facere: et paene imprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur, pro metu, repente gaudium exortum, milites alius alium laeti adpellant, acta edocent atque audiunt: sua quisque fortia facta ad coelum ferre. Quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet: ³advorsae res etiam bonos detractant.

LIV. METELLUS in isdem castris quatrduo moratus, ⁴saucios cum cura reficit, meritos in praeliis more militiae donat, universos in concione laudat, atque agit gratias; hortatur, ad cetera, quae levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda fore. Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ⁵ubi gentium, aut quid agicaret, cum paucisne esset, an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat; ibique cogebat exercitum ⁶numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis, quam belli cultorem. Id ⁷ea gratia eveniebat, quod, praeter regios equites, nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequitur; quo cujusque animus fert, eo discedunt: neque id ⁸flagitium militiae ducitur: ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum ⁹ferocem; bellum renovari, quod, nisi ex illius lubidine, geri non posset; praeterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci, quam suos vincere; statuit non praeliis, neque acie, sed alio more bellum gerendum. Itaque in Numidiae loca opulentissima pergat, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida, ¹⁰temere munita, aut sine praesidio, capit incenditque, puberes interfici jubet: alia omnia militum praeda esse. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum et alia, quae usui forent, adfatim praebita;

ubicumque res postulabat, praesidium impositum. Quae negotia multo magis, quam praelium male pugnatum ab suis, regem terrebant: quippe, cui spes omnis in fuga sita, sequi cogebatur; et qui ¹sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex copia, quod optimum videbatur, consilium capit: exercitum ²plerumque in isdem locis opperiri jubet; ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur; nocturnis et ³aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantis repente adgreditur: eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur; nemo omnium intactus profugit: et Numidae prius, quam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proximos collis discedunt.

LV. INTERIM Romae gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus: ⁴ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret; in advorso 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 DIS IMMORTALIBUS ⁵SUPPLICIA DECERNERE: civitas, trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu, ⁶laeta agere: fama de Metello ⁷praeclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare; cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret: meminisse, post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita quo clarior erat, eo magis animi anxius: neque, post. insidias Jugurthae, ⁸effuso exercitu praedari: ubi frumento, aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu praesidium agitabant: exercitus ⁹partim ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis, quam praeda, ager vastabatur. Duobus locis, haud longe inter se, castra faciebant: ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant; ceterum, quo fuga atque ¹⁰formido latius crescerent, ¹⁰divorsi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per collis sequi: tempus, aut locum pugnae quaerere: qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere: modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere: postremos in agmine tentare, ac statim in collis regredi; rursus

aliis, post aliis minitari; neque praelium facere, neque otium pati; tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

LVI. ROMANUS imperator, ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam, et in ea parte, qua sita erat, ¹arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit obpugnare; ratus id, quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique praelium fore. At ille, quae parabantur, a ²perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur, moenia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, ³quia fallere nequibant, firmissimum. Praeterea pollicetur, in tempore semet cum exercitu adfore. Ita compositis rebus, in loca quam maxime occulta discedit, ac post paullo cognoscit, Marium ⁴ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum; quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum dilectis equitibus noctu pergit, et jam egredientibus Romanis ⁵in porta pugnam facit: simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, "uti cohortis ab tergo circumveniant: fortunam praeclari facinoris casum dare: si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu aetatem acturos." Ac, ni Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti, aut magna pars Siccensium ⁶fidem mutavissent: tanta mobilitate sese Numidae agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini paullisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis, profugi discedunt.

LVII. MARIUS ad Zamam pervenit: id oppidum in campo situm, magis opere, quam natura munitum erat; nullius idoneae rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus, cuncta moenia exercitu circumvenit: legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret: deinde, signo dato, undique simul clamor ingens oritur: neque ea res Numidas terret; ⁷inensi intentique sine tumultu manent: praelium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare; alii succedere, ac murum modo subfodere,

modo scalis adgredi : cupere praelium in manibus facere. Contra ea oppidani in proximos saxa volvere : sudes, pila, praeterea ¹pice et sulphure taedam mixtam, ardentia mittere. Sed nec ²illos, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat : nam plerosque jacula tormentis aut manu emissa vulnerabant ; parique periculo, sed fama impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

LVIII. DUM apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improvise ³castra hostium cum magna manu invadit ; remissis, qui in praesidio erant, et omnia magis, quam praelium, exspectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi ⁴quisque pro moribus consulunt : alii fugere, alii arma capere : magna pars vulnerati, aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta, memores nominis Romani, grege facto, locum cepere, paullo, quam alii, editiorem : neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt : sed tela eminus missa remittere, ⁵pauci in pluribus minus frustrati : sin Numidae propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere, et eos maxuma vi caedere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus, cum acerrume rem gereret, clamorem hostilem ab tergo accepit : dein, converso equo, animadvortit, fugam ⁶ad se vorsum fieri ; quae res indicabat popularis esse. Igitur ⁷equitatum omnem ad castra propere mittit, ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum ; eumque, lacrumans, per amicitiam perque rempublicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostis ⁸inultos abire sinat : ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, cum alii super vallum praecipitarentur, alii ⁹in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes obficerent, multis amissis, in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.

LIX. Igitur postero die, prius, quam ad obpugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris ¹⁰agitare jubet : portas et proxima loca tribunis dispertit : deinde ipse pergat ad oppidum,

atque, ut superiore die, murum adgreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit: qui in ¹proxumo locati fuerant, paullisper territi perturbantur; reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidae resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent: ²quibus illi freti, non, ut equestri praelio solet, sequi, dein cedere; sed advorsis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem; ita expeditis peditibus suis hostis paene victos dare.

LX. EODEM tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eo acerume ³niti; neque alius in alio magis, quam in sese, spem habere: pariter oppidani agere; obpugnare, aut parare omnibus locis: avidius alteri alteros sauciare, quam semet tegere: clamor permixtus hortatione, laetitia, gemitu; item strepitus armorum ad coelum ferri: tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui moenia defensabant, ubi ⁴hostes paululum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti praelium equestre prospectabant: eos, uti quaeque Jugurthae res erant, laetos modo, modo pavidos animadvorteres; ac, sicuti audiri a suis, aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut ⁵niti corporibus, et huc, illuc, quasi vitabundi, aut jacentes tela, agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est, (nam is in ea parte curabat,) consulto ⁶lenius agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare: pati Numidas sine tumultu regis praelium visere. Ita illis ⁷studio suorum adstrictis, repente magna vi murum adgreditur: et jam scalis aggressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia praeterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere: deinde, ubi ⁸unae atque alterae scalae comminutae, qui supersteterant adflicti sunt; ⁹ceteri, quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti volneribus abeunt. Denique utrimque praelium nox diremit.

LXI. METELLUS, postquam videt frustra ¹⁰inceptum, neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut suo loco pugnam facere, et jam aestatem exactam

esse, ab Zama discedit; et in his urbibus, quae ad se defecerant, satisque munitae loco, aut moenibus erant, praesidia imponit. ¹Ceterum exercitum in provinciam qua proxima est Numidiae hiemandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus, ex aliorum more, quieti, aut luxuriae concedit: sed, quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere, et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romae cum Jugurtha fuerat, et inde, ²vadibus datis, clam Massivae de nece iudicium fugerat, quod ei, per maxumam amicitiam, maxuma copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus adgreditur; ac primo efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratia occultus veniat: dein fide data, "si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem et ³sua omnia concederet," facile Numidae persuadet, cum ingenio infido, tum metuenti, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per conditiones ad supplicium traderetur.

LXII. Is, ubi primum opportunum, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit: monet atque lacrumans obtestatur, "uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum, optume merenti, provideat: omnibus praeliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortalis captos aut occisos, regni opes comminutas esse: satis saepe jam et virtutem militum, et fortunam tentatam: caveret, ne, ⁴illo cunctante, Numidae sibi consulant." His atque talibus aliis ad deditioem regis animum impellit. Mituntur ad imperatorem legati: "⁵Jugurtham imperata facturum, ac sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere." Metellus propere ⁶cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis arcessiri jubet: eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum, ex consilii decreto, per legatos Jugurthae imperat argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnis, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quae postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnes perfugas vinctos adduci: eorum magna pars, ut iussum erat, adducti; pauci, cum primum deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretiam abierant.

Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus, cum ipse ¹ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus coepit ²flectere animum suum, et ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique ³multis diebus per dubitationem consumtis; cum modo taedio rerum advorsarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret; ⁴multis magnisque praesidiis nequidquam perditis, de integro bellum sumit. Romae senatus de provinciis consultus ⁵Nu- midiam Metello decreverat.

LXIII. PER idem tempus Uticae forte ⁶C. Mario, per hostias dis supplicanti, "magna atque mirabilia portendi" haruspex dixerat: "proinde quae animo ⁷agitabat, fretus dis ageret; fortunam quam saepissime experiretur; cuncta prospera eventura." At illum jam antea consula- tus ingens cupido exagitabat: ad quem capiundum, ⁸praeter vetustatem familiae, alia omnia abunde erant; industria, probitas, militiae magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubricitatis et divitiarum victor, tan- tummodo gloriae avidus. Sed ⁹his natus, et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum aetas militiae patiens fuit, ¹⁰stipendiis faciundis, non Graeca facundia, neque ¹¹urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tri- bunatum militarem a populo petit, ¹²plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile notus ¹³per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit; semperque ¹⁴in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, uti ampliore, quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is, ¹⁵ad id lo- corum talis vir, (nam postea ambitione praeceps datus est,) consulatum appetere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per ma- nus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egre- giis factis erat, quin ¹⁶his indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur.

LXIV. Igitur, ubi Marius haruspiciis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo ¹⁷cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello

petundi gratia missionem rogat: cui quamquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat ¹contentor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus insolita 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 satis placere: postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi ²jure negaretur." Postquam haec atque talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur, respondit, "³ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese, quae peteret." Ac postea saepius eadem postulanti, fertur dixisse, "ne festinaret abire: ⁴satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum." Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, ⁵annos natus circiter xx. Quae res Marium cum pro honore, quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque ira, pessumis consultoribus, ⁶grassari; neque facto ullo, neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ⁷ambitiosum foret: milites, quibus in hibernis praeerat, laxiore imperio, quam antea, habere: apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, ⁸criminoſe simul et magnifice de bello loqui: "dimidia pars exercitus sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum: ab imperatore consulto ⁹trahi, quod homo inanis et regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet." Quae omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiaris ¹⁰corruerant, et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

LXV. ERAT praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissae nepos, quem Micipsa testamento ¹¹secundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus, et ob eam caussam ¹²mente paullum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti, more regum uti ¹³selam juxta poneret, item postea ¹⁴custodiae caussa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat; honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges adpellavisset; praesidium, quod contumeliosum in eos

foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidae traderentur. Hunc Marius ¹anxium adgreditur atque hortatur, uti contumeliarum imperatoris cum suo auxilio poenas petat: hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: "illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissae nepotem esse: si Jugurtha captus, aut occisus, imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum: id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret." Itaque et illum, et equites Romanos, ²milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque spes pacis impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus ³honestissima suffragatione consulatus petebatur: simul ea tempestate plebes, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

LXVI. INTERIM Jugurtha postquam, ⁴omissa deditioe, bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum: civitates, quae ab se defecerant, formidine, aut ostentando praemia ⁵adfectare: communire suos locos; arma, tela, alia, quae spe pacis amiserat, reficere, aut commercari: servitia Romanorum adlicere, et eos ipsos, qui in praesidiis erant, pecunia tentare: prorsus nihil intactum, neque quietum pati: cuncta agitare. Igitur ⁶Vagenses, quo Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, praesidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis, neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant: ⁷nam volgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxime Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque ⁸discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio adversum. Dein, compositis inter se rebus, diem tertium constituunt, quod is, ⁹festus celebratusque per omnem Africam, ¹⁰ludum et lasciviam magis, quam formidinem ostentabat. Sed, ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militares, et ipsum praefectum oppidi, T. Turpilius Silanus, alius alium domos suas invitant: eos omnis, praeter Turpiliam, inter epulas obtruncant: postea milites palantis, inermos, ¹¹quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, adgrediuntur. Idem

plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis, acta consiliumque ignorantibus, tumultus ipse et res novae satis placebant.

LXVII. ROMANI milites, improvise metu, incerti ignarique quid potissimum facerent, ¹trepidare ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant: praesidium hostium, portae ante clausae fugam prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis aedificiorum saxa, et alia, quae locus praebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque cavere ²anceps malum, neque a fortissimis infirmissimo generi resisti posse: juxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles inulti obruncati. ³In ea tanta asperitate, saevissimis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus: id misericordiane hospitis, an pactione, an casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita fama integra potior, improbus intestabilisque videtur.

LXVIII. METELLUS, postquam de rebus Vagae actis comperit, paullisper moestus ⁴e conspectu abit; deinde, ubi ira et aegritudo permixta, cum maxuma cura ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et, quam plurimos potest, ⁵Numidas equites, pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit: et postera die circiter horam tertiam pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine, et jam ⁶abnuentis omnia, docet, "oppidum Vagam non amplius ⁷mille passuum abesse: decere illos reliquum laborem aequo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis atque miserrimis, poenas caperent;" praeterea ⁸praedam benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo late, pedites quam artissime ire, signa occultare jubet.

LXIX. VAGENSES ubi animum advortere, ad se vorsum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum rati, portas clausere; deinde, ubi neque agros vastari, et eos, qui primi aderant, ⁹Numidas equites vident, rursum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt.

Equites peditesque, repente signo dato, alii ¹volgum effusum oppido caedere; alii ad portas festinare; pars turris capere: ira atque praedae spes amplius, quam lassitudo posse. Ita Vagenses biduum modo ²ex perfidia laetati: civitas magna et opulens poenae cuncta, aut praedae fuit. Turpilius quem, praefectum oppidi, unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, jussus a Metello caussam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus, verberatusque, ³capite poenas solvit: ⁴nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXX. PER idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi, et ipse ⁵eum suspiciens, novas res cupere; ad perniciem ejus dolum quaerere; diu noctuque ⁶fatigare animum: denique 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, quae Jugurthae fesso, aut majoribus adstricto superaverant: ex quo illi gloria opesque inventae. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur: cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem ⁷inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager, inultis hostibus, vastaretur. Is postquam, magnitudine facinoris percussus, ad tempus non venit, ⁸metusque rem impediabat, Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi, et timore socii anxius, ne, omisso ⁹vetere consilio, novum quaereret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, "¹⁰mollitiem secordiamque viri accusare: testari deos, per quos juravisset: praemia Metelli in pestem ne converteret: Jugurthae exitium adesse, ceterum suane, an virtute Metelli periret, id modo agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, praemia, an cruciatum, mallet."

LXXI. SED, cum hae litterae adlatae, forte Nabdalsa, exercito corpore fessus, in lecto quiescebat; ubi, cognitae Bomilcaris verbis, primo cura, deinde, uti ¹¹aegrum 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 ¹opera et ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introivit: dormiente illo epistolam, super caput in pulvino temere positam, sumit ac perlegit; dein propere, cognitis insidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa, post paulo expectatus, ubi neque epistolam reperit, et ²rem omnem, uti acta, cognovit, primo indicem persequi conatus; postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia accedit: "quae ipse paravisset, perfidia clientis sui praeventa:" lacrumans obtestatur "per amicitiam, perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet."

LXXII. AD ea rex aliter, atque animo gerebat, placido respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis, iram ³oppresserat; ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthae dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit: neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam, aut tempori satis credere: civis, hostis juxta metuere: ⁴circumspectare omnia, et omni strepitu pavescere: alio atque alio loco, saepe contra decus regum, noctu requiescere: interdum somno excitus, arreptis armis tumultum facere: ita formidine, quasi vecordia, exagitari.

LXXIII. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus, tamquam ad integrum bellum, cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, ⁵fatigantem de profectioe, simul et invitum, et offensum sibi, parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romae plebes, litteris, quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitis, volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quae antea decori, invidiae esse: at ⁶illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat: ceterum in utroque magis studia partium, quam bona, aut mala sua, moderata. Praeterea, seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare, ⁷Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic

accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, ¹quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant, relictis operibus, frequentarent Marium, et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita, percussa nobilitate, ²post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur: et postea populus, a tribuno plebis, Manilio Mancino, rogatus, QUEM VELLE CUM JUGURTHA BELLUM GERERE? frequens Marium jussit. Senatus paullo ante Metello ³decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.

LXXIV. EODEM tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis; quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem ⁴Bocchum profugerant; cum neque bellum geri sine administris posset, et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, ⁵varius incertusque agitabat: neque illi res, neque consilium, aut quisquam hominum satis placebat: itinera praefectosque in dies mutare: modo advorsum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere. saepe in fuga, ac post paullo spem in armis habere: dubitare, virtuti popularium, an fide minus crederet: ita, ⁶quocumque intenderat, res advorsae erant. Sed, inter eas moras, repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidae ab Jugurtha ⁷pro tempore parati instructique: dein praelium 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 praeliis pedes magis, quam arma ⁸tuta sunt.

LXXV. EA fuga Jugurtha ⁹impensius modo rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum et opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri, ¹⁰filiorumque ejus multus pueritiae cultus erat. Quae postquam Metello comperta, quamquam inter Thalam ¹¹flumenque proximum, spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen, spe patrandi belli, si ejus oppidi potitus foret, omnis asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere adgreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levare

jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem : ceterum utres modo, et alia aquae idonea portari. Praeterea conquirat ex agris quam plurimum potest domiti pecoris ; eoque imponit ¹vasa cujusque modi, pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc, finitumis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquae portarent ; diem locumque, ²ubi praesto forent, praedicat. Ipse ex flumine, quam proxumam oppido aquam supra diximus, jumenta onerat : eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde, ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente coelo missa vis aquae dicitur, ut ³ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Praeterea commeatu spe amplior : quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, officia intenderant. Ceterum milites ⁴religione pluvia magis usi : eaque res multum animis eorum addidit ; nam rati sese dis immortalibus curae esse. Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthae, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se ⁵locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re percussi, nihilo segnius bellum parare : idem nostri facere.

LXXVI. SED rex nihil jam ⁶infectum Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam, ceteris imperitantem, industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex oppido noctu profugit : neque postea in ullo loco amplius una die, aut una nocte moratus, simulabat sese negotii gratia prope- rare ; ceterum prodicionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat : nam talia consilia ⁷per otium, et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos ⁸praelio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus, et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque moenia circumvenit. Deinde locis ⁹ex copia maxime idoneis vineas agere, aggerem jacere, ¹⁰et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra haec oppidani festinare, parare : prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, ¹¹multo ante labore praeliisque fatigati, ¹²post dies quadraginta,

quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti: praeda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum ¹arietibus feriri, resque suas ²adfectas vident, aurum atque argentum, et alia, quae prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant; ibi vino et epulis onerati, illaque, et domum, et semet igni corrumpunt; et quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerant eas ipsi volentes pendere.

LXXVII. SED ³pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes, "uti praesidium praefectumque eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere; adversum quem neque imperia magistratum, neque leges valerent: ni id festinaret, in summo periculo ⁴suam salutem, illorum socios fore." Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam consulem, et postea Romam miserant, amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta a Bestia, Albino, Metelloque imperata ⁵navi fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile, quae petebant, adepti. Eo missae cohortes Ligurum quatuor, et C. Annius praefectus.

LXXVIII. ID oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum, quos accepimus, profugos ob discordias civilis, navibus in eos locos venisse: ceterum ⁶situm inter duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in ⁷extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura: quorum proxuma terrae praealta sunt: cetera, ⁸uti fors tulit, alta; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse, et saevire ventis coepit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Ejus civitatis lingua modo conversa conubio Numidarum: ⁹leges, cultusque pleraque Sidonica; quae eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant. Inter illos et ¹⁰frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

LXXIX. SED, quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non ¹¹indignum videtur, egregium

atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem locus admonuit. Qua tempestate Carthaginienses ¹pleraeque Africae imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, una specie: neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret; quae res eos in magno diuturno bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque ²legiones, item classes fusae fugataeque, et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant; veriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius adgrederetur, ³per inducias sponsionem faciunt, “uti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur.” Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, ⁴quibus nomen Philaenis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id secordiane, an casu acciderit, parum cognovi. Ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus, atque in mari, retinere. Nam ubi, per loca aequalia et ⁵nuda gignentium, ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea, magna vi agitata, ora oculosque implere solet; ita prospectu impedito, ⁶morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se vident, et ⁷ob rem corruptam domi poenas metuunt; criminari, Carthaginienses ante tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem: denique omnia malle, quam victi abire. Sed cum Poeni aliam conditionem, tantummodo aequam, peterent, ⁸Gracci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, “vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur; vel eadem conditione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros.” Philaeni, conditione probata, seque vitamque reipublicae condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus ⁹aras consecravere; alique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

LXXX. JUGURTHA postquam, amissa Thala, nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque, et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit: ac paul-

latim consuefacit ¹ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Praeterea regis Bocchi ²proximos magnis muneribus, et majoribus promissis, ad studium sui perducit; quis adiutoribus regem adgressus, impellit, uti advorsum Romanos bellum suscipiat. Id ea gratia. ³facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romam miserat, foedus et amicitiam petitem; quam rem ⁴opportunistissimam incepto bello pauci impediverant, caeci avaritia, quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthae filia ⁵Bocchi nupserat. Verum ⁶ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur: quod singuli, pro opibus quisque, quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent; sed reges eo amplius. Ita ⁷animus multitudine distrahitur; nulla pro socia obtinet: pariter omnes viles sunt.

LXXXI. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt: ibi, fide data et accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: "Romanos injustos, ⁸profunda avaritia, communis omnium hostis esse: eandem illos causam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi: ⁹quis omnia regna advorsa sint: ¹⁰tum sese, paullo ante Carthaginenses, item regem Persen, post, uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore." His atque aliis talibus dictis, ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt; quod ibi Metellus praedam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut, capta urbe, ¹¹operae pretium fore; aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, praelio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat, ¹²Bocchi pacem imminuere; ne moras agitando, aliud, quam bellum, mallet.

LXXXII. IMPERATOR postquam de regum societate cognovit, non tenere, neque, uti saepe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit: ceterum haud procul ab Cirta, castris munitis, reges operitur; melius ratus, ¹³cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, ex commode pugnam facere. Interim

Roma per litteras certior fit, provinciam Numidiam Mario datam : nam consulem factum, jam antea acceperat. Quis rebus ¹supra bonum atque honestum percussus, neque lacrimas tenere, neque moderari linguam : vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter aegritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam ²vortebant : alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse : multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur : nobis satis cognitum, illum ³magis honore Marii, quam injuria sua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si ademta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur.

LXXXIII. IGITUR eo dolore impeditus, et quia ⁴stultitiae videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulatum, “ne sine caussa hostis populo Romano fieret : habere eum ⁵magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque conjungendae, quae potior bello esset : quamquam opibus confideret, non debere incerta pro certis mutare : ⁶omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum aegerrime desinere : non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse : incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo, licere ; deponi cum victores velint : proinde sibi regnoque consuleret, neu florentis res suas cum Jugurthae ⁷perditis misceret.” Ad ea rex ⁸satis placide verba facit : “sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthae fortunarum misereri ; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura.” Rursus imperator ⁹contra postulata Bocchi nuncios mittit : ille probare partim, partim abnuere. Eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nunciis, tempus procedere, et, ex Metelli voluntate, bellum intactum trahi.

LXXXIV. AT Marius, ut supra ¹⁰diximus, cupientissima plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati, tum vero ¹¹multus atque ferox instare : singulos modo, modo universos laedere : dictitare, “¹²sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse ;” alia praeterea ¹³magnifica pro se, et illis dolentia. Interim, quae bello opus erant, ¹⁴prima habere : postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a

populis et regibus sociisque arcessere : praeterea ex Latio fortissimum quemque, ¹plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos accire, et ²ambiendo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis secum proficisci. Neque illi senatus, quamquam advorsus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat ; ³ceterum supplementum etiam laetus decreverat : quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur, et Marius aut belli usum, aut studia volgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata ; ⁴tanta libido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque praeda locupletem, victorem, domum rediturum, alia hujusmodi animis trahebant : et eos non paullum oratione sua Marius arreixerat. Nam, postquam, omnibus quae postulaverat decretis, milites scribere volt, hortandi caussa simul, et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, ⁵exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

LXXXV. “⁶SCIO. ego, Quirites, plerosque non isdem artibus imperium a vobis petere, et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere : primo industrios, supplicis, modicos esse ; dehinc per ignaviam et superbiam aetatem agere : sed mihi ⁷contra ea videtur. ⁸Nam, quo universa respublica pluris est, quam consulatus aut praetura, eo majore cura illam administrari, quam haec peti debere. ⁹Neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare simul, et aerario parcere ; cogere ad militiam, quos nolis offendere ; domi forisque omnia curare ; et ea agere inter invidos, occursantis, factiosos, ¹⁰opinionem, Quirites, asperius est. ¹¹Ad hoc, alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum facta fortia, cognatorum et adfinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia haec praesidio adsunt : mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est et virtute, et innocentia tutari : nam alia infirma sunt. ¹²Et illud intellego, Quirites, omnium ora in me conversa esse : ¹³aequos bonosque favere : quippe benefacta mea reipublicae procedunt ; nobilitatem locum ¹⁴invadendi quaerere. Quo mihi acrius adniten- dum est, ¹⁵ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint.

¹Ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui, ut omnis labores, pericula consueta habeam. Quae ²ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti, accepta mercede, deseram, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est ³in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere: mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optumis artibus egi, benefacere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis; quam rem nobilitas aegerrime tulit. Quaeso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutare melius sit, si quem ⁴ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc, aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem ⁵veteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum, et nullius stipendii: scilicet ut in tanta re, ⁶ignarus omnium, trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii. Ita plerumque evenit, ut, quem vos imperare jussistis, is imperatorem alium quaerat. Ac ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam consules facti sunt, acta majorum, et Graecorum militaria praecepta legere coeperint; ⁷homines prae-posteri. ⁸Nam gerere, quam fieri, tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparete nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quae illi audire et legere solent, eorum partim vidi, alia egomet gessi: quae illi litteris, ego militando didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam: mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur; quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existumo, sed fortissimum quemque ⁹generosissimum. Ac, si jam ex patribus Albini, aut Bestiae, quaeri posset, mene, an illos ex se gigni maluerint, ¹⁰quid responsuros creditis, nisi, sese liberos quam optimos voluisse? Quod si jure me despiciunt, faciant idem majoribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas coepit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant et labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnunt; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. ¹¹Ne, illi falsi sunt, qui divorsis-

sumas res pariter expectant, ¹ignaviae voluptatem, et praemia virtutis. Atque etiam cum apud vos, aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores suos extollunt: eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant; ²quod contra est. Nam quanto vita illorum praeclarior, tanto horum secordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita se res habet: majorum gloria ³posteris lumen est, neque bona neque mala in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites; verum id, quod multo praeclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte, quam iniqui sint. Quod ⁴ex aliena virtute sibi adrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt: scilicet, quia imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est; quam certe peperisse melius est, quam acceptam corrupisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam respondere velint, ⁵abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. Sed ⁶in maximo vestro beneficio, cum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem, ⁷ex animi sententia, nulla oratio laedere potest: ⁸quippe vera necesse est bene praedicet; falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed, quoniam ⁹vestra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem, et maximum negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num id poenitendum sit. Non possum ¹⁰fidei causa imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare; at, si res postulet, ¹¹hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona; praeterea, cicatrices advorso corpore. Hae sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non haereditate ¹²relicta, ut illa illis, sed quae ego plurimis laboribus et periculis quaesivi. ¹³Non sunt composita verba mea; parum id facio; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit: illis artificio opus est, uti turpia facta oratione tegant. ¹⁴Neque litteras Graecas didici: parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multo optuma reipublicae doctus sum; hostem ferire, ¹⁵praesidia agitare; nihil metuere, nisi turpem famam; hiemem et aes-

tatem juxta pati; humi requiescere; eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego praeceptis milites hortabor: ¹neque illos arte colam, me opulenter; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. ²Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque, cum ³tute per mollietiam agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est, dominum, non imperatorem esse. Haec atque talia majores vestri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere: quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum aemulos contemnit; et omnis honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos, a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quae licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram: virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, ⁴quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii coquum, quam villicum, habeo: quae mihi lubet confiteri. Nam ex parente meo, et ex ⁵sanctis viris ita accepi, munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae, quam divitiarum: arma, non supellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod carum aestumant, id semper faciant; ⁶ament, potent; ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimae parti corporis; ⁷sudorem, pulverem et alia talia relinquunt nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita. Nam, ubi se omnibus flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissime luxuria et ignavia, pessimae artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil obficiunt; reipublicae innoxiae ⁸cladi sunt. Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondendi, pauca de republica loquar. Primum omnium, de Numidia bonum habetote animum, Quirites. Nam, quae ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tuta sunt, omnia removistis, ⁹avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens; sed mehercule magis strenuus, quam

felix. Nam magna pars avaritia, aut temeritate ducum adtrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus ¹militaris aetas, adnitimini mecum, et capeSSite rempublicam: neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum, aut imperatorum superbia, metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in praelio consultor idem, et socius periculi vobiscum adero: ²meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto, dis juvantibus, ³omnia matura sunt, victoria, praeda, laus: quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos reipublicae subvenire decebat. Etenim ignavia nemo immortalis factus: ⁴neque quisquam parens liberis, uti aeterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto."

LXXXVI. HUIJUSCEMODI oratione habita, Marius postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere comiteatu, stipendio, armis, aliis utilibus navis onerat: cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ⁵ex classibus, sed uti cujusque lubido erat, ⁶capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopia bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant; ⁷quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat; et homini potentiam quaerenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua curae, quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia ⁸cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum majore aliquanto numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus, diebus paucis Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato; nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat, ne videret ea, quae audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

LXXXVII. SED consul, ⁹expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur: omnia ibi capta militibus donat: dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita adgreditur: praelia multa, ceterum levia, alia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse: videre fugientis capi, occidi; fortissimum quemque tutissimum;

armis libertatem, patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi; gloriam atque divitias quaeri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium aequalis facta. At reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, ¹divorsi in locos difficilis abeunt. Ita Jugurthae placuerat, speranti, mox effusos hostis invadi posse; Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu, laxius licentiusque futuros.

LXXXVIII. METELLUS interea Romam profectus, contra spem suam, ²laetissimis animis excipitur; plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter adtendere: cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contra esset: explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias anteverire: ³nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati: Itaque et Gaetulos, et Jugurtham, ex sociis nostris praedam agentes, saepe adgressus itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta ⁴armis exuerat. Quae postquam gloriosa modo, neque ⁵belli patranda cognovit, statuit urbis, quae viris aut loco ⁶pro hostibus, et advorsum se opportunissimae erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Jugurtham aut praesidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut praelio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuncios ad eum saepe miserat, "velle populi Romani amicitiam; ne quid ab se hostile timeret." Id simulaveritne, ⁷quo improvisus gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum.

LXXXIX. SED consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire: partim vi, alia metu, aut praemia ostentando avortere ab hostibus. Ac primo ⁸mediocria gerebat, existumans, Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed, ubi procul abesse, et aliis negotiis intentum accepit, majora et magis aspera adgredi tempus visum. Erat inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa, cujus conditor ⁹Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham ¹⁰immunes, levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissimi habebantur: muniti advorsum hostis non moenibus modo, et armis atque

viris, multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam, praeter oppido propinqua, alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquae, ¹infesta serpentibus: ²quarum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior: ad hoc natura serpentium, ipsa perniciosa, siti magis, quam alia re, accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxuma cupido invaserat, cum propter ³usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur; et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque; nisi quod apud Thalam haud longe a moenibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo, atque ea intra oppidum, ⁴jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique, et ⁵in omni Africa, quae procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidae primumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur, neque ⁶salem, neque alia irritamenta gulae quaerebant; cibus ⁷illis adversum famem atque sitim, non lubricum, neque luxuriae erat.

XC. IGITUR consul, omnibus exploratis, credo, dis fretus; nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti inopia ⁸tentabatur, quod Numidae pabulo pecoris, magis, quam arvo student, et quodcumque natum fuerat, jussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum vacuus ea tempestate, nam aestatis extremum erat; tamen ⁹pro rei copia satis providenter exornat: pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus praedae fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum adtribuit: A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire jubet; ¹⁰se praedabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occulto, pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCI. CETERUM in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per ¹¹centurias, item turmas, aequaliter distribuerat, et ex coriis utres uti fierent curabat: simul et inopiam frumenti lenire, et, ignaris omnibus, parare, quae mox usui forent. Denique sexto die, cum ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrius effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positus, milites cibum capere, atque, uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos esse jubet; omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua

modo seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque totam itinere facto, consedit: idem ¹proxuma facit: dein tertia, multo ante lucis adventum, pervenit in locum tumulosum, ab Capsa non amplius duum millium intervallo; ibique, quam occultissime potest, cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed, ubi dies coepit, et Numidae, nihil hostile metuentes, multi oppido egressi; repente omnem equitatum, et cum his velocissimos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam, et portas obsidere jubet: deinde ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites praedari sinere. Quae postquam oppidani cognovere; ²res trepidae, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potestate, coëgere, uti deditionem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum: Numidae puberes interfecti; alii omnes venum dati: praeda militibus divisa. ³Id facinus contra jus belli, non avaritia, neque scelere consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthae opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum, neque beneficio, neque metu coërcitum.

XCII. POSTQUAM tantam rem Marius, sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit; magnus et clarus antea, major et clarior haberi coepit. ⁴Omnia, non bene consulta modo, verum etiam casu data, in virtutem trahebantur: milites, ⁵modesto imperio habiti simul et locupletes, ad coelum ferre: Numidae magis, quam mortalem timere: postremo omnes socii atque hostes credere illi aut mentem divinam, aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida perguit: pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit; plura ⁶deserta, propter Capsensium miserias, igni corrumpit: luctu atque caede omnia complentur. Denique, multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, ⁷ad aliam rem adgreditur, ⁸non eadem asperitate, qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha, quod Jugurthae Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat ⁹inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis

patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto : nam ¹omnis natura, velut opere atque consulto, praeceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte, quam consilio, melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis frumenti et fons aquae ; aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus ²importunus : iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque praecisum. Vineae cum ingenti periculo frustra agitabantur : nam, cum eae paullum processerant, igni, aut lapidibus corrumpebantur ; milites neque ³pro opere consistere, propter iniquitatem loci, neque intra vineas sine periculo ⁴administrare : optumus quisque cadere, aut sauciari ; ceteris metus augeri.

XCIIL. At Marius, multis diebus et laboribus consumptis, ⁵anxius trahere cum animo, omitteretne inceptum quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua saepe prospere usus. Quae cum multos dies, noctes, ⁶aestuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod ⁷avorsum praeliantibus erat, animum advortit inter saxa repentis cochleas : quarum cum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paullatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi, postquam ⁸solitudinem intellexit, more humani ingenii, cupido ignara visundi invadit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, ⁹paullulum modo prona, dein flexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert : cujus ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus, ¹⁰castelli planitiem perscribit : quod cuncti Numidae intenti praeliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quae mox usui fore ducebat, ¹¹eadem regreditur, non temere, uti escenderat, sed tentans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium prope adit, acta edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse escenderat, castellum tentet : pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa cognitum, ¹²ex praesentibus misit : quo-

rum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nunciavere. Consulis animus tamen paulum arrectus. Itaque ex copia ¹tubicinum et cornicinum, numero quinque quam velocissimos delegit, et cum his, praesidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones: omnis Liguri parere jubet, et ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

XCIV. SED, ubi ²ex praecepto tempus visum, paratis compositisque omnibus, ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi qui centuriis praeerant, praedocti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti ³prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret: super terga gladii et scuta: verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul, et offensa quo levius streperent. Igitur praegrediens Ligus saxa, et si quae ⁴vetustate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus adlevati facilius escenderent: interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu: ubi paullo asperior adscensus, singulos prae se inermos mittere; deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi; quae ⁵dubia nisu videbantur, potissimum tentare, ac saepius eadem 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, quae Ligus egerat cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos praelio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites, et ipse extra vineas egressus, ⁶testudine acta succedere, et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidae, saepe antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctesque agitare; maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris ⁷Jugurthae servitium minari; secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim omnibus Romanis hostibusque praelio intentis, magna utrimque vi, pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere: ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, ⁸fugero;

deinde, uti quisque muro proximus erat; postremo cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere, ac plerosque tantummodo ¹sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriae certantes murum petere; neque quemquam omnium praeda morari. Sic forte correcta Marii temeritas, gloriam ex culpa invenit.

XCV. CETERUM, dum ea res geritur, ²L. Sulla quaestor cum magno equitatu in castra venit; quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret, Romae relictus erat. Sed, quoniam tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est, de natura cultuque ejus paucis dicere: neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus; et ³L. Sisenna, optume et diligentissime omnium qui eas res dixere persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla, ⁴gentis patriciae, familia prope jam exstincta majorum ignavia, litteris Graecis atque Latinis juxta atque doctissime eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriae cupidior: ⁵otio luxurioso; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, ⁶nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli: facundus, callidus, et ⁷amicitia facilis; ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis; multarum rerum, ac maxume pecuniae largitor. Atque felicissimo omnium ⁸ante civilem victoriam numquam super industriam fortuna fuit; multique dubitavere, fortior, an felicior esset: nam, postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat magis, an pigeat disserere.

XCVI. Igitur Sulla, ut supra dictum, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, ⁹sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc, milites benigne adpellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere: sed ea properantius, quam ¹⁰aes mutuum reddere; ipse ab nullo repetere; magis id laborare, ut illi quam plurimi deberent: joca atque seria cum humilium agere: in operibus, in agmine atque ad vigiliis ¹¹multus adesse: neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis, aut cujusquam boni famam laedere: tantummodo

neque consilio, neque manu priorem alium pati ; plerosque antevenire. Quis rebus, brevi, Mario militibusque carissimus factus.

XCVII. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utilis simul, et ¹magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, "quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret: praelii faciendi tempus adesse." Quem ubi cunctari accepit, ²dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere; rursus, uti antea, proximos donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret. Eo praemio illectus Bocchus, cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium jam in hiberna proficiscentem, ³vix decima parte die reliqua, invadunt: rati noctem, quae jam aderat, victis sibi munimento fore, et, si vicissent, ⁴nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant; contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem. Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant; et, priusquam exercitus aut instrui, aut ⁵sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum, aut imperium ullum accipere ⁶quivit, equites Mauri atque Gaetuli, ⁷non acie, neque ullo more praelii, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros concurrunt; qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientis alios ab hostibus defensabant: pars equos descendere, obviam ire hostibus: pugna ⁸latrocinio magis, quam praelio similis fieri: sine signis, sine ordinibus equites pedites permixti, caedere alios, alios obtruncare, multos, ⁹contra advorsos acerrime pugnantis, ab tergo circumvenire: neque virtus, neque arma satis tegere, quod hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi: denique Romani veteres, ¹⁰novique, et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus, aut casus conjunxerat, orbis facere; atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

XCVIII. NEQUE in eo tam aspero negotio territus Marius, aut magis, quam antea, demisso animo fuit: sed ¹cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis, quam familiarissimis, paraverat, vagari passim: ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confertissimi obstiterant, invadere: manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare, conturbatis omnibus, non poterat. Jamque dies consumtus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere, atque, uti reges praeceperant, ²noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat: quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquae magnus erat; alter usui opportunus, quia, magna parte editus et praeceps, ³pauco munimento egebat. Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem ⁴agitare jubet. Ipse paullatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit; dein cunctos ⁵pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges, loci difficultate coacti, praelio deterrentur; neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato, ⁶effusi consedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari suo more laetari, exsultare, strepere vocibus: ⁷ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugerant, pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia visu, magnoque hortamento erant.

XCIX. PLURIMUM vero Marius imperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maximum silentium haberi jubet: ne signa quidem, ⁸uti per vigilias solebant, canere: deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus, et paullo ante somno captis, de improvise vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines, simul omnia signa canere, milites clamorem tollere, atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gaetuli ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere aut providere quidquam poterant: ⁹ita 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 praelio, quam omnibus superioribus interremti : nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

C. DEIN Marius, uti coeperat, ¹in hiberna ; quae, propter commeatum, in oppidis maritimis agere decreverat : neque tamen secors victoria, aut insolens factus ; sed pariter ac in conspectu hostium, ²quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu ³apud dextumos ; in sinistra A. Manlius, cum funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortes Ligurum curabat : primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugae, ⁴minime 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 cogeat : ⁵neque secus, atque iter facere, castra munire ; excubitum in portas cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxilarios mittere : praeterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigiliis ipse circumire, ⁶non diffidens ea futura, quae imperavisset, quam ⁷uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius, illo et aliis temporibus belli, pudore magis, quam ⁸malo, exercitum coërebat ; quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant ; pars quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam, et alia, quae ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati habuisset. ⁹Nisi tamen res publica, pariter ac saevissimo imperio, bene atque decore gesta.

CI. Igitur quarto denique die, haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores ¹⁰citi sese ostendunt ; qua re hostis adesse intellegitur. Sed quia divorsi redeuntes, alius ab alia parte, atque omnes idem significabant ; consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, adversum omnia paratus, ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partis distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus ¹¹utique aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, ¹²quem primum adtigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim et quam maxime confertis equis, ipse alique Mauros invadunt : ceteri in

loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites praeliantur, ¹Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux, filius ejus, adduxerat, neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius ²apud primos agebat; quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ³ad pedites convortit: ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat) exclamat: “nostros frustra pugnare; paullo ante Marium sua manu interfectum:” simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna, ⁴satis impigre occiso pedite nostro, cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accipere, magis ⁵atrocitate rei, quam fide nuncii terrentur: simulque barbari animos tollere, et in percussos acrius incedere. Jamque paullum ab fuga aberant, cum Sulla, profligatis, quos advorsum ierat, Mauris ab latere incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos, et prope jam ⁶adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra, sinistra, 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: ⁷sequi, fugere; occidi, capi; equi, viri adflicti: ac multi, vulneribus acceptis, neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; ⁸niti modo, ac statim concidere: postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus; et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

CII. ⁹POSTEA loci consul, haud dubie jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo ¹⁰post diem quintum, quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, “duo quam fidissimos ad eum mitteret: velle de se, et de populi Romani commodo ¹¹cum is disserere.” 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, ¹cujus facundiae, non aetati a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujusmodi locutus. “Rex Bocche, magna nobis laetitia, cum te ²talem virum di monuere, uti aliquando pacem, quam bellum, malles; neu te optimum cum pessimo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares; simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem et illum sceleratissimum ³persequi. Ad hoc, populo Romano jam a ⁴principio reipublicae visum, amicos, quam servos quaerere: tutius rati, volentibus, quam coactis imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia; primum, quod procul absumus, in quo offensae minimum, ⁵gratia par, ac si prope adessemus; dein, quod ⁶parentes abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis, neque cuiquam omnium satis. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset! profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala perpressus es. Sed, quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit, ⁷cui scilicet placuit te et vim et gratiam nostram experiri; nunc, quando per illam licet, festina, atque, ut coepisti, perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata ⁸officiis superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte, nunquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum: nam bello quid valeat, tute scis.” Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne; simul pauca ⁹pro delicto verba facit: “se non hostili animo, sed regnum tutatum arma cepisse: nam Numidiae partem, unde vi Jugurtham ¹⁰expulerit, jure belli suam factam, eam vastari ab Mario pati nequivisse; praeterea missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera ommittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum.” Dein ¹¹copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullae et Manlii, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruerat.

CIII. MARIUS interea, exercitu in hibernis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur ¹²in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnis praesidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus,

seu reputando, quae sibi duobus praeliis ¹venerant, 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, Romam legatos ire jubet: ²agendarum rerum, et quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur: deinde itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, ³sine decore ad Sullam perfugiunt, quem consul, in expeditionem proficiscens, pro praetore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro ⁴vanis hostibus, ut meriti erant, sed accurate ac liberaliter habuit; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiae falsam, et Sullam, ob munificentiam in sese, amicum rati. Nam etiam tum ⁵largitio multis ignara: munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens: dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt: simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit: copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui, et alia, quae aut utilia, aut ⁶benevolentiae credebant, oratione extollunt: dein Sulla omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies XL. ibidem opperiuntur.

CIV. MARIUS postquam, ⁷ibi infecto, quo intenderat, negotio, Cirtam redit, de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque et Sullam venire jubet, item L. Bellienum praetorem Utica, praeterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi ⁸cognoscit. Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab consule: interea induciae postulabantur. ⁹Ea Sullae et plerisque placuere: pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quae fluxae et mobiles semper in adversa mutant. Ceterum Mauri, impetratis omnibus rebus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rufo, qui quaestor stipendium in Africam portaverat; duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cum cetera, tum maxime benignitatem et ¹⁰studium Sullae lubens accepit. Romae legatis ejus, postquam errasse regem et Jugurthae scelere lapsam ¹¹deprecati sunt, ami-

citiam et foedus petentibus hoc modo respondetur. “Senatus et populus Romanus beneficii et injuriae memor esse solet; ceterum Boccho, quoniam poenitet, delicti gratiam facit: foedus et amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit.”

CV. QUIS rebus cognitis, Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret; ¹cujus arbitrato de communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum praesidio equitum atque peditum, ²item funditorum Balearium: ³praeterea sagittarii et cohors Peligna ⁴cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi caussa: neque his secus, atque aliis armis, advorsum tela hostium, quod ⁵ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed itinere, quinto denique die, Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit: qui ⁶temere et effuse euntes, Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero, et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur sese quisque ⁷expedire, arma atque tela ⁸tentare, intendere: timor aliquantus; sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, et advorsum eos, quos saepe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum praemissi, ⁹rem, uti erat, quietam nunciant.

CVI. VOLUX adveniens quaestorem adpellat: “se a patre Boccho ¹⁰obviam illis simul, et praesidio missum.” Deinde eum et proximum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post, ubi castra locata, et die vesper erat, repente Maurus ¹¹incerto voltu ad Sullam adcurrit: “sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse:” simul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat atque hortatur. Ille ¹²animo feroci negat “se toties fusum Numidam pertimescere: virtuti suorum satis credere: etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quam proditis, quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paullo morbo interiturae vitae parceret.” Ceterum ab eodem monitus, uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium adprobat: ac statim milites ¹³coelatos esse, in castris ignis quam creberrimos fieri, dein ¹⁴prima vigilia silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, cum equities Mauri nunciant, “Ju-

gurtham circiter duum millium intervallo ¹ante consedisse." Quod postquam auditum, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit: credere, proditos a Voluce, et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere, qui dicerent, ²manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

CVII. AT Sulla, quanquam eadem aestumabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum ³prohibet: suos hortatur, "uti fortem animum gerent: saepe antea paucis strenuis advorsum multitudinem bene pugnatum: quanto sibi in praelio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore: nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maximo metu ⁴nudum et caecum corpus ad hostis vortere." Deinde Volucem, ⁵quoniam hostilia faceret, maximum Jovem obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi testis adesset, castris abire jubet. Ille lacrumans orare, "ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, magis caliditate Jugurthae, cui speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. ⁶Ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent, illum nihil palam ausurum, cum ipse filius testis adesset: quare optimum factum videri, ⁷per media ejus castra palam transire: sese, vel praemissis, vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sulla iturum." Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata, ac statim profecti: quia de improvviso ⁸acciderant, dubio atque haesitante Jugurtha, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum.

CVIII. IBI cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, multum et familiariter agebat: praemissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, ⁹orator, et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia: praeterea Dabar, Massugraedae filius, ex gente Masinissae, ceterum materno genere impar; pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat; Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus acceptusque, ¹⁰quem Bocchus, fidum multis antea tempestatibus expertus, illico ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, "paratum sese facere, quae populus Romanus vellet: colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse dilegeret: ¹¹consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere:

¹neu Jugurthae legatum pertimesceret, quin res communis licentius gereretur; ²nam ab insidiis ejus aliter caveri nequivisse." Sed ego comperior, Bocchum magis ³Punica fide, quam ob quae praedicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis ⁴adinuisse, multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet: ⁵lubidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

CIX. Igitur Sulla respondit: "pauca se coram Aspare locuturum; cetera occulte, aut nullo, aut quam paucissimis praesentibus:" simul edocet, ⁶quae responderentur. Postquam, sicuti voluerat, congressi, dicit, "se missum a consule venisse quaesitum ab eo, pacem, an bellum agitaturus foret." Tum rex, uti praeceptum, post diem decimum redire jubet; ac, nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum: deinde ambo ⁷in sua castra digressi. Sed, ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte arcessitur: ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur: praeterea Dabar ⁸internuncius, sanctus vir et ex sententia ambobus. Ac statim sic rex incipit.

CX. "NUMQUAM ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maxumus in hac terra, et omnium, quos novi, opulentissimus, privato homini gratiam deberem. Et hercle, Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id imminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor; ⁹fuerit mihi pretium, eguisse aliquando amicitiae tuae, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. ¹⁰Id adeo experiri licet: arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo lubet, sume, utere: et, quoad vives, numquam redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me ¹¹integra erit: denique nihil, me sciente, frustra voles. Nam, ut ego aestumo, regem armis, quam munificentia vinci, minus flagitiosum. Ceterum de re publica vestra, ¹²cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque factum umquam volui: finis meos advorsum armatos armis ¹³tutus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ita placet: gerite, uti voltis, cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter

me et Micipsam fuit, non ¹egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare sinam. Praeterea, si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis."

CXI. Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice; de pace et de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefacit, ²quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valuissent, non in gratiam habituros: faciendum aliquid, quod illorum ~~magis~~, quam sua, retulisse videretur: ³id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam Jugurthae copiam haberet: quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, uti illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, foedus, Numidiae partem, quam nunc peteret, ultro adventuram." Rex primo ⁴negitare: "adfinitatem, cognationem, praeterea foedus intervenisse: ad hoc metuere, ne ⁵fluxa fide usus, popularium animos avorteret, quis et Jugurtha carus, et Romani invisus erant." Denique saepius fatigatus, ⁶lenitur et ex voluntate Sullae omnia se facturum promittit. Ceterum ⁷ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissimus, quae utilia visa, constituunt. Ita composito dolo digrediuntur.

CXII. At rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthae legatum adpellat: "sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, ⁸posse conditionibus bellum poni: quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret." Ille laetus in castra Jugurthae venit. Deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere, post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum, et ei nunciat, "Jugurtham cupere omnia, quae imperarentur, facere; sed Mario parum confidere: saepe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem ⁹conventam frustra fuisse. ¹⁰Ceterum si ambobus consultum, et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus, quasi de pace in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet: cum talem virum in potestate haberet, fore, uti jussu senatus atque populi Romani foedus fieret: neque hominem nobilem, ¹¹non sua ignavia, sed ob rem publicam in hostium potestate, relictum iri."

CXIII. HAEC Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit; ceterum ¹²dolo, an vere, parum comperimus.

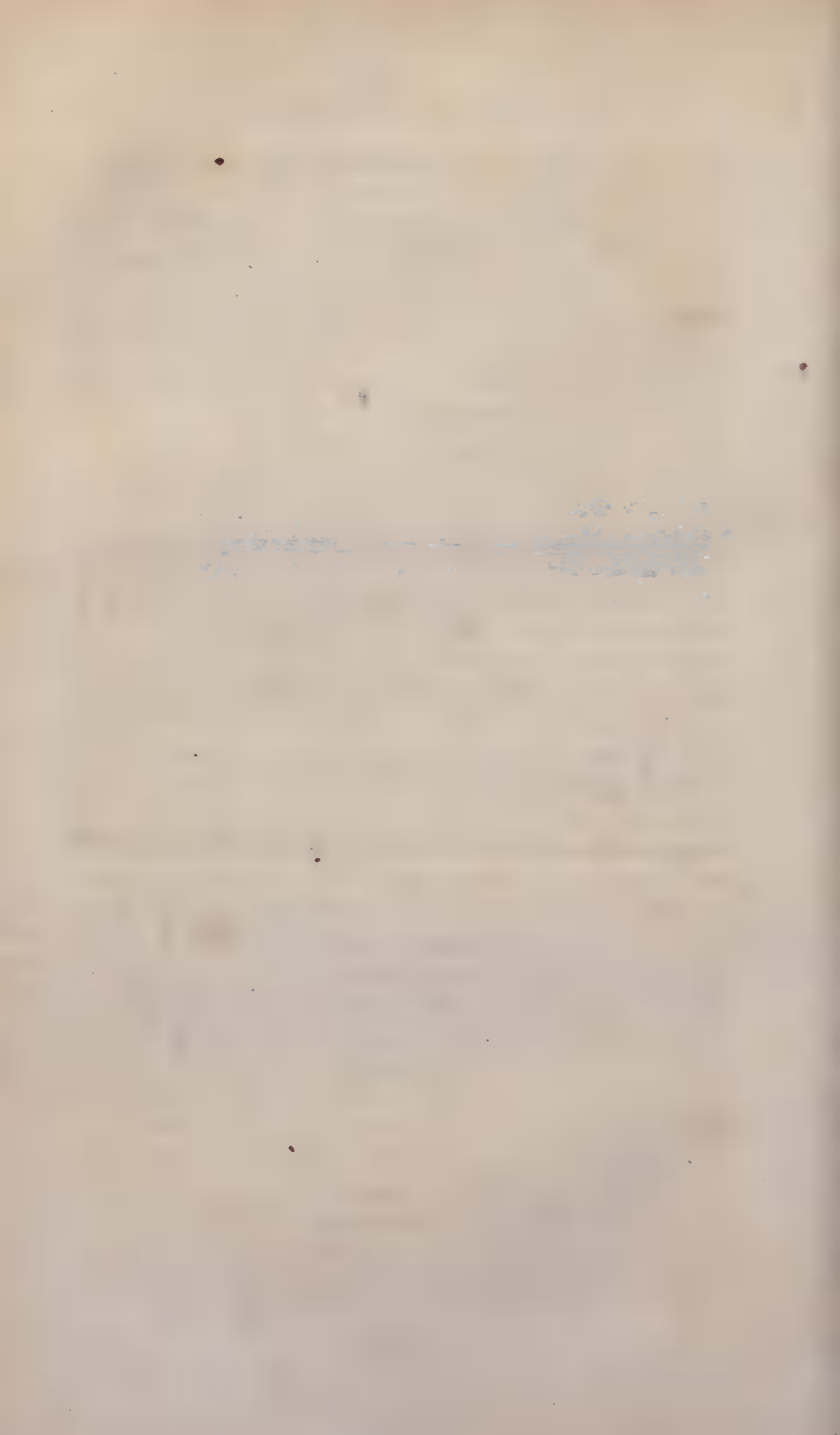
Sed plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, saepe ¹ipsae sibi advorsae. Postea, tempore et loco ²constituto, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthae legatum adpellare, ³benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter laeti, ac spei bonae pleni. Sed nocte ea, quae proxima fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus, ⁴adhibitis amicis, ac statim immutata voluntate remotis, dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse, ⁵vultu corporis pariter, atque animo varius: qua re scilicet, tacente ipso, occulta pectoris ⁶patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam arcessiri jubet, et ex ejus sententia Numidae insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit, et ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et ⁷quaestore nostro, quasi obvius honoris caussa, procedit in tumultum, facillumum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis, inermus, ⁸ut dictum, accedit; ac statim, signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obruncati: Jugurtha Sullae victus traditur, et ab eo ⁹ad Marium deductus.

CXIV. PER idem tempus advorsum ¹⁰Gallos ab ducibus nostris, Q. Caepione et M. Manlio, male pugnatum; quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. ¹¹Illique, et, inde ad nostram memoriam, Romani sic habuere; alia omnia virtuti suae prona esse; ¹²cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certare. Sed, postquam bellum in Numidia confectum, et ¹³Jugurtham victum adduci Romam nunciatum est, Marius consul ¹⁴absens factus, et ei decreta provincia Gallia: isque ¹⁵Kalendis Januariis magna gloria consul triumphavit. ¹⁶Ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae.

C. CRISPI

SALLUSTII

BELLUM CATILINARIUM.



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I. ¹OMNIS homines, qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet vitam ²silentio ne trans-eant, veluti pecora, quæ natura ³prona, atque ventri obe-dientia, finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita : ⁴animi imperio, corporis servitio, magis utimur : al-terum nobis cum dis, alterum cum belluis commune est. ⁵Quo mihi rectius videtur ingenii quam virium opibus gloriam quaerere ; et, quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, brevis est, ⁶memoriam nostri quam maxume longam effi-cere. Nam divitiarum et formæ gloria fluxa atque fragi-lis ; virtus clara aeternaque ⁷habetur. ⁸Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vine corporis an virtute animi, res militaris magis procederet. Nam et prius, quam incipias, ⁹consulto ; et, ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est. Ita utrumque, per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio eget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen ¹⁰imperii id primum fuit) diversi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exer-cebant : etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agita-batur ; sua cuique satis placebant. Postea vero quam in Asia ¹¹Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbes atque nationes subigere, ¹²lubidinem domi-nandi caussam belli habere, maxumam gloriam in maximo imperio putare ; tum demum ¹³periculo atque negotiis com-

pertum est, in bello plurimum ingenium posse. ¹Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita, uti in bello, valeret, aequabilius atque constantius sese res humanae haberent; neque ²aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneret. Nam imperium facile his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verum, ubi ³pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad ⁴optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur. Quae homines arant, navigant, aedificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam, sicuti ⁵peregrinantes, transegere; ⁶quibus, profecto contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta aestumo, quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enim vero is demum mihi vivere atque ⁷frui anima videtur, qui, aliquo negotio intentus, praeclari facinoris, aut artis bonae famam quaerit. Sed, ⁸in magna copia rerum, aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

III. PULCHRUM est bene facere reipublicae: etiam ⁹bene dicere haud absurdum est. Vel pace, vel bello, clarum fieri licet; ¹⁰et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tamen etsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem et ¹¹auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum, quod facta dictis sunt exaequanda: dehinc, quia plerique, quae delicta reprehenderis, malivolentia et invidia ¹²putant: ¹³ubi de magna virtute et gloria bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat, aequo animo accipit; ¹⁴supra ea, veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adolescentulus, initio, sicuti plerique, ¹⁵studio ad rempublicam latus sum; ibique mihi advorsa multa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia, vigeant. Quae tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium; tamen, inter tanta vitia, imbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur: ac me, cum ab ¹⁶reliquorum malis moribus dissen-

tirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem, quae ceteros, fama atque invidia vexabat

IV. Igitur, ubi animus ¹ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam aetatem a republica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium, secordia atque desidia ²bonum otium contere; neque vero agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis intentum, aetatem agere: sed, a quo incepto ³studio me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas populi Romani ⁴carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, ⁵partibus reipublicae animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinae conjuratione, quam verissime potero, ⁶paucis absolvam: nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo, sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cuius hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

V. LUCIUS CATILINA, ⁷nobili genere natus, magna vi et animi et corporis, ⁸sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis, grata fuere; ⁹ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus ¹⁰patiens inediae, vigiliae, algoris, supra quam cuique credibile est: animus audax, subdolos, ¹¹varius, cuius rei libet ¹²simulator ac dissimulator: alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus: ¹³satis loquentiae, sapientiae parum. ¹⁴Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc, ¹⁵post dominationem ¹⁶Lucii Sullae, libido maxuma invaserat ¹⁷reipublicae capiundae; neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. ¹⁸Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox, inopia rei familiaris, et conscientia scelerum; quae utraque his artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. Incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. ¹⁹Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere, ac, paucis, instituta majorum domi militiaeque; quomodo rempublicam habuerint, quan-

tamque reliquerint; ut, paullatim immutata, ex pulcherrima, pessuma ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.

VI. URBEM Romam, ¹sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio ²Trojani, qui, Aenea duce, profugi, sedibus incertis vagabantur; cumque his ³Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, ⁴sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una moenia convenere, ⁵dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alius alio more viventes; incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint. Sed, postquam ⁶res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera, satisque pollens videbatur; sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello ⁷tentare: pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri, metu ⁸perculsi, a periculis aberant. At Romani, domi militiaeque intenti, festinare, parare, alius alium hortari; hostibus obviam ire; libertatem, patriam parentesque armis tegere: post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant; magisque dandis quam accipiendis beneficiis, amicitias parabant. ⁹Imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regium habebant: delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum, reipublicae consultabant: hi, ¹⁰vel aetate, vel curae similitudine, PATRES appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod, initio, ¹¹conservandae libertatis, atque augendae reipublicae fuerat, in superbiam ¹²dominationemque ¹³convertit; immutato more, annua imperia, binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minime posse putabant per licentiam ¹⁴insolescere animum humanum.

VII. ¹⁵SED ea tempestate ¹⁶coepere se quisque extollere, magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni, quam mali, suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, ¹⁷adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriae incesserat. Jam primum juvenus, ¹⁸simul laboris ac belli patiens erat, in castris ¹⁹per usum militiam discebat: magisque in decoris armis et militari-

bus equis, quam in scortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non ¹labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper, aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus: virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriae maximum certamen inter ipsos erat: ²sese quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspici dum tale facinus faceret, properabat: ³eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant: laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant: gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbes, natura munitas, pugnando cepit, ⁴ni ea res longius ab incepto traheret.

VIII. SED profecto Fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea ⁵res cunctas, ex lubidine magis quam ex vero, celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere; verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed, quia provenere ibi ⁶scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis ⁷eam potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. At populo Romano nunquam ea copia fuit: quia ⁸prudenter quisque negotiosus maxime erat; ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat; ⁹optimum quisque facere, quam dicere; sua ab aliis benefacta laudari, quam ipse aliorum narrare, malebat.

IX. ¹⁰IGITUR domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur; concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat; jus bonumque apud eos, non legibus magis quam natura, valebat. Iurgia, discordias, simultates, cum hostibus exercebant: cives cum civibus de virtute certabant: ¹¹in suppliciiis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ¹²ubi pax evenerat, aequitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta haec habeo; ¹³quod saepius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius, revocati, bello excesserant,

quam qui signa relinquere, aut, pulsi, loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod beneficiis, quam metu, ¹imperium agitabant, et, accepta injuria, ignoscere, quam persequi, malebant.

X. Sed, ubi ²labore atque justitia respublica crevit, ³reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae, et populi ingentes vi subacti, ⁴Carthago, aemula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant; saevire Fortuna, ac miscere omnia, coepit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, iis otium, divitiae ⁵optandae aliis, oneri miseriaeque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperii cupido crevit: ea quasi ⁶materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, ceterasque artis bonas subvertit; pro his, superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere, edocuit: ambitio multos mortalis ⁷falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere; amicitias inimicitiasque, non ⁸ex re, sed ex commodo, aestumare; magisque vultum, quam ingenium bonum habere. Haec primo paullatim crescere, interdum ⁹vindicari: ¹⁰post, ubi, contagio quasi, pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata; imperium, ex justissimo atque optimo, crudele intolerandumque factum.

XI. SED primo magis ambitio, quam avaritia, animos hominum exercebat: quod tamen vitium ¹¹propius virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, ¹²bonus, ignavus, aequae sibi exoptant: sed ille vera via nititur; huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniae ¹³studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit: ea, quasi ¹⁴venenis malis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat: semper infinita, insatiabilis, ¹⁵neque copia, neque inopia, minuitur. Sed, postquam L. Sulla, armis ¹⁶recepta respublica, ex bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere; ¹⁷neque modum, neque modestiam victores habere, foeda crudeliaque in civibus facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum,

quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat; loca ¹amoena, voluptaria, facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata mirari; ea ²privatim ac publice rapere; delubra spoliare; sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundae res sapientium animos ³fatigant: ne illi, corruptis moribus, victoriae temperarent.

XII. POSTQUAM divitiae honori coepere, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur; hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, ⁴innocentia pro malivolentia duci coepit. Igitur, ex divitiis, juventutem luxuria atque avaritia, cum superbia, invasere: ⁵rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; ⁶ pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi atque moderati habere. Operae pretium est, quum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere. ⁷Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos sua gloria decorabant; neque victis quidquam, ⁸praeter injuriae licentiam, eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus, omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissimi viri ⁹victores reliquerant: proinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti.

XIII. NAM quid ea memorem, quae, nisi iis qui videre, nemini credibilia sunt: a privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria ¹⁰constructa esse: quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae; quippe, quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per ¹¹turpitudinem properabant. Sed libido ganeae, ceterique ¹²cultus, non minor incesserat: vescendi caussa, terra marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius, quam somni cupido esset; non famem, aut sitim neque frigus, neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia ¹³luxu antecapere. Haec juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant. ¹⁴Animus imbutus

malis artibus haud facile lubricibus carebat: eo profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque sumtui deditus erat.

XIV. ¹IN tanta tamque corrupta civitate, Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium ²flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam, quicumque impudicus, adulter, bona patria laceraverat; quique alienum aes grande conflaverat, ³quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret; praeterea, omnes undique parricidae, sacrilegi, ⁴convicti judiciis, aut pro factis iudicium timentes; ad hoc, ⁵quos manus atque lingua perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat; postremo, omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat; ii Catilinae ⁶proximi familiaresque erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus ⁷inciderat, quotidiano usu atque illecebris facile ⁸par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxime adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat: eorum animi molles et ⁹aetate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam, uti cujusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praebere; aliis canes atque equos mercari; postremo, neque sumtui, neque ¹⁰modestiae suae parcere, dum illos ¹¹obnoxios fidosque faceret.

XV. JAM primum adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat; ¹²cum virgine nobili, cum ¹³sacerdote Vestae, alia hujusmodi contra ¹⁴jus fasque. Postremo, captus amore ¹⁵Aureliae Orestillae, cujus, praeter formam, nihil unquam bonus laudavit; quod ea ¹⁶nubere illi dubitabat, timens ¹⁷privignum adulta aetate; pro certo creditur, ¹⁸necato filio, ¹⁹vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, ²⁰dis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis, neque quietibus sedari poterat; ²¹ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur ²²colos exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus incessus; prorsus in facie vultuque vecordia inerat.

XVI. ²³SED juventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis

testes signatoresque falsos commodare ; ²fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere ; post, ³ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat : si caussa pecandi in praesens minus suppetebat ; nihilo minus ⁴insontes, sicuti sontes, circumvenire, jugulare : scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent ⁵manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul ⁶quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, ⁷rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores, civile bellum exoptabant ; opprimundae reipublicae consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus : Cn. Pompeius in extremis ⁸terris bellum gerebat : ipsi ⁹consulatum petundi magna spes : ¹⁰senatus nihil sane intentus : tutae tranquillaeque res omnes : sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

XVII. Igitur circiter ¹¹Kalendas Junias, ¹²L. Caesare et C. Figulo consulibus, primo singulos adpellare : hortari alios, alios tentare : opes suas, imparatam rempublicam, magna praemia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt, quae voluit, in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxima necessitudo, et plurimum audaciae. Eo convenere, senatorii ordinis, P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sullae, Servii filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius : praeterea ex equestri ordine, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius : ad hoc multi ex ¹³coloniis et municipiis, ¹⁴domi nobiles. Erant praeterea complures paullo occultius consilii hujusce participes ¹⁵nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quam inopia, aut alia necessitudo. Ceterum juvenus pleraque, sed maxime nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat. Quibus in otio vel magnifice, vel molliter ¹⁶vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum, quam pacem, malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate, qui crederent ¹⁷M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse ; quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse

contra illius potentiam crescere ; simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

XVIII. SED ¹antea item conjuravere pauci contra rempublicam, in quibus Catilina ; de qua, quam verissime potero, dicam. ²L. Tullo, M. Lepido consulibus, P. Autronius et P. Sulla, ³legibus ambitus interrogati, ⁴poenas dederant. Post paullo Catilina, ⁵pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere, ⁶quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore ⁷Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandum rempublicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc, Catilina et ⁸Autronius, consilio communicato, parabant in ⁹Capitolio, ¹⁰Kalendis Januariis, ¹¹L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules interficere ; ¹²ipsi, ¹³fascibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas ¹⁴Hispanias mittere. ¹⁵Ea re cognita, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium caedis transtulerant. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. ¹⁶Quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die, post conditam urbem Romanam, pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res ¹⁷consilium diremit.

XIX. POSTEA Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam ¹⁸quaestor pro praetore missus est, adnitente Crasso, quod eum ¹⁹infestum inimicum ²⁰Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat : quippe foedum hominem a republica procul ²¹esse volebat : simul, quia boni ²²quam plures praesidium in eo putabant : et jam tum potentia Cn. Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso, ²³in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens occisus est. ²⁴Sunt qui ita dicant, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia, barbaros nequissime pati : alii autem, equites illos, ²⁵Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes, voluntate ejus Pisonem ²⁶adgressos ; numquam Hispanos ²⁷praeterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia saeva multa antea perpessos. Nos eam

rem in medio relinquemus. De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. CATILINA ubi eos, quos paullo ante memoravi, convenisse videt; tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen ¹in rem fore credens universos adpellare et cohortari, in abditam partem ²aedium secedit; atque ibi, omnibus ³arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujusmodi habuit. “Ni virtus fidesque vestra spectata mihi forent, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio, in manibus frustra fuissent: ⁴neque ego per ignaviam, aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis captarem. Sed, quia multis et magnis ⁵tempestatibus vos cognovi fortes fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus maxumum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere: simul, ⁶quia vobis eadem, quae mihi, bona malaque intellexi; ⁷nam idem velle atque nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed, ego quae mente agitavi, omnes jam antea ⁸diversi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cum considero, quae conditio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam, postquam respublica in paucorum jus atque ditionem ⁹concessit, semper illis reges, ¹⁰tetrarchae ¹¹vectigales esse; ¹²populi, nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, sine gratia, sine auctoritate, ¹³his obnoxii, quibus, si respublica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiae apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt: ¹⁴repulsas nobis reliquere, pericula, judicia, egestatem. Quae quousque tandem patiemini, fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem praestat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? ¹⁵Verum enim vero, pro deum atque hominum fidem! victoria nobis in manu: ¹⁶viget aetas, animus valet: contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. Tantum modo incepto opus est: ¹⁷cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas profundant ¹⁸in extruendo

mari et montibus coaequandis; nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? ¹illos binas, aut amplius, domos continuare; nobis ²larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Cum tabulas, signa, ³toeumata emunt; ⁴nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam ⁵trahunt, vexant: tamen ⁶summa lubidine divitias vincere nequeunt. At nobis domi inopia, foris aes alienum; ⁷mala res, spes multo asperior: denique, quid reliqui habemus, praeter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa, quam saepe optastis, libertas, praeterea divitiae, decus, gloria, in oculis sita sunt! fortuna omnia victoribus praemia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magna magis, quam oratio, hortentur. Vel imperatore, vel milite me utimini: neque animus, neque corpus a vobis aberit. Haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum consul agam; nisi forte animus fallit, et vos servire, quam imperare, parati estis."

XXI. POSTQUAM accepere ea homines, ⁸quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res, neque spes bona ulla; tamen etsi illis ⁹quieta movere, magna merces videbatur, tamen postulare plerique, uti proponeret, ¹⁰quae conditio belli foret; quae praemia armis peterent; ¹¹quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri ¹²tabulas novas, ¹³proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quae ¹⁴bellum atque libido victorum fert. Praeterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauritania cum exercitu ¹⁵P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes: petere consulatum ¹⁶C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem, et ¹⁷omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum: ¹⁸cum eo consulem initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc, ¹⁹maledictis increpat omnes bonos: suorum unumquemque nominans laudare: admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suae, complures periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt; cohortatus, ut ²⁰petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit.

XXII. FUERE ea tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habita, cum ad jusjurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, ¹humani corporis sanguinem, vino permixtum, in pateris circumtulisse; ²inde cum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, ³atque eo, dictitare, fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent, ⁴alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta haec, multa praeterea, existumabant, ab iis, qui ⁵Ciceronis invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res ⁶pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

XXIII. SED in ea conventionem fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus; quem censores senatu, probri gratia, ⁷amoverant. Huic homini non minor ⁸vanitas, quam audacia: neque reticere, quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare: ⁹prorsus neque dicere, neque facere, quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, ¹⁰vetus consuetudo: cui cum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians ¹¹maria montesque polliceri coepit; minari interdum ferro, nisi ¹²obnoxia foret; postremo ferocius agitare, quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, ¹³insolentiae Curii caussa cognita, tale periculum reipublicae haud occultum habuit; sed, ¹⁴sublato auctore, de Catilinae conjuratione quae quoque modo audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res imprimis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum ¹⁵M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea ¹⁶pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum ¹⁷credebant, si eum, quamvis egregius, ¹⁸homo novus adeptus foret. Sed, ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia ¹⁹postfuere.

XXIV. IGITUR, comitiis habitis, consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius; quod factum primo ²⁰popularis conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinae furor minuebatur: sed in dies plura agitare; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare; pecuniam, sua aut amicorum

fide ¹sumtam mutuam, Faesulas ad ²Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea ³princeps fuit belli faciundi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines ⁴adscivisse dicitur: mulieres etiam aliquot, ⁵quae, ubi aetas tantummodò quaestui, neque luxuriae, modum fecerat, aes alienum grande conflaverant: per eas se Catilina credebatur posse ⁶servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi, vel interficere.

XXV. SED in his erat ⁷Sempronia, quae multa saepe ⁸virilis audaciae facinora commiserat. Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea ⁹viro, liberis satis fortunata; litteris Graecis atque Latinis docta; ¹⁰psallere, saltare ¹¹elegantius, quam necesse est probae; multa alia, quae ¹²instrumenta luxuriae. Sed ei cariora semper omnia, quam decus atque pudicitia fuit: pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile decerneres. Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, ¹³creditum abjuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat. ¹⁴Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum: posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci: prorsus multae ¹⁵facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

XXVI. HIS rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minus in proximum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si ¹⁶designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum ¹⁷dolus, aut astutiae deerant. Namque, a principio consulatus sui, multa ¹⁸pollicendo per Fulviam, effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paullo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet. Ad hoc, collegam suum Antonium ¹⁹pacatione provinciae perpulerat, ²⁰ne contra rempublicam sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque ²¹clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies ²²comitiorum venit, et Catilinae neque petito, neque insidiae quas ²³consulibus in campo fecerat, prospere cessere; constituit bellum facere, et extrema omnia experiri,

quoniam quae occulte tentaverat, ¹aspera foedaque evenerant.

XXVII. IGITUR C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quemdam, Camertem, in agrum Picenum, ²C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit; praeterea alium alio, ³quem ubique opportunum credebat. Interea Romae multa simul moliri: consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus ⁴obsidere: ipse ⁵cum telo esse, ⁶item alios jubere: hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent: dies noctesque ⁷festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo, ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit, rursus ⁸intempesta nocte conjurationis principes convocat per ⁹M. Porcium Laecam: ibique, multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet, "se Manlium praemisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat; item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent; seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset: eum suis consiliis multum obficere."

XXVIII. IGITUR, perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, ¹⁰C. Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius, senator, constituere ¹¹ea nocte paullo post, cum armatis hominibus, ¹²sicuti salutatum, introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improvviso domi suae imparatum confodere. Curius, ubi ¹³intellegit quantum periculi consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam, dolum qui parabatur enunciat. Ita illi, janua prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul, ac dolore injuriae, novarum rerum cupidam, quod, Sullae dominatione, agros bonaque omnia amiserat; praeterea ¹⁴latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat; nonnullos ex ¹⁵Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

XXIX. EA cum Ciceroni nunciarentur, ¹⁶ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis ¹⁷privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus, aut

quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, ¹rem ad senatum refert, jam antea ²volgi rumoribus exagitata. Itaque, quod plerumque ³in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, DARENT OPERAM CONSULES, NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET. ⁴Ea potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxuma permittitur; exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coërcere omnibus modis socios atque civis; domi militiaeque ⁵imperium atque iudicium summum habere: aliter, sine populi jussu, ⁶nulli earum rerum consuli jus est.

XXX. Post paucos dies, L. Saenius, senator, in senatu litteras ⁷recitavit, quas Faesulis adlatas sibi dicebat; in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse, cum magna multitudine, ⁸ante diem sextum Kalendas Novembris. Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nunciabant; alii conventus ⁹feri, arma portari, Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. Igitur, senati decreto, ¹⁰Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam ¹¹circumque loca, missi: ii utrique ¹²ad urbem imperatores erant; impediti, ne triumpharent, ¹³calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. ¹⁴Sed praetores, Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum; iisque ¹⁵permissum, "uti ¹⁶pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent." Ad hoc, "si quis indicavisset de conjuratione, quae contra rem publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et ¹⁷sestertia centum; libero impunitatem ejus rei, et sestertia ducenta;" itemque, "uti ¹⁸gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuarentur, pro cujusque opibus: Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur, iisque ¹⁹minores magistratus praessent."

XXXI. QUIBUS rebus permota civitas, atque immutata urbis facies: ex summa laetitia atque ²⁰lascivia, quae ²¹diuturna quies pepererat, repente 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, reipublicae magnitudine, belli timor insolitus, ¹adficere sese; manus supplices ad coelum tendere; miserari parvos liberos; ²rogitare; omnia pavere; superbia atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriaeque diffidere. At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, ³tamen etsi praesidia parabantur, et ipse ⁴lege Plautia interrogatus ab L. Paulo. ⁵Postremo, dissimulandi causa, atque sui expurgandi, sicuti ⁶jurgio lacessitus foret, ⁷in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive ⁸praesentiam ejus timens, seu ira commotus, ⁹orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicae; ¹⁰quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed, ubi ille ¹¹adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu, voce supplicis postulare, "Patres conscripti ne quid de se temere crederent: ea familia ortum, ita ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ¹²ut omnia bona in spe haberet: ne aestumarent, sibi patricio homini, ¹³cujus ipsius atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita republica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, ¹⁴inquilinus civis urbis Romae." Ad hoc maledicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque ¹⁵parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus: "Quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, "ab inimicis praeceptus agor, ¹⁶incendium meum ruina restinguam."

XXXII. DEIN se ex curia domum proripuit; ibi multa secum ipse volvens; quod neque ¹⁷insidiae consuli procedebant, et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, ¹⁸optimum factum credens, exercitum augere, ac prius, quam ¹⁹legiones scriberentur, antecapere quae bello usui forent; ²⁰nocte intempesta ²¹cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, ceterisque quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes factionis confirmant, insidias consuli maturent, caedem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora parent: sese ²²prope diem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum. Dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius

¹ex suo numero ad Marcium Regem mittit, ²cum mandatis hujuscemodi.

XXXIII. “DEOS hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum ³homini faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent; qui miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate foeneratorum, ⁴plerique patriae, sed omnes fama atque fortunis, expertes sumus: neque cuiquam nostrum licuit, more majorum, ⁵lege uti, neque, amisso patrimonio, ⁶liberum corpus habere; tanta saevitia foeneratorum atque ⁷praetoris fuit. Saepe ⁸majores vestrum, miseriti plebis Romanae, decretis suis ⁹inopiae opitulati sunt: ac novissime, memoria nostra, propter magnitudinem aeris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, ¹⁰argentum aere solutum est. Saepe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbia magistratum, armata a patribus ¹¹secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum caussa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt: sed libertatem, quam ¹²nemo bonus, nisi cum anima simul, ¹³amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus; legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis: neve eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quaeramus, ¹⁴quonam modo uli maxume sanguinem nostrum pereamus.”

XXXIV. Ad haec Q. ¹⁵Marcus: “Si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur; ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit.” At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, praeterea ¹⁶optumo cuique, litteras mittit: “se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci; ¹⁷non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius; sed uti respublica quieta foret, neve ¹⁸ex sua contentione seditio oriretur.” Ab his longe diversas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditas dicebat: ¹⁹earum exemplum infra scriptum.

XXXV. L. CATILINA ¹Q. Catulo S. ²Egregia tua fides, re cognita, gratam in magnis periculis fiduciam commendationi meae tribuit. ³Quamobrem defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare; satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, ⁴quam, ⁵me dius fidius, veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod, ⁶fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus, ⁷statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi: non quin aes alienum ⁸meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem, cum alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillae, suis filiaeque copiis, persolveret: sed quod ⁹non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, meque ¹⁰falsa suspicione alienatum sentiebam. ¹¹Hoc nomine satis honestas, pro meo casu, spes reliquae dignitatis conservandae sum secutus. Plura cum scribere vellem, nunciatum est, vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo, tuaeque fidei trado: ¹²eam ab injuria defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. ¹³Haveto."

XXXVI. SED ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium Flammam ¹⁴in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem, antea sollicitatam, armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Haec ubi Romae comperta; senatus "Catilinam et Manlium hostes judicat; ceterae multitudini diem statuit, ante quam ¹⁵sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere, ¹⁶praeter rerum capitalium condemnatis." Praeterea decernit, "uti consules dilectum habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet; Cicero urbi praesidio sit." Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxime miserabile visum: cui cum, ad occasum ab ortu solis, omnia domita armis paterent; domi otium atque divitiae, quae prima mortales putant, adfluerent; fuere tamen cives qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque, ¹⁷duobus senati decretis, ex tanta multitudine, neque praemio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium

discesserat: ¹tanta vis morbi, uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. NEQUE solum illis ²aliena mens erat, qui conscii conjurationis; sed omnino cuncta plebes, novarum rerum studio, Catilinae incepta probabat. Id adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, ³quis opes nullae sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; ⁴turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana ⁵plebes, ea vero praeceptis ierat multis de causis. ⁶Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxime praestabant; item alii ⁷per dedecora patrimonii amissis; postremo omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat: ii Romam, ⁸sicuti in sentinam, confluerant. Deinde, multi memores Sullanae victoriae, quod, ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, uti ⁹regio victu atque cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis forent, ex victoria talia sperabant. Praeterea, juvenus, quae in agris, manuum mercede, inopiam toleraverat, ¹⁰privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerant. Eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum, homines egentis, malis moribus, maxuma spe, ¹¹reipublicae juxta ac sibi consuluisse. Praeterea, quorum, victoria Sullae, parentes proscripti, bona erepta, ¹²jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum expectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque ¹³aliarum atque senati partium erant, conturbari rempublicam, quam minus valere ipsi, malebant. ¹⁴Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.

XXXVIII. NAM, postquam, Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus, ¹⁵tribunicia potestas restituta; homines adolescentibus, ¹⁶summam potestatem nacti, quibus aetas animusque ferox, coepere, senatum criminando, plebem exagitare; dein, largiundo atque pollicitando, magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa

ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, ¹senati specie, pro sua magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis absolvam, per illa tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavere, ²honestis nominibus, alii, sicuti populi jura defenderent, pars, quo senati auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant: ³neque modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

XXXIX. SED, postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum ⁴maritimum atque ⁵Mithridaticum missus; ⁶plebis opes imminutae; paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere; ipsi ⁷innoxii, florentes, sine metu aetatem agere; ⁸ceteros judiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu ⁹placidius tractarent. Sed ¹⁰ubi primum dubiis rebus novandis spes oblata, ¹¹vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quod si primo praelio Catilina superior, aut ¹²aequa manu discessisset, profecto magna clades atque calamitas rempublicam oppressisset, neque illis, qui victoriam adepti, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et ¹³exsanguibus, qui plus posset, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere tamen ¹⁴extra conjunctionem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt: in his ¹⁵A. Fulvius, senatoris filius; quem, retractum ex itinere, ¹⁶parens necari jussit. Isdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se, aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solum civēs, sed cujusquemodi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret.

XL. IGITUR P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum requirat, eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli; existumans, publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea, quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia ¹⁷negotiatu, plerisque ¹⁸principibus notus erat, atque eos noverat: itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, ¹⁹percunctatus pauca

de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum, requirere coepit, "quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?" Postquam illos videt "queri de avaritia magistratum, accusare senatum quod in eo auxilii nihil esset; miseriis suis remedium mortem exspectare:" "at ego," inquit, "vobis, si modo viri esse vultis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis." Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maximam spem adducti Umbrenum orare, uti sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum, neque tam difficile, quin cupidissime facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit; quod foro propinqua, neque aliena consilii, propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Praeterea Gabinium arcessit, quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset: eo praesente conjurationem aperit; nominat socios, praeterea multos cujusque generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset; dein eos pollicitos operam suam dimittit.

XLII. SED Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae: at in altera majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe, certa praemia. Haec illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna reipublicae. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cujus patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis praecipit, studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur; dentque operam, uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant.

XLII. ISDEM fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia, motus erat. Namque illi, quos antea Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam cuncta simul agere: nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer praetor, ex senati consulto, caussa cognita, in vincula conjecerat; item in

ulteriore Gallia ¹C. Murena, qui ei provinciae ²legatus praeerat.

XLIII. AT Romae Lentulus, cum ceteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut ³videbantur, magnis copiis, ⁴constituerant, uti, Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis, concione habita, quereretur de ⁵actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissimi ⁶invidiam optumo consuli imponeret; eo signo, ⁷proxima nocte, cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequerentur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu ⁸duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem, ceterosque, quibus insidiae parabantur, fieret: Cethegus Ciceronis januam ⁹obsideret, eum vi adgrederetur, ¹⁰alius autem alium: sed ¹¹filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars, parentes interficerent; simul, caede et incendio percussis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter haec ¹²parata atque decreta, Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et ¹³dies 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, maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

XLIV. SED Allobroges, ex praecepto Ciceronis, per Gabinium ceteros ¹⁴conveniunt; ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio, postulant ¹⁵jusjurandum, quod ¹⁶signatum ad civis perferant: aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. ¹⁷Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant: Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paullo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum his T. Volturcium quemdam, ¹⁸Crotoniensem, mittit, uti Allobroges prius, quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina, data et accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum: "Quis sim, ex eo quem ad te misi, cognosces. ¹⁹Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te

virum ; consideres, quid tuae rationes postulent ; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis." Ad hoc, mandata verbis dat : " cum ab senatu hostis iudicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet ? in urbe parata esse, quae iusserit : ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere."

XLV. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte, qua profiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomtino, praetoribus, imperat, uti in ponte Mulvio, per insidias, Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant : rem omnem aperit, cujus gratia mittebantur : cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. Homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis collocatis, sicuti praecceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venere, et simul utrimque clamor exortus est ; Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine mora praetoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit ; dein, ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomtinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus, ac vitae diffidens, veluti hostibus, sese praetoribus dedit.

XLVI. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia prope per nuncios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere. Nam laetabatur, conjuratione patefacta, civitatem periculis ereptam esse : porro autem anxius erat, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus ; poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundae reipublicae credebatur. Igitur, confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item Q. Coeparium quemdam, Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt : Coeparius, paullo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio, ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens perducit ; reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, magnaue frequentia ejus ordinis, Volturcium cum legatis introducit : Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVII. VOLTURCIUS interrogatus “de itinere, de litteris, postremo ¹quid, aut qua de caussa, consilii habuisset?” primo fingere ²alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi fide publica dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit: “paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Coepario socium adscitum, nihil amplius scire, quam legatos: tantummodo ³audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea conjuratione esse.” Eadem Galli fatentur; ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt, praeter litteras, sermonibus, quos habere solitus: “ex ⁴libris Sibyllinis, regnum Romae ⁵tribus Cornelliis portendi: Cinnam atque Sullam ⁶antea; se tertium, cui fatum foret ⁷urbis potiri: praeterea ab ⁸incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis ⁹haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore.” Igitur, perlectis litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, “uti ¹⁰abdicatus magistratu Lentulus, item ceteri in ¹¹liberis custodiis haberentur.” Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spinttheri, qui tum ¹²aedilis, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius ¹³C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Coeparius (nam is paullo ante ex fuga retractus) ¹⁴Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

XLVIII. INTEREA plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quae primo, cupida rerum novarum, nimis bello favebat, mutata mente, Catilinae consilia exsecrari, ¹⁵Ciceronem ad coelum tollere: veluti ex servitute erepta, gaudium atque laetitiam agitabant. Namque alia belli facinora praedae magis, quam ¹⁶detrimento; ¹⁷incendium vero crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxime calamitosum putabat; ¹⁸quippe cui omnes copiae in usu quotidiano et cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem, quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is cum se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset; jussus a consule, quae sciret, edicere, eadem fere, quae Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de caede bonorum, de

itinere hostium, senatum edocet: praeterea, "se missum a M. Crasso, ¹qui Catilinae nunciaret, ²ne Lentulus, Cethegus, alii ex conjuratione deprehensi terrerent; eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum ³animos reficeret; et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur." Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summa potentia; ⁴alii, rem incredibilem rati; pars, tamen etsi verum existumabant, tamen, ⁵quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis leniunda, quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis ⁶obnoxii, conclamant, "indicem falsum," deque ea re postulant ⁷uti referatur. Itaque, consulente Cicerone, frequens senatus decernit: "Tarquini indicium falsum videri; eumque in ⁸vinculis retinendum, neque amplius ⁹potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem ¹⁰mentitus esset." Erant eo tempore, qui aestumarent, illud a P. Autronio machinatum, ¹¹quo facilius, adpellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone ¹²immissum aiebant, ne Crassus, ¹³more suo, suscepto malorum patrocinio, rempublicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea ¹⁴praedicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.

XLIX. SED isdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso, neque gratia, neque precibus, neque ¹⁵pretio, Ciceronem impellere potuere, uti per Allobroges, aut alium indicem, C. Caesar falso ¹⁶nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant; Piso ¹⁷obpugnatus in iudicio repetundarum, propter cujusdam ¹⁸Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus ¹⁹ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod, extrema aetate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab ²⁰adolescentulo Caesare victus discesserat. ²¹Res autem opportuna videbatur; quod privatim egregia liberalitate, ²²publice maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed, ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singulatim circumeundo, atque ementiundo, quae se ex Volturcio, aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent,

magnam illi invidiam conflaverant; usque eo, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui, praesidii caussa cum telis erant circum ¹Concordiae, seu periculi magnitudine, seu ²animi nobilitate impulsus, quo studium suum in rempublicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu ³Caesari gladio ⁴minitarentur.

L. DUM haec in senatu aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, praemia decernuntur; ⁵liberti, et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus, opifices atque servitia in ⁶vicis ad eum ⁷eripiendum sollicitabant; partim exquirebant ⁸duces multitudinum, qui pretio rempublicam vexare soliti: Cethegus autem, per nuncios, ⁹familiam atque libertos suos, exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, grege facto, cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu, ¹⁰refert, QUID DE HIS FIERI PLACEAT, QUI IN CUSTODIAM TRADITI ERANT. ¹¹Sed eos, paulo ante, frequens senatus judicaverat, CONTRA REMPUBLICAM FECISSE. ¹²Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore ¹³consul designatus erat, de his qui in custodiis tenebantur, praeterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat: isque postea, permotus oratione C. Caesaris, ¹⁴pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum se dixerat; quod de ea re, praesidiis additis, referendum censuerat. ¹⁵Sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum, rogatus sententiam a consule, hujuscemodi verba locutus est.

LI. "OMNIS homines, Patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ¹⁶ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia, vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa obficiunt; neque quisquam omnium ¹⁷lubidini simul et usui paruit. ¹⁸Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet: si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia memorandi, P. C. qui reges atque populi, ira, aut misericordia impulsus, male consulerint; sed ea malo dicere, quae majores nostri, contra

lubidinem animi, recte atque ordine fecere. ¹Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, ²Rhodiurum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quae populi Romani opibus creverat, ³infida atque advorsa nobis fuit : sed postquam, bello confecto, de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis, quam injuriae causa, bellum inceptum diceret, ⁴impunitos dimisere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, cum saepe Carthaginenses et in pace, et ⁵per inducias, multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi ⁶per occasionem talia fecere : magis, quid se dignum foret, quam quid ⁷in illis jure fieri posset, quaerebant. Hoc idem providendum est, Patres conscripti, ⁸ne plus valeat apud vos P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus, quam vestra dignitas ; neu magis irae, quam famae, consulatis. Nam si digna poenā pro factis eorum reperitur, ⁹novum consilium adprobo : sin magnitudo sceleris ¹⁰omnium ingenia exsuperat, iis utendum censeo, quae legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, ¹¹composite atque magnifice casum reipublicae miserati sunt : quae belli saevitia, quae victis acciderent, enumeravere ; divelli liberos a parentium complexu ; matres familiarum pati, quae victoribus collibuissem ; fana atque domos exspoliari ; caedem, incendia fieri ; postremo, armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis ! ¹²quo 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 injuriae suae parvae videntur : multi eas gravius aequo habuere. Sed ¹³aliis alia licentia, Patres conscripti. ¹⁴Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt ; fama atque fortuna pares sunt : qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. ¹⁵Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est : neque studere, neque odisse, sed minume irasci decet : quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, in imperio superbia atque crudelitas adpellatur.

Equidem ego sic aestumo, Patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores, quam facinora illorum, esse : sed plerique mortales postrema meminere, et in hominibus impiis sceleris obliiti de poena disserunt, si ea paullo severior fuit. D. Silanum virum fortem atque strenuum, certe scio, quae dixerit, ¹studio reipublicae dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam, aut inimicitias exercere ; eos mores, eam modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia non mihi crudelis, quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest ? sed aliena a republica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus, aut ²injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenae novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, cum, ³praesenti diligentia clarissimi viri, consulis, ⁴tanta praesidia sint in armis. De poena possumus equidem dicere id, quod res habet ; in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse ; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere ; ⁵ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortalis ! quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteretur ? an, quia ⁶lex Porcia vetat ? at aliae leges item condemnatis civibus animam non eripi, sed in exilium permitti jubent. An, quia gravius est verberari, quam necari ? quid autem acerbum, aut grave nimis in homines tanti facinoris convictos ? sin, quia levius ; ⁷qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere, cum eam in majore neglexeris ? ⁸At enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas reipublicae decretum erit ? ⁹Tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidit, quidquid evenerit : ceterum vos, Patres conscripti, quid ¹⁰in alios statuatis, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex ¹¹bonis orta sunt ; sed, ubi imperium ad ignaros, aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud exemplum ¹²ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedaemonii, ¹³devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros imposuere, qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primo coepere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare : ¹⁴ea populus laetari

et merito dicere fieri. Post, ubi paullatim licentia crevit juxta bonos et malos ¹lubidinosè interficere, ceteros metu terrere. Ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultae laetitiae gravis poenas dedit. Nostra memoria, victor Sulla cum ²Damasippum et alios hujusmodi, qui malo reipublicae creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? homines scelestos, factiosos, qui seditionibus rempublicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit. Nam, uti quisque domum, aut villam, postremo aut vas, aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita, quibus Damasippi mors laetitiae fuerat, post paullo ipsi trahebantur: neque prius finis jugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. ³Atque ego haec non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus, 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 audaciae umquam eguere: neque superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba, imitarentur. Arma atque ~~te~~ta militaria ab Samnitibus, ⁴insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumserunt: postremo, quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur: ⁵imitari, quam invidere bonis malebant. Sed, eodem illo tempore, Graeciae morem imitati, verberibus ⁶animadvertēbant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam respublica adolevit, et multitudine civium factiones valere, circumveniri innocentes, alia hujuscemodi fieri coepere; tum lex Porcia aliaeque paratae, quibus legibus exilium damnatis permissum. ⁷Hanc ego caussam, Patres conscripti, quo minus novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. ⁸Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea ⁹bene

parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti, et augeri exercitum Catilinae? minime: sed ita ¹censeo; ²publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos ³per municipia quae maxime opibus valent; ⁴ne quis de is postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat: qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare, eum contra rempublicam et salutem omnium facturum."

LII. POSTQUAM Caesar dicendi finem fecit, ⁵ceteri verbo, alius alii, varie adsentiebantur: at M. Porcius Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujuscemodi orationem habuit. " ⁶Longe mihi alia mens est, Patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero, et cum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo. ⁷Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriae, parentibus, ⁸aris atque focis suis, bellum paravere: res autem monet, cavere ab illis, ⁹quam, quid in illis statuamus, consultare. Nam ¹⁰cetera tum ¹¹persequere, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra ¹²judicia implores; capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortalis! vos ego adpello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, ¹³tabulas vestras pluris, quam rempublicam fecistis: si ista, cujuscumque modi sint, quae ¹⁴amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium praebere voltis; expergiscimini aliquando, et ¹⁵capessite rempublicam. ¹⁶Non agitur de vectigalibus, non de sociorum injuriis: libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. Saepenumero, Patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci; saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortalis ea causa advorsos habeo; ¹⁷qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubricini malefacta condonabam. Sed, ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen respublica firma; ¹⁸opulentia negligentiam tolerabat. Nunc vero non id agitur, bonis an malis moribus vivamus; neque quantum, aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani: ¹⁹sed, cujus haec cumque modi, nostra, an nobiscum una, hostium futura sint. ²⁰Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et

misericordiam nominat? jam pridem equidem nos vera rerum vocabula amisimus; quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitas; malarum rerum audacia, fortitudo vocatur: ¹eo respublica in extremo sita. Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes ²in furibus aerarii: ³ne illis sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. ⁴Bene et composite C. Caesar paullo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, falsa. credo, existumans, quae de inferis memorantur; diverso itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, foeda atque formidolosa ⁵habere. Itaque censuit PECUNIAS EORUM PUBLICANDAS, IPSOS PER MUNICIPIA IN CUSTODIIS HABENDOS; ⁶videlicet timens, ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis, aut ⁷a multitudine conducta, per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe, et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores. ⁸Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium, si periculum ex illis metuit: sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert mihi atque vobis timere. Quare, cum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus conjuratis discernere. ⁹Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit: si paullulum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt. Nolite existumare, majores nostros ¹⁰armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrumam eam nos haberemus: quippe sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum major nobis copia, quam illis. Sed alia fuere, quae illos magnos fecere, ¹¹quae nobis nulla sunt; domi industria, foris justum imperium, ¹²animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto, neque lubidum obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; ¹³publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum; omnia ¹⁴virtutis praemia ambitio possidet.

Neque mirum; ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae, aut gratiae servitis: eo fit, ut impetus fiat in ¹vacuam rempublicam. Sed ego haec omitto. Conjuravere nobilissimi cives patriam incendere: Gallorum gentem infestissimam nomini Romano ad bellum arcessunt: dux hostium ²supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiam nunc, quid intra moenia ³adprehensis hostibus faciatis? ⁴Misereamini censeo; deliquere homines adolescentuli, per ambitionem; atque etiam armatos dimittatis. ⁵Ne, ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam vertet. ⁶Scilicet res aspera est; sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxume; sed inertia et mollitia animi, alius alium exspectantes cunctamini, dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maxumis saepe periculis servavere. Non votis, neque ⁷suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo, ⁸prospera omnia cedunt: ubi secordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequidquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros, T. Manlius Torquatus ⁹bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverit, necari jussit; atque ille egregius adolescens immoderatae fortitudinis morte ¹⁰poenas dedit: ¹¹vos de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini? ¹²Videlicet vita cetera eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit: ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiae, ¹³nisi iterum patriae bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Coepario loquar? quibus ¹⁴si quidquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de republica habuissent. Postremo, Patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis; sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget: alii intra moenia, in sinu urbis sunt hostes: ¹⁵neque parari, neque consuli quidquam occulte potest; quo magis properandum. Quare ita ego censeo: cum

nefario consilio sceleratorum civium respublica in maxima pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturcii, et legatorum Allobrogum, convicti confessique sint, caedem, incendia, alia foeda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse; de confessis, sicuti de ¹manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum, supplicium sumendum."

LIII. POSTQUAM Cato adsedit, consulares omnes, itemque senatus magna pars, sententiam ejus laudant, ²virtutem animi ad coelum ferunt; alii alios increpantes timidos vocant; Cato magnus atque clarus habetur; senati decretum fit, ³sicuti ille censuerat. ⁴Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quae populus Romanus, domi militiaeque, mari atque terra, praeclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, ⁵quae res maxime tanta negotia sustinisset. Sciebam, saepenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse: cognoveram, parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc, saepe fortunae violentiam toleravisse; facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa ⁶agitanti constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus respublica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac, ⁷veluti effoeta parente, multis tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit. Sed, memoria mea, ingenti virtute, divorsi moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato, et C. Caesar; quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio praeterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

LIV. IGITUR his ⁸genus, ⁹aetas, eloquentia, prope aequalia fuere; magnitudo animi par, item ¹⁰gloria; sed ¹¹alia alii. Caesar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur; integritate vitae Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus: ¹²huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Caesar dando, sublevando, ¹³ignoscendo; Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus. In altero miseris per-

fugium ; in altero malis perniciēs : ¹illius facilitas ; hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremo, Caesar ²in 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. ³At Catoni studium modestiæ, decoris, sed maxime severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque ⁴factione cum factioso ; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente ⁵abstinentia certabat : ⁶esse, quam videri, bonus malebat : ita, quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis sequebatur.

LV. POSTQUAM, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optimum factum ratus, noctem, quæ instabat, antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, ⁷triumviros, quæ supplicium postulabat, parare jubet : ipse, dispositis praesidiis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit : idem fit ceteris per praetores. Est ⁸locus in carcere, quod ⁹Tullianum adpellatur, ubi paullulum ¹⁰escenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper ¹¹camera, lapideis fornicibus vincta : sed ¹²incultu, tenebris, odore, foeda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus Lentulus, ¹³quibus praeceptum erat, ¹⁴laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius, ex clarissima gente Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitum vitae invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Coepario, eodem modo supplicium sumtum.

LVI. DUM ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ¹⁵ex omni copia, quam et ipse adduxerat, et Manlius habuerat, ¹⁶duas legiones instituit ; cohortes, pro numero militum, complet : deinde, ut quisque voluntarius, aut ex sociis in castra venit, aequaliter distribuerat ; ac brevi spatio legiones ¹⁷numero 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, ¹⁸sparos, aut lanceas,

alii ¹praeacutas sudas portabant. Sed, postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montes iter facere, ad urbem modo, modo ²in Galliam versus, castra movere; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare; sperabat prope diem ³sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, ⁴cujus initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus; simul ⁵alienum suis rationibus existumans videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

LVII. SED, postquam in castra nuncius pervenit, Romae 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, ⁶in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte perfugerent in ⁷Galliam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat, ⁸ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans, quae supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra prope movet, ac ⁹sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat; ¹⁰utpote qui magno exercitu, locis aequioribus ¹¹expeditus, in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam videt ¹²montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugae, neque ¹³praesidii ullam spem; optimum factum ratus in tali re fortunam belli tentare, statuit cum Antonio quamprimum configere. Itaque, concione advocata, hujusmodi orationem habuit.

LVIII. "COMPERTUM ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere; neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum, oratione imperatoris, fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura, aut ¹⁴moribus, inest, tanta in bello patere solet: quem neque gloria, neque pericula, excitant, nequidquam hortere; timor animi auribus obfcit. Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi; simul uti

¹causam consilii aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, secordia atque ignavia Lentuli ²quantam ipsi cladem nobisque attulerit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc quo in loco res nostrae sint, juxta mecum omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, ³unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia, obstant: diutius in his locis esse, ⁴si maxume animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiendum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis; et, cum praelium inibitis, memineritis, vos divitias, decus, gloriam, praeterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta, commeatus abunde, coloniae atque municipia patebunt: sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fiunt: neque locus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. Praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet: nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus; ⁵illis supervacaneum est pugnare pro potentia paucorum. Quo audacius adgredimini, memores pristinae virtutis. Licuit nobis, cum summa turpitudine, in exilio aetatem agere: potuistis nonnulli Romae, amissis bonis, alienas opes exspectare. Quia illa foeda atque intoleranda ⁶viris videbantur, haec sequi decrevistis. Si ⁷relinquere voltis, audacia opus est: nemo, nisi victor, pace bellum mutavit. ⁸Nam in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma, ⁸quis corpus tegitur, ab hostibus averteris, ⁹ea vero dementia est. Semper in praelio maxumum est periculum, ¹⁰qui maxume timent: audacia pro muro habetur. Cum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vestra aestumo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. Animus, aetas, virtus vestra hortantur; praeterea necessitudo, quae etiam timidos fortis facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae. Quod si virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit, cavete, ¹¹inulti animam amittatis; neu capti potius, sicuti pecora, trucidemini, quam, virorum more pugnantes, cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis."

LIX. HAEC ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus, signa canere jubet, atque ¹instructos ordines in locum aequum deducit: dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus, exaequato periculo, animus amplior esset, ipse ²pedes exercitum, ³pro loco atque copiis, instruit. ⁴Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montis, et, ab dextra, rupes aspera, octo cohortis in fronte constituit: ⁵reliqua signa in subsidio artius collocat. ⁶Ab his centuriones omnis lectos, et ⁷evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextera, ⁸Faesulanum quemdam sinistra parte curare jubet: ipse cum ⁹libertis et colonis ¹⁰propter aquilam adsistit, quam, bello ¹¹Cimbrico, C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex altera parte C. Antonius, ¹²pedibus aeger, quod praelio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas ¹³tumulti caussa conscripserat, in, fronte; post eas, ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. ¹⁴Ipsa equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans adpellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint, se contra latrones ¹⁵inermos, pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis, ¹⁶cernere. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta ¹⁷tribunus, aut ¹⁸praefectus, aut legatus, aut praetor cum magna gloria fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat: ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

LX. SED ubi, rebus omnibus exploratis, Petreius ¹⁹tuba signum dat, cohortis paullatim incedere jubet; idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum, unde a ²⁰ferentariis praelium committi posset, maximo clamore cum infestis signis concurrunt; ²¹pila omittunt; gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinae virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare: illi haud timidi resistunt: maxuma vi certatur. ²²Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis accessere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem ferire: strenui militis, et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam, con-

tra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, ¹cohortem praetoriam in medios hostis inducit ; eos perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit ; deinde utrimque ex lateribus adgreditur. Manlius et Faesulanus ²in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias, seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinae dignitatis, in confertissimos hostes incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXI. SED, confecto praelio, tum vero cerneret, quanta audacia, quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. Nam fere, quem quisque pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amissa anima, corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos cohors praetoria disjecerat, ³paullo diversius, sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paullulum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens. Postremo, ex omni copia, neque in praelio, neque in fuga, quisquam ⁴civis ingenuus captus. ⁵Ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae juxta pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus : nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in praelio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui de castris, visundi, aut spoliandi gratia, processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem, aut cognatum reperiebant : fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum ⁶laetitia, moeror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

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EXPLANATORY NOTES.



NOTES

TO THE

JUGURTHINE WAR.

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1. *Falso queritur*, &c. "Mankind complain without reason of their nature." *Falso*, literally, "falsely," "erroneously."—Sallust has been justly blamed for the introductions to his histories. They have little if any relation to the subject which they are intended to usher in, and are too discursive and long.

2. *Quod imbecilla*, &c. "That, being weak and of short duration, it is influenced more by chance, than by the exertion of intellect."—*Imbecilla* agrees with *natura*. The less usual form of this adjective is *imbecillis*.—*Virtute* is here equivalent to *virtute animi*.

3. *Nam contra*. "For, on the contrary."

4. *Invenias*. "You will find, I think."—The subjunctive is here employed to convey a softened assertion, indicative of modesty on the part of the writer, and not of any doubt in his mind on the subject which he is discussing. So *crediderim* is frequently used, in the sense of "I am inclined to believe."

5. *Magisque naturae*, &c. "And that active exertion is more wanting to the nature of men, than ability or duration," i. e. than additional power or an enlarged period of existence.—*Naturae nominum* is equivalent to *hominum*, "And that man stands more in need of," &c.

6. *Sed dux atque imperator*, &c. A refutation of those who maintain, that human nature is influenced more by chance than by any exertion of the mental powers.—*Sed* may be rendered "Now."—*Dux atque imperator*. "The director and ruler." *Imperator* rises in force of meaning above *dux*. The former means literally, "commander in chief," whereas *dux* means the highest of the inferior officers, having himself an important command. These are here applied to one and the same objects, for the purpose of showing the all-controlling power of the mind.

7. *Grassatur*, "Aspires." Literally, "moves boldly on."

8. *Pollens potensque*. "Powerful and vigorous." *Pollens* refers here to innate strength, *potens* to its exercise.

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9. *Quippe probitatem, &c.* "Since it (i. e. fortune) can neither give, nor take away, integrity, activity, nor other praiseworthy qualities." *Industria* here means an active exercise of our abilities.—The student will notice the use of *artis* for *artes* Sallust is very much attached to this form of the accusative, *omnis* for *omnes*, *popularis* for *populares*, &c. It is called an archaism, (a term generally applied to the use of antiquated or obsolete forms of expression,) though not very correctly, since the termination in *is* would seem to have been most commonly employed in the best ages of Latinity. The common grammatical rule is, that nouns, whose genitive plural ends in *ium*, have *es*, *is*, or *eis*, in the accusative plural.

10. *Ad inertiam et voluptatis corporis, &c.* "It has been assigned to the destructive bondage of sloth and corporeal gratifications." The literal meaning of *pessum* appears to be "down," "to the bottom," "under foot." Hence *pessumdo* literally means, "to send or throw to the bottom," and then figuratively, "to ruin or destroy."—*Voluptatis* is put for *voluptates*. See previous note.

11. *Perniciosa lubidine, &c.* In rendering, begin with *ubi*, "when, after it has enjoyed for a season this destructive indulgence," &c.

12. *Suam quisque culpam, &c.* "The authors of these evils transfer each to affairs the blame that is their own." They allege in extenuation of their mental inactivity, that the affairs to which they had directed their attention proved too difficult of accomplishment.

13. *Quod si hominibus, &c.* "But if mankind were inspired with as great a regard for things conducive to their welfare, as is the zeal with which they seek after," &c.—*Aliena*, "things foreign to their nature."

14. *Neque regerentur, &c.* "They would not be more controlled by, than they would themselves control, the chances of fortune."

15. *Ubi, pro mortalibus.* "In which, as far as is consistent with mortal lot." *Pro mortalibus*, literally, "for mortals." Equivalent to *quatenus mortalibus fas est*.

16. *Genus humanum.* "Man."

17. *Sequuntur.* "Partake of."

18. *Praeclara facies.* "Personal beauty."—Literally "a fine face," or "exterior."

19. *Dilabuntur.* "Insensibly leave us."—Literally, "steal away." "drop off."

20. *Ingenii egregia facinora.* "The splendid exertions of intellect."—*Facinus* denotes a bold or daring action, and unless it be joined with a favourable epithet, or the action be previously described as commendable, the term is always to be understood in a

vituperative sense. In the present passage, the epithet *egregius* marks the character of the action as praiseworthy. Page. 1

21. *Corporis et fortunæ bonorum.* "Of the advantages of person and fortune."

1. *Agit atque habet cuncta, &c.* "Controls and sways all things, and is itself controlled by none." After *habetur* understand *ab ullo* (scil. *negotio*). 2

2. *Quo magis pravitas, &c.* "On which account the depravity of those is the more to be wondered at," &c.

3. *Incultu.* "Through want of culture."

4. *Artes animi.* "Mental employments."

5. *Ex his.* "Of these employments of mind." Understand *artibus animi*.

6. *Omnis cura, &c.* "All charge of public affairs," or "every office of administration." Of these offices, *magistratus* are of a civil, *imperia* of a military nature.

7. *Quoniam neque virtuti, &c.* "Since, neither, on the one hand, is the honour, that is its due, rendered to merit, nor are they, on the other, who have obtained authority by unfair means," &c.—The allusion in *fraudem* is to bribery and other unworthy and degrading practices.

8. *Parentes.* "Subjected states." From *pareo*, "to obey," and having the first syllable long. In *parentes*, "parents," it is short.—The word occurs again in the first chapter of this history.

9. *Delicta corrigas,* "may rectify abuses."—*Importunum,* "a perilous task." Literally, "without a harbour," or place of safety from the storm.

10. *Fatigando.* "After all one's exertions." Understand *se*, which in some editions is expressed.

11. *Quem.* For *aliquem*.—*Lubido*, an archaism for *libido*.

12. *Gratificari.* "Of sacrificing." i. e. *Tanquam rem gratam devovere*.—More usual Latinity would require *gratificandi*; but Sallust is fond of unusual forms of expression.

13. *Quæ ingenio exercentur.* "Which form the exercise of the mind." Literally, "which are exercised upon by the mind."

14. *Memoria rerum gestarum.* "The recording of past events." i. e. historical composition.—*Virtute.* "Excellence."—*Praetereundum.* Understand *esse mihi*.

15. *Per insolentiam.* "From a feeling of vanity." *Insolentia*, strictly, is unusual or altered conduct, as when the head is turned with vanity and self-conceit.—*Studium laudando.* "By praising my own profession," i. e. of an historian. Before *extollere* understand *me*.

16. *A republica.* "From all participation in public affairs."

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17. *Certe, &c.* Supply the ellipsis as follows: "*Hi certe hoc facient, quibus,*" &c.

18. *Salutare plebem.* "To court the favour of the populace." Referring to the acts of candidates in electioneering for office, going around, addressing in a friendly manner, shaking hands with voters, &c.

19. *Quibus temporibus.* Sallust obtained the office of quæstor, which entitled him to a seat in the senate, at the age of twenty-seven, a few years after the conspiracy of Catiline, and while the state was thrown into the greatest confusion by the acts of Clodius and his followers. He was made tribune of the commons six years after, on which occasion, according to some authorities, Cato was his competitor, but, according to others, when he was made prætor. To his success over Cato the historian alludes in the words *quales viri, &c.* If this competition occurred for the office of prætor, he had no great reason to be proud of his success, since he obtained that magistracy entirely through the interest of Cæsar.

20. *Merito.* "On good grounds."—*Judicium animi mutavisse.* "Have altered my determination."—*Aliorum negotiis.* "The active employment of others."

21. *Q. Maximum.* Quintus Fabius Maximus, the well-known opponent of Hannibal.—*P. Scipionem.* The elder Africanus, who conquered Hannibal in the battle of Zama.—*Solitos.* Understand *esse.*

3

1. *Imagines.* Among the Romans, those whose ancestors, or who themselves had borne any curule office, that is, had been consul, prætor, censor, or curule ædile, were called *nobiles*, and had the right of making images of themselves, which were kept with great care by their posterity, and exhibited only at funerals or on solemn occasions. These images were nothing more than the busts or effigies of the individuals, down to the shoulders, made of wax, and painted. They were placed in the *atrium*, or hall, of the Roman house, enclosed in wooden cases.

2. *Scilicet non ceram illam, &c.* We must here resolve *scilicet* into its component members (*scire licet,*) and construe as follows: *Scire licet non ceram illam, &c. habere.* "We may well suppose that neither the mere wax of which they were made, nor the form it had assumed, possessed such power in themselves."

3. *Eorum.* "Of the former." Referring to their ancestors, and depending in construction on *famam* and *gloriam.* With *virtus* supply *sua ipsorum,* "their own merit." Sallust here argues in favour of history, as a means of exciting to noble and praiseworthy actions, by its recounting the deeds of former days:

4. *His moribus.* "Amid the corruption of the day," i. e. *Amid*

these manners that are now prevalent.—*Quin contendat*, “who does not seek to vie.” *Quin* is here equivalent to *qui non*.

5. *Homines novi*. “Men of humble origin.” Literally, “new men.” Those who were the first of their family that had raised themselves to any curule office, were called among the Romans, *homines novi*, in allusion to their recent admission among the nobility.

6. *Furtim et per latrocinia*. “By private intrigue and open fraud.” The acts of peculation, and official plunder, of which the Roman magistrates were so frequently guilty, are here stigmatized, and they are spoken of as actually affording the means for farther advancement in the state. Sallust himself is open to this charge.—After *potius* we have rejected from the text, with some of the best editions, the words *quam bonis artibus*, as the idea is sufficiently expressed by *per virtutem* which precedes.

7. *Ac non perinde habeantur*. “And are not to be estimated according to the merit of those who fill them.” *Ac* is more frequently employed after *perinde* than *ut*. But its occurrence at the beginning of the clause prevents its being again employed on the principle of euphony.

8. *Liberius altiusque*. “Too freely and too far.” Compare remarks under note 1, page 1.—*Redeo*. Put here for *eo*, i. e. *venio*, the compound for the simple. “I now come to my subject.”

9. *Jugurtha*. Consult Historical Index.—*Numidarum*. Numidia answers in some measure to the modern *Algiers*. Consult Geographical Index.

10. *Atrox*. “Bloody.”—*Variæque victoria fuit*. “And the success was various,” i. e. and marked by various turns of fortune; victory inclining sometimes to the side of the Romans, and then again to that of Jugurtha.

11. *Obviam itum est*. “Successful opposition was made.”—*Divina et humana cuncta*. “All things religious and civil,” i. e. the whole state.—*Studiis civilibus*, “to the dissensions of the state,” or simply, “civil dissensions.” With *faceret* understand *solum* or *tantum*, “only.”

12. *Pauca supra repetam*. “I will take a brief review.”

13. *Quo, ad cognoscendum, &c.* “In order that all things may be clearer, and placed in a more distinct point of view, for the purpose of being thoroughly understood.” *Ad cognoscendum*, literally, “for the knowing of them.” The gerund, according to the grammarians, is here taken in a passive sense. The change of meaning, however, is rather owing to the idiom of modern languages, as appears from the literal force of *ad cognoscendum*.

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14. *Bello Punico secundo*. Consult Historical Index, for an account of the Punic wars, and also for some mention of the Carthaginians, Hannibal, and Masinissa, under their respective heads.—*Post magnitudinem nominis Romani*. “Since the Roman name became illustrious.”

15. *Cui postea Africano, &c.* The term *Africano* is here put in the dative by attraction to the dative of the person. In rendering the clause, *Africano* must be taken as equivalent to *Africani* or *Africanus*. Thus, *Est mihi nomen Joanni*, “my name is John;” for *Est mihi nomen Joannis*, (or *Joannes*.)

16. *Praeclara rei militaris facinora*. “Brilliant military exploits.” Consult note 4, page 2.—*Syphace*. Consult Historical Index. The proper name *Syphax* is said to have the penult of the genitive common. It is on the contrary always long, for the line in Claudian (*Bell. Gild.* 91.) where the short quantity occurs, “*Computimus dirum Syphacem, fractumque Metello*,” is now altered in the best editions, after a conjecture of Barth’s, and we read *Hanibalem* for *Syphacem*.

17. *Regi*. Referring to Masinissa.

18. *Imperii vitaeque ejus, &c.* The grant of the Romans ceased with the life of Masinissa. His son Micipsa reigned merely over that part of Numidia which had originally belonged to his parent. Cirta, and the portion of Numidia which Syphax had possessed, were formed into a Roman province. Hence *imperii* in the text refers to the empire of Masinissa in its full extent, embracing what he had received from the Romans.

4

1. *Absumtis*. “Being carried off.”

2. *Eodem cultu, &c.* “He reared at home in the same way as he did his own children.” *Cultus* here has reference to every thing connected with the rearing of youth. It may be rendered more literally by the term “education.” Thus, “he kept at his court, and trained up by the same system of education,” &c.

3. *Luxu*. The old dative for *luxui*.—*Corrumpendum*. “To be corrupted by them.” Literally, “for a corrupting by means of them.” Understand *illis* in the ablative, and consult note 13, page 3.

4. *Equitare, jaculari, &c.* “He engaged in feats of horsemanship, he learned to throw the lance,” &c. The infinitive is here put for the imperfect of the indicative, a practice of which Sallust is perhaps fonder than any other writer. Grammarians term it the *historical infinitive*, as being principally used in historical narratives. In order to give an air of rapidity and animation to the sentence. This construction is usually explained by an ellipsis of *coepit* or *coe-*

perunt, which may often be supplied; in other cases, however, it will not accord with the sense. 4

5. *Et, cum omnis gloria anteiret.* "And though he surpassed all in reputation." *Omnis* is put for *omnes*. Consult note 9, page 1.—*Esse*, for *erat*. Consult note 4. So also we have in this same sentence, *agere* for *agebat*, *ferire* for *feriebat*, *facere* for *faciebat*, and *loqui* for *loquebatur*.

6. *Hominem adolescentem.* "The young man." Sallust, by a species of archaism (note 9, p. 1.) here uses *adolescens*, with *homo* expressed, as a verbal adjective. *Adolescens* is, strictly speaking, a verbal, and means "one growing up."—*Exacta sua aetate.* "His own age being far advanced."

7. *Magis magisque crescere.* "Increased more and more in reputation." *Crescere* is here the ordinary infinitive, preceded in construction by *hominem adolescentem*.

8. *Avida imperii, &c.* "Eager after power, and hurried headlong to the gratification of its ruling propensity." *Animi cupidinem* is an archaism for *cupidinem* alone.—*Opportunitas suaeque, &c.* "The favourable opportunity afforded by his own and the age of his children, a circumstance which leads even moderate men astray by the hope of self-aggrandizement."

9. *Seditio.* "Insurrection."—*Bellum.* "War," i. e. civil war—*Anxius.* "Apprehensive."

10. *Popularibus.* "To his countrymen."

11. *Numantino.* Consult Geographical Index.—*Cum mitteret.* "Being engaged in sending."—*Ostentando virtutem.* "In ostentatiously displaying his valour."—*Saevitia.* "By the furious bravery."

12. *Impigro atque acri ingenio.* "Of a quick and penetrating turn of mind."—*P. Scipionis.* The younger Africanus, called also Aemilianus.—*Morem hostium.* "The mode of fighting practised by the enemy."

1. *Quorum alterum.* Referring to his being wise in council.—*Adferre.* "To generate." 5

2. *Res asperas.* "Difficult enterprises."—*Agere* for *agebat*; so *habere* for *habebat*, and *amplecti* for *amplectebatur*. This peculiarity in Sallust's style need no longer be noted by us. The student will easily discover it himself. (Consult note 4, page 4.)—*Magis magisque &c.* "He became more and more attached to him every day."

3. *Munificentia animi, &c.* "A generosity of spirit and shrewdness of intellect."—*Quis* for *quibus*.

4. *Potiores.* "Possessed of more charms."—*Domi.* "At home," i. e. at Rome.—*Apud socios clari magis quam honesti.* "Men ra-

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5 ther of note among our allies, than really possessed of integrity." Equivalent to *magnam potius quam bonam famam habentes*.

5. *Non mediocrem animum*. "The ambitious spirit."

6. *Romae omnia venalia esse*. Meaning that he could purchase, if he pleased, the kingdom of Numidia from the Romans, after the death of Micipsa. The power of Jugurtha's bribes will be seen in the course of the narrative.

7. *Reverti*. An archaism for *reverti*.—*Praetorium*. "The general's tent," i. e. his own (Scipio's) tent. The name of *praetor* was anciently common to all the Roman magistrates, and, in its primitive acceptation, means a commander, or general. (*Is qui praet jure et exercitu*. Varro.) The term *praetorium* is often used to denote not only the tent of the commander, but also the space around for his retinue and body-guard; not, however, in this passage.

8. *Publice, quam privatim*. "Publicly rather than privately," i. e. by public services, rather than by private interest.—*Quibus for aliquibus*.—*Periculose a paucis emi*, &c. Implying that the kingdom of Numidia belonged to the whole Roman people, and not to a few of the nobility. That if he sought to obtain it from the latter by bribery, he would only be exposing himself to danger.

9. *In suis artibus*. "In the exercise of those abilities which he possessed."—*Utro*. "Of their own accord," i. e. without any exertion on his part.—*Properantius*. "Too eagerly," i. e. should attempt to expedite his elevation to the throne by bribery.

10. *Pro nostra amicitia*. "As a friend." Literally, "in consideration of our mutual friendship."

11. *Igitur rex*, &c. "The king, therefore, when he learned from the general's letter, that the things which he had heard from rumour were true." *Ita esse*, equivalent to *ita esse uti acceperat*. "Were so as he had heard."—*Cum virtute viri*, &c. "Strongly influenced both by the merit of the man, and his popularity with the Romans."

6 1. *Cum Jugurtha*. The presence of the preposition marks the familiar nature of the address to Jugurtha, which approached in fact to a conversation.

2. *In meum regnum*. "Into my kingdom," i. e. as one of my heirs. In this assertion of Micipsa there was evidently no truth, and Jugurtha himself, as appears from the beginning of the next chapter, viewed it in this light.—*Existumans non minus*, &c. "Thinking that I would be no less dear to you, than to my own children, in case I should become the father of any." According to this declaration of Micipsa, he adopted Jugurtha before he had any offspring of his own. The want of truth in this assertion speaks for itself.

3. *Neque ea res falsum habuit.* Understand *me.* "Nor did that expectation deceive me." *Falsum habuit* is equivalent to *sefellit.*—*Tua.* Understand *facta,* in the sense of "exploits."

4. *Gloria honoravisti.* "Thou hast decked with glory."—*Nomen familiae renovatum.* "The name of our family has been revived." It had been previously rendered illustrious by the exploits of Massinissa.

5. *Per regni fidem.* "By the fidelity you owe my kingdom," i. e. as received into a share of it, and made one of its members. Alluding to his adoption, and the obligation he was consequently under of aiding and defending the throne.—*Beneficio meo.* "By my kindness towards you." Alluding to his having adopted him.—*Alienos.* "Strangers."

6. *Non exercitus, &c.* This beautiful idea is borrowed from the dying speech of Cyrus, in Xenophon, *Cyrop.* s. 7, 14.—*Officio et fide.* "By kind offices, and by the exercise of fidelity."—*Quis autem.* "Now, who."—*Amicior.* Understand *debet esse.*—*Tuis.* "To your own relations."

7. *Dilabuntur.* "Fall gradually to ruin."

8. *Ne aliter quid eveniat.* "That nothing may happen contrary to my wishes," i. e. literally, "otherwise than I could wish."—*Opulentior.* "The more powerful." This term literally means, "powerful in resources," *pollens opibus.*—*Colite, observate.* "Cherish, respect."—*Hunc.* The pronoun indicates the proximity of Jugurtha to the couch of the dying monarch.—*Sumpsisse.* "To have adopted." The more usual, but less accurate, form, is *sumpsisse.*

9. *Ficta.* "Insincerely." Literally, "mere fictions."—*Pro tempore, &c.* "Gave an affectionate answer, suited to the occasion." *Pro tempore,* literally, in consideration of the occasion.

1. *Justa.* "His obsequies." Understand *funera.* We have it expressed in *Caesar. B. G. 6, 19, Justis funeribus confectis.*—*Reguli.* "The princes." Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha. The term *regulus* is here employed, not so much with reference to their age, as to the division of the kingdom among them. It denotes properly "a petty monarch."—*Minimus.* "The youngest." Understand *natu.*

2. *Ferox.* "Violent."—*Ignobilitatem Jugurthae.* "The ignoble birth of Jugurtha." *Quia materno genere impar erat.* "Because his origin was base on the mother's side." Literally, "because he was unequal, or inferior," &c. The allusion is to Jugurtha's having been born of a concubine.

3. *Dextra Adherbalem adsedit.* "Sat down on the right hand of Adherbal." The accusative *Adherbalem* is governed by *ad* in com-

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7 position. *Dextra* is here equivalent to a *dextra*.—*Fatigatus a patre*. “Being wearied out by the importunities of his brother”—*In partem alteram*. “To the opposite side.”

4. *Cum multa dissererent*. “In the midst of a long discussion.”—*Jacit*. “Throws out the remark,” i. e. proposes.—*Rescindi*. “Should be repealed.”—*Parum animo valuisse*. “Had not been strong in mind.” His judgment had been impaired by age and sickness, according to Jugurtha.

5. *Ipsum illum*. Referring to Jugurtha.—*Quod verbum, &c.* “This remark sank more deeply into the bosom of Jugurtha,” &c.—*Ira et metu anxius*. “Distracted with rage and fear.”—*Moliri*. “He plotted.”—*Parare*. “He contrived.”—*Tardius*. “Too slowly,” i. e. *tardius quam voluerat*. “More slowly than he wished.”

6. *Propter dissensionem*. “To prevent mutual disputes.”—*Maturius*. “First.” Literally, “sooner.”—*Loca propinqua thesauris*. It seems to have been the custom with the monarchs of that land to keep the royal treasures in several strongholds. Thus, in the 37th chapter of this history, the town Suthul is mentioned, as having been employed for that purpose; in the 75th chapter, Thala; in the 92d chapter, a castle is spoken of; and Strabo finally calls *Capsa*, τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον τοῦ Ἰουγούρθα.

7. *Proximus lictor*. “Chief lictor.” i. e. chief attendant. The lictors went before those whom they attended, one by one, in a regular line. The foremost was called *lictor primus*, and the hindmost, who immediately preceded the magistrate, was called *lictor proximus*, or *postremus*, and used to receive and execute the commands of the individual on whom he attended. Masinissa had been allowed by the Roman senate to assume the badges of curule magistracy, in consideration of his valuable services. In this way, lictors became a part of the retinue of the Numidian monarchs. Some, however, suppose that Sallust merely uses the term *lictor* on this occasion in accordance with the custom of other Roman writers, who applied terms, which only suited the institutions of their own country, to the customs and usages of other nations.

8. *Quem ministrum*. “Which tool.”—*Clavis adulterinas*. “False keys.” *Clavis* for *claves*. The gates of the house, not, as some maintain, of the city, are meant.—*Venturum*. To the city namely, where Hiempsal was residing.

9. *Diversi*. “In different directions.” Literally, “taking different routes.”—*Occursantes*. “Meeting them.”—*Strepitu et tumultu*. “With uproar and confusion.”—*Tugurio mulieris ancillae*. “In an obscure apartment, belonging to a maid-servant.” *Tugu-*

rium is here employed to denote a mean or poor apartment, such as slaves were lodged in. With regard to the expression *mulieris ancillae*, it may be remarked, that *ancilla*, strictly speaking, is an adjective, and is so used by the older writers, whom Sallust here imitates: not, however, by those of a later age.

1. *Omnisque*. For *omnesque*.—*In duas partis discedunt*. “They separate into two parties.” *Partis* for *partes*.—*Illum alterum*. “The other,” i. e. Jugurtha. The pronoun *ille* here represents, by a species of archaism, the definite article, which the Latin language wants.

2. *Partim vi*, &c. “Some by force, others of their own consent.” *Partim*, here used in the sense of *alias*, and elsewhere in Sallust for an adverb, is in fact the old accusative of *pars*, for the later form *partem*, and governed by *quod ad*, or *secundum*, understood.

3. *Tamen etsi*. An archaism for *tametsi*.

4. *In provinciam*. “Into the Roman province.” i. e. the territory of Carthage, which the Romans, after the death of Massinissa, on whom they had bestowed it for the period of his life, formed into a province.

5. *Jugurtha, patris consiliis*. After this in some editions we have *postquam omni Numidia potiebatur*. This, however, is entirely superfluous, and is already implied in *patris consiliis*.

6. *Quis*. For *quibus*.—*Uti expleant*. “To satisfy fully.”—*Quemcumque possint*, &c. “To gain over whomsoever they can by dint of bribery.” Some editions read *quaecumque*, &c. “To accomplish whatever they can,” &c. The reading in the text, however, is more animated and forcible.

7. *Abiisque*. “And to others,” namely, of the nobility.—*Auctoritas*. “Influence” in the senate.—*Invidia*. “Odium.”—*In gratiam et favorem*. “Into the good graces and favour.”

8. *Singulos ex senatu ambiundo*. “By going around to each individual of the senate,” i. e. by a personal application to the senators individually.—*Ne gravius in eum consuleretur*. “That too severe measures should not be taken against him.”

9. *Senatus*. “An audience on the part of the senate.”

10. *Procuratore*. “In the administration of it.”—*Ceterum jus et imperium*, &c. “That the rightful sovereignty, however, was vested in you.” Literally, “that the right and sovereignty,” &c.

1. *Cognatorum*. “Of kindred.”—*Adfinium*. “Of relatives.” *Cognati* are relations by the father's side, *Agnati*, on the mother's side; *Adfines*, by marriage. Compare *Taylor's Elements of the Civil Law*, p. 314 *seq.*, and *Hill's Synonyms*, p. 61.

2. *Habere*. Some editions read *habiturum esse*. The present,

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9 however, is more forcible, and carries with it an air of greater certainty.—*Cum agitare*. “While I was zealously acting in accordance with.” The student will note the peculiar force of the frequentative.—*Et jam ab stripe*, &c. “And even by my very lineage the ally and friend,” &c. i. e. the hereditary ally and friend.

3. *Atque ego*, &c. The general idea, intended to be conveyed by this whole passage, is as follows: I could have wished, conscript fathers, since I was destined to be plunged into this misery, that I might have been able to implore your aid, rather on account of my own services, than those of my ancestors; and above all, that I might have merited the gratitude of Rome, without needing her protection; or that, in case I did stand in need of it, I might have received it as my due. As, however, innocence is of itself but a weak defence, &c.

4. *Vellem*. To be rendered as if *voluisset*.—*Mca*. “Services that I might have rendered.”—*Ob majorum beneficia*. “On account of any rendered by my ancestors.”—*Ac maxime*. “And above all.”—*Deberi mihi*. “That favours might have been owing to me.”—*Secundum ea*. “Next to this,” or, more freely, “in the next place.” Equivalent to *secundo loco quibus*. Some editions read *secundum* with a comma after it, separating it from *ea*. *Secundum* will then mean “in the next place,” and *ea* be joined in construction with *desideranda essent*.

5. *Neque mihi in manu fuit*, &c. “Nor was it in my power to form the character of Jugurtha.” Literally, “to effect what kind of person Jugurtha should be.” After *foret* the verb *efficere* may be understood, although this is not necessary, since the clause, *qualis foret Jugurtha*, may be regarded as the subject nominative to *fuit*.

6. *Quo tempore*, &c. This refers to the Romans, who were, at the time to which the prince alludes, engaged in an important and difficult war with the Carthaginians, and might be faithful, but could not, when their resources were thus pre-occupied, prove very efficient allies. *Ejus* refers to *populo Romano*.

7. *Quorum progeniem*. Supply *me*. *Quorum* refers to *familia*, a collective noun, and to the idea of *maiores* implied in it.—*Nihil causae*. “No other plea.”—*Deformatus aerumnis*. “Forlorn and wretched.”

8. *Tamen erat*. “Still it were.” *Erat* is here used instead of *esset*, to denote more of certainty by means of the indicative.—*Neque cujusquam*, &c. “And that the kingdom of no one should increase in power, by the commission of crime.” There is no need of understanding, as some do, the verb *pati* after *neque*.

9. *Vos in mea injuria, &c.* "You are treated with contempt in the injustice that is done me." *Despicere* always implies that the person despising thinks meanly of the person despised, as compared with himself. *Contemnere* denotes the absolute vileness of an object.

10. *Potissimum.* "Of al. others."

11. *Semperne in sanguine, &c.* "Shall we always be exposed to the horrors of bloodshed, to the sword, to exile?"—*Incolumes* "Powerful." Literally, "safe," i. e. from Roman power and dominion.—*Jure.* "As a matter of course." Equivalent to *jure necessitatis.*

1. *Illa pestis.* "That plague." Referring to the Carthaginians. 10
—*Pacem agitabamus.* The frequentative is frequently employed by Sallust for the simple verb to give more fulness to the style. *Agitabamus* is here put for *agebamus.*—*Quis* for *quibus.*—*Quem jussissetis.* "Him, whom you might have ordered us to regard as such."

2. *Sese efferens.* An archaism for *sese efferens*, and this equivalent to *elatus*, "hurried away."—*Atque eodem.* "And who was at the same time."

3. *Isdem.* An archaism for *iisdem.*—*Nihil minus, quam, &c.* "Expecting nothing so little as violence or war, in a country subjected to your authority."

4. *Extorrem patria, &c.* The student will note the imitation of the Greek idiom, in which Sallust here indulges. *Effecit me extorrem, &c., ut essem,* instead of *effecit uti ego nihil minus quam, &c. exspectans, sicuti videtis, extorris patria, domo, inops, coopertus miseris, ubi vis tutus quam in regno meo essem.*

5. *Multum laborem suscipere.* "Undertook an arduous task." The prince now enters on the following argument:—If my ancestors embraced the friendship and alliance of Rome, not from motives of indolence, nor from a wish to lead an easy and inactive life, but well knowing, on the contrary, how many arduous labours they would have to perform, and how much would be expected from them by the Roman state as a proof of their fidelity; and if they rendered all these services, and gave all these proofs of their sincerity and attachment; surely I, their descendant, have some right to expect both commiseration and aid at your hands.

6. *Quod in familia nostra fuit, &c.* "What was in the power of our family to perform, it did; that it might aid you, namely, in all your wars." Our idiom requires the past tense of the indicative; "it aided you in all your wars."

7. *Tertium.* "On becoming a third," by adoption.—*Alterius.*

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10 Referring to Jugurtha. Some editions have *alter*, referring of course to the speaker.

8. *Generis praesidia*, &c. "All the supports of my family are cut off."—*Naturae concessit*. "Has paid the debt of nature." Literally, "has yielded to nature," i. e. to the universal law of nature.

9. *Quem minime decuit*. "Whom such a deed least of all became," i. e. who should have been the last to do it. The clause refers to *propinquus*, not to *fratri*.

10. *Adfines, amicos*, &c. "One disaster has crushed one, another has crushed another, of my relatives, my friends, the rest of those who were near to me." Sallust is very fond of the construction with *alius*. It must be repeated in translating.

11. *Pars . . . acti*. An instance of the figure which grammarians call *synesis*, where the adjective, participle, &c. refer to the person or persons implied by a word, and do not agree in gender with the word itself. *Acti*, in this clause, and *objecti*, in the next, refer to *adfines, amici*, and *propinqui*, and agree with them in gender.

12. *Exigunt*. "Drag out."—*Necessariis*. "Friendly." *Necessaria* are here opposed to *adversa*, and denote those acts of kindness and affection which we are *necessarily* led to expect from those who are connected with us by the ties of consanguinity. And hence the term *necessitudo* is used for relationship or any intimate connexion. Adherbal expected from Jugurtha the kindness and affection of a brother, but only met with acts of hostility.

13. *Nunc vero*, &c. This is an instance of what the logicians call the argument *a fortiori*. Even though I had not been stripped of my kingdom and all my resources, remarks Adherbal, still, if any unexpected injury had been done me, I would have implored your aid. How much more ought I to implore it now, when an exile and a beggar!

14. *Omnium honestarum rerum*. "Of all things suitable to my rank."

15. *Ob vestram amicitiam*. "On account of your friendship towards us," i. e. our alliance with you.—*Majorum meorum*, &c. "Very many a memorial of the hostilities committed by my forefathers," i. e. committed by them against the neighbouring nations in furtherance of the Roman power.

11 1. *Postremo, Masinissa*, &c. A new argument. I cannot obtain any aid from other powers; and even if I could, the injunctions of my father Masinissa would not permit me to do so. He taught us to look to you for aid in all our difficulties. It is yours therefore to

render the assistance which I claim, and the more so too, as you are fully able to afford it.

2. *Una nobis occidendum esse.* "That we must fall along with it."

3. *Magni estis, &c.* "You are become a great and powerful people." *Opulentus* is here equivalent to *opibus potens*.—*Omnia secunda, &c.* "All things prosper with you, and are obedient to your sway," i. e. all your undertakings are crowned with success, and every thing yields to your power.

4. *Quos put for aliquos.*—*Parum cognita.* "Ill understood by them." Referring to their ignorance of Jugurtha's real character, and hinting that he only wishes to make tools of them in furthering his own views, and screening himself from punishment.—*Transvorsos.* "Astray," i. e. from the path of duty and honour.

5. *Fatigare.* "Are importuning."—*Fingere me verba.* "That I feign what I say," i. e. that my grievances are all pretended.—*Cui licuerit manere.* "When I might have remained."

6. *Quod utinam, &c.* "But would that I may see." The use of *quod* before many conjunctions, &c., merely as a copulative, appears to have arisen from the fondness of the Latin writers for the connexion by means of relatives.

7. *Ne.* "Yes!" The more usual form is *nae*, from the Greek *ναι*.—*Qui nunc sceleribus suis, &c.* "Who is now emboldened by, and glories in, his crimes."

8. *Jam jam, frater, &c.* The mention of his brother in the previous sentence, reminds him of all that brother's misfortune, and he bursts forth therefore into an invocation full of the strongest feeling.—*Regnum.* Understand *tantum* or *tantummodo*. So in Greek, *μόνον* is often omitted after the particles *οὐ* and *μη*, and must be supplied in translating.

9. *Rerum humanarum.* "Of the instability of human affairs."—*An regno consulam.* "Or consult for the welfare of my kingdom," i. e. by making peace with the usurper, save my subjects from the horrors of a war.—*Cujus vitae necisque, &c.* "Since my own life or death depends entirely on the aid which I am soliciting from others," i. e. since I have no other quarter from which to expect even personal safety but the Roman power; while, on the other hand, I am every moment in dread of death from the violence of Jugurtha.

10. *Emori.* "A speedy death." The infinitive here supplies the place of a noun, or, more correctly speaking, is employed in its true character. For this mood, partaking of the nature of a noun, has been called by grammarians the "verb's noun," (*ὄνομα ρηματος.*)

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- 11 The reason of this appellation is more apparent, however, in Greek from its taking the prepositive article before it in all cases; as τὸ γράφειν, τοῦ γράφειν, τῷ γράφειν. The same construction is not unknown in English. Thus Spenser:—

“For not to have been dipped in Lethe lake,
Could save the son of Thetis from to die.”

11. *Neu jure contemptus*, &c. “And that I might not appear a just object of contempt.” Cortius reads *vivere* instead of *jure*, and makes it equivalent to *viverem*, regarding *viderer* as a mere appendage to the sentence, in imitation of the Greek idiom, where words that refer literally to what *appears* to be the case, are sometimes taken in the sense of reality, and refer to what is actually the case; such as φαίνω, δέκω, &c. Other editions have *vere*.

12. *Neque vivere lubet*. “Life neither possesses any charms.”—*Ite obviam injuriae*. “Set your faces against injustice.”—*Tabescere*. “To fall by degrees to ruin.” A metaphor borrowed from the effects of a wasting malady on the human frame. The guilt of Jugurtha is to prove, if unchecked by Roman power, a corroding canker, that will consume by degrees all the prosperity of Numidia.

- 12 1. *Caussa*. “The justice of their cause.”—*Sacvitiam*. “Cruelty.”—*Ultero*. “Without any provocation.”—*Quod injuriam*, &c. “Because he had not been able to commit the wrong that he intended.”—*Alium ac*. “Other than.”—*Utrique*. “Both parties,” i. e. Adherbal and Jugurtha’s ambassadors.

2. *Gratia depravati*. “Corrupted by their influence.” *Pars... depravati*, by synesis. Consult note 11, page 10.—*Virtutem* “The merit.”—*Gratia, voce*. “By private influence, by openly opposing the measure.”—*Pro alieno scelere*, &c. “They strove to screen the crime and infamy of another, as if in support of their own reputation.”

3. *Carius*. Agreeing with *aequum*, the nearer noun.—*Censebant*. The verb *censeo* is specially applied by the Roman writers to a senator’s expression of opinion in debate.—*Aemilius Scaurus*. Consult Historical Index.—*Famosam impudentemque*. “The notorious and barefaced.” *Famosam* is here equivalent to *de qua multa fama erat*.—*Polluta licentia*. “This gross corruption.”—*Invidiam*. “Public odium.” Popular resentment.—*A consuetudine libidine*. “From its accustomed cupidity.”

4. *Qui*. Referring to *senatorum*, as implied in *pars*.—*Decem legati*. “Ten commissioners.”—*Obtinuerat*. “Had possessed.”—*L. Opimius*. For this, and the other names that occur in the clause, consult Historical Index.—*Acerrime victoriam*, &c. “Had made

a very cruel use of the victory gained by the nobility over the commons." According to Plutarch, not less than three thousand of the lower orders were slain on this occasion. (*Vit. Gracch.* c. 18.)

5. *Adcuratissime*. "With the most studied respect."—*Famae, fide*. Some editions read *fama*, an old form for *famae*, the dative. We have given the regular form for the dative at once. *Fide* is by an archaism for *fidei*.

6. *Mauretanium*. Consult Geographical Index.—*Illam alteram*. "The other." *Illam* is here used, by an archaism, with the force of the Greek article.—*Specie, quam usu, potiozem*. "Better in appearance than reality."

7. *Res postulare videtur*. "My subject here seems to require of me."—*Attingere*: "To touch slightly upon," i. e. to give a brief account.—*Asperitatem*. "The difficulty of travelling." Literally, "the wildness or ruggedness of the country."—*Minus frequentata sunt*. "Are less frequented." Curtius takes *frequentata sunt* in the sense of *habitata sunt*. The other meaning, however, appears, upon a careful examination of the passage, to agree better with the context.

1. *De is haud facile, &c.* "Of these I cannot easily speak with any degree of certainty." *Is* by an archaism for *is*.—*Absolvam*. "I will despatch." 13

2. *In partem tertiam, &c.* "Have reckoned Africa as a third part." Literally, "have set down Africa for a third part." Some read *in parte tertia*. But the best manuscripts are in favour of the other lection, and the literal translation we have given shows its propriety.—*Pauci tantummodo, &c.* Understand *voluerunt*, or else *posuerunt*. Varro is one of those who make but two divisions of the ancient world. His words are: "*Ut omnis natura in coelum et terram divisa est, sic coelum in regiones, terra in Asiam et Europam.*" (*L. L.* 4.)

3. *Ea finis habet*. "It has for its boundaries." *Finis* for *fines* Sallust, having been governor of Numidia, was well acquainted with the general outlines of Africa, as far as that country was known to the Romans. His account, however, of the early history of the people of Africa is of no value whatever, nor does he appear to have believed it himself.

4. *Fretum nostri maris et oceani*. "The strait connecting our sea with the ocean." The straits of Gibraltar are here meant, called by the Romans *fretum Gaditanum* or *Herculeum*. The Mediterranean was styled *mare nostrum* by the Latin writers, from the circumstance of the Italian peninsula projecting into it.

5. *Declivem latitudinem*. "A wide sloping tract." Consult Geographical Index.—*Mare saevum, importuosum*. "The sea of Af-

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13 rica is tempestuous, and ill-supplied with harbours." The term *importuosum* apparently contradicts the expression *portuosior*, applied at the close of the preceding chapter to the part of Numidia assigned by the Roman commissioners to Adherbal: there, however, it only means "better provided with harbours" than the part given to Jugurtha, without meaning to convey the idea that they were many in number.

6. *Arbori infecundus*. Understand *ferendae* or some equivalent term. *Arbori* is put for *arboribus*.—*Coelo, terra, &c.* "From the sky, from the earth, there is a scarcity of water," i. e. rain seldom falls, and the rivers and springs are few in number.—*Genus hominum*. "The natives." Literally, "the race of men," (i. e. that inhabit it.)—*Dissolvit*. "Gradually carries off."—*Malefici generis*. "Of a hurtful kind."

7. *Quamquam ab ea fama, &c.* "Although it differs from that account which is the prevalent one among most persons; still, as it has been explained to us out of the Punic volumes, which were said to have been those of king Hiempsal, and as the inhabitants of that land deem the fact to be, I will relate in as brief a manner as possible. The truth of the narrative, however, shall rest with the authors of it." Whatever these books may have been, it does not appear that the information derived from them by Sallust was of the most accurate character. (Compare note 3.)

8. *Gaetuli et Libyes*. For these and other names occurring in the course of this account, consult the Historical, or Geographical Index, as the case may be.—*Qus*. For *quibus*.—*Humi pabulum*. "The herbage of the ground."—*Vagi, palantes*. "Without any fixed habitation, wandering to and fro."

9. *Hercules*. All this is a mere fable.—*Sibi quique*. "Each for himself." *Quique* is put *quoque*, and *petente* is in fact understood, though not translated.—*Dilabitur*. "Melts away."

10. *Intra oceanum magis*. "More upon the ocean," i. e. nearer the ocean. According to this account, which, however, is purely fabulous, they settled on the coast of Africa, without the straits of Gibraltar, where the land, bending outward, appears to be embraced by the Atlantic, and, as it were, folded in its arms. Hence the literal meaning of the text is, "more within the ocean."

11. *Emundi, aut mutandi*. "Of obtaining it by purchase or exchange." Referring to the timber.—*Ignara lingua*. "An unknown language," i. e. an ignorance of the language spoken in that country.—*Commercia*. "All traffic."

14 1. *Tentantes agros*. "In trying the pasturage."—*Numidas*. The etymology here given is of no value whatever. If the name

Numidae really denote a pastoral people, and be derived from *νόμη*. ("pasture,") as Sallust supposes, it must have been given to the people who bore it by the Greeks, among whom the term *Νομάδες* was applied to pastoral nations in general. Le Clerc (*ad Genes.* 10, 6.) derives the appellation *Numidae* from the Phoenician *Nemoudim*, "wanderers."

2. *Mapalia*. This term appears to be analogous to our English word "huts." The Numidian *mapalia* were constructed of reeds and other similar materials, according to Silius Italicus (17, 88.) From Sallust's description they would seem to have resembled the dwellings of many barbarous tribes of the present day. The ancient writers make mention also of Numidian *magalia*. According to some, the *magalia* were fixed abodes, forming villages and towns; whereas the *mapalia* were moveable dwellings, and were carried about on wagons according as this nomadic race changed their place of residence. *Mapalia* has the first syllable short, but *magalia* long. Servius makes the true orthography of the latter *magaria*, and derives the word from the Phoenician *magar*, equivalent as he informs us, to the Latin "*villa*."

3. *Incurvis lateribus tecta*. Formed of sloping sides meeting at the top in a roof. — *Carinae*. "The hulls."

4. *Sub sole magis*. "More under the sun," i. e. nearer the equator.—*Ab ardoribus*. "From the heats of the torrid zone."—*Hique*. Referring to the Medes and Armenians united with the Libyans.—*Freto*. "Merely by a strait." Understand *tantum*.

5. *Mauros pro Medis adpellantes*. This etymology is of no value. Bochart, with more probability, deduces the name *Mauri* from the Phoenician *Mauharim*, meaning "the farthest people," for after the Mauri came the Western ocean.

6. *Nomine Numidae*. "Under the name of Numidians." Their new name.—*Propter multitudinem*. "In consequence of an overflowing population."—*Quae, proxume Carthaginem*. "Which, lying in the immediate vicinity of Carthage." The student will note the construction, *loca, quae . . . appellatur*. The relative here agrees with the following word in the singular, in place of that verb being put in the plural. It is the usual practice of Cicero to connect the relative in agreement or gender with a following word. Some grammarians term this the Greek construction.

7. *Utrique*. Referring to the parent state of the Numidians, and to the colony that went forth from it.—*Hi, qui ad nostrum, &c.* Referring to the colony alone.—*Quia Libyes, &c.* The reason assigned by Sallust for the more rapid growth and the greater reputation of the colony is, that they encountered in the Libyans a foe of

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14 no great power and of no very warlike habits. Hence they soon made themselves conspicuous by the conquest of these. Whereas the parent state, though it had become in some degree united with the Gaetuli by intermarriage, yet still found in many tribes of that nation very powerful opponents, who prevented by their continual hostilities any very rapid increase of national strength. It will be perceived that Sallust, in the course of this history, makes the Gaetuli a distinct people from the Numidians, so that the union to which he refers could not have been a very strong or extensive one.

8. *Pars inferior*. Referring to the part "nearer the sea," i. e. the shores of the Mediterranean.—*Concessere*. "Became merged."—*Imperantium*. "Of their conquerors." The *imperantes* are the members of the colony, the *victi omnes* are the Libyans.

9. *Originibus*. "To their parent states," i. e. the cities of Phœnicia, from which the colonies that founded them had come.

10. *Ad Catabathmon*. "Beginning with the Catabathmus." More literally, "On the side of the Catabathmus." The Catabathmus, it will be remembered, was made, in the 17th chapter, the eastern limit of Africa, by which arrangement Egypt became part of Asia.—*Secundo mari*. "And following the seacoast."

11. *Thereôn*. The Greek genitive plural (Θηραιων) Latinized, and put for the more common Latin form *Theraeorum*. The Thereans were the natives of Thera. Consult Geographical Index.

12. *Leptis*. The city of *Leptis Magna* is here meant. The one alluded to in the beginning of the chapter is *Leptis Parva*.

13. *Philaenôn arae*. "The altars of the Philaeni." We have here the Greek genitive plural (Φιλαίνων) again Latinized. An account of the Philaeni, and the manner of their death, is given in the 79th chapter of this history.—*Quem*. Understand *locum*.

14. *Post*. "After this," put for *postea*.—*Super Numidiam*. "To the south of Numidia," i. e. *above* Numidia in an inland direction.—*Alios incultius vagos agitare*. "That others, being in a less civilized state, led a wandering life." *Agitare* is put for the simple verb *agere*, to give a fuller sound to the clause, a practice very common in Sallust.

15. *Aethiopas*. The Aethiopes, according to our historian, would seem to have occupied the central parts of Africa from east to west.

16. *Pleraque ex Punicis oppida*. The more usual form would be *pleraque ex Punicis oppidis*. The Greek idiom is here imitated.—*Quos novissime habuerant*. "Of which that power had been latest possessed." Referring to the territories of the Carthaginians just before their overthrow by the Romans. *Habuerant* applies to the Carthaginians, not to the Romans.

1. *Imperitabat*. For the simple verb *imperabat*. Consult note 14, page 14.—*Cetera*. “In all other respects.”

2. *Timorem animi*. An archaism for *timorem a* one.—*Praemia sceleris*. “The rewards of his guilt,” i. e. impunity, and the half of Numidia, instead of the third part.—*Certum ratus*. “Deeming that to be a fact.”—*Apud Numantiam*. “Before Numantia,” i. e. in the Roman camp before that place.—*Animum intendit*. “He directs his views.”

3. *Quem petebat*. “At whom he aimed,” i. e. whom he was preparing to attack.—*Opportunus injuriae*. “A fit subject for injustice,” i. e. on whom injuries might be inflicted without any danger.

4. *Convertit*. Supply *cursum suum*, or something similar.—*Dolore permotum*. “Stung with indignation.” The primitive meaning of *dolor* is the smarting sensation attendant on a wound. It becomes therefore a strong term when applied to the moral feelings.—*Eamque rem belli causam fore*. Jugurtha hoped that Adherbal would be crushed by him before the Romans could interfere, and that then he could easily buy off the resentment of the latter.

5. *Contumeliosa dicta*. “An insulting reply.” *Contumelia*, whence the adjective is formed, generally denotes a direct and studied insult, and is somewhat analogous, in this respect, to the Greek ἕβρις.—*Quia tentatum antea, &c.* “Because, when tried on a former occasion, it had eventuated otherwise than he had expected,” i. e. it had not succeeded according to his expectations, (*cesserat secus ac speraverat*.)

6. *Animo jam invaserat*. “He had already grasped in thought.”—*Qua pergebat*. “Wherever he marched.” *Qua* for *quacunque*.—*Praedas agere*. This expression is properly applied to that species of booty which can be driven off, such as cattle, flocks, &c. In the case of inanimate plunder the verb *ferre* is employed. Hence the common phrase in Latin, *agere et ferre hostilia*; in the Greek, ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν.

7. *Eo processum*. “That matters had come to such a pass.”—*Necessario*. Equivalent to *necessitate coactus*, and implying that Adherbal only took up arms because absolutely forced so to do. The term *necessario*, therefore, does not appear superfluous in this passage, as some contend.—*Die extremum*. We have here the old form of the genitive singular of *dies*, instead of *diei*. Compare the words of Priscian:—“*Veteres frequentissime inveniuntur similem ablativo protulisse in hac declinatione (scil. quinta) tam genitivum quam dativum.*” (7, 19.)

1. *Obscuro etiam tum lumine*. “The light (of the approaching 16

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16 day) being still as yet obscure."—*Partim*. "Some."—*Togatorum* "Of Romans." Referring to the Romans (whether natives of Rome or provincials enjoying the rights of citizenship) who were dwelling at Circa for commercial or other purposes. The Romans, from their use of the *toga*, were called *gens togata*, or simply *togati*. The Greeks, from their wearing the *pallium*, were denominated by the Romans, *palliati*, or *gens palliata*; and the Gauls, from their use of the *braccae*, a species of striped under-garments, *gens braccata*.

2. *Vineis*. The *vineae* were machines in the form of sheds, and constructed of wood and hurdles, covered with earth or raw hides, or any materials which could not easily be set on fire. They were pushed forward by wheels below. Under them the besiegers either worked the ram, or tried to undermine the walls.—*Turribusque* The *turres*, or towers, were of two kinds; fixed and moveable. The fixed towers were raised on the *agger*, or mound, and consisted of different stories, from which showers of darts and stones were discharged by means of engines called *catapultae*, *balistae*, and *scorpiones*. The moveable towers were pushed forward and brought back on wheels, fixed below, on the inside of the planks. To prevent them from being set on fire by the enemy, the towers, both fixed and moveable, but more particularly the latter, were covered with raw hides, and pieces of coarse cloth, and mattresses.

3. *Tempus legatorum antecapere*. "To anticipate the return of the ambassadors."—*Tres adolescentes*. Curtius thinks that these words are a mere gloss, and ought to be removed from the text. The opinion does not seem very probable, as a copyist would in all likelihood have added any thing else rather than these particular words. Compare also chapter 25, where it is stated that *maiores natu, nobiles, amplis honoribus*, were sent as ambassadors. *Tres adolescentes*, therefore, is in the manner of Sallust.

4. *Velle et censere*. "That it was their wish and determination." The formal language used on such occasions. *Velle*, "to will a measure," properly applies to the people, and *censere*, "to determine, after mature deliberation," to the senate.—*Seque illisque*. *Se* refers here to the senate and people, *illis* to Jugurtha and Adherbal.

5. *Clemens*. "A mild one," i. e. softening down the atrocity of the act.—*Oratione*. "The embassy."—*Non malitia*. "Not by any evil arts." Jugurtha craftily endeavours to call off the attention of the Roman ambassadors from his recent crimes, by referring to his former meritorious conduct.—*Ob easdem artis*. "That, from the exercise of the same good qualities."—*Non penuria*. "Not from any want."—*Adoptatum*. This remark of Jugurtha apparently contradicts what has already been said in chapter 10, *existu-*

mans non minus me tibi quam liberis, si genuissem, &c. but it will be remembered that Jugurtha, although taken into Micipsa's family when very young, and before that monarch had any children of his own, was not actually *adopted* until three years before Micipsa's death, when the latter had sons who were grown up.

6. *Neque recte, neque pro bono.* "Neither justly nor for their own interests."—*Sese.* Referring to Jugurtha. In strict Latinity, if a second subject be introduced, *se* refers to that subject, and *is* should be used for the first. This rule is neglected, however, in some instances, where no ambiguity can arise. Thus, in the present case, *sese* can only refer to Jugurtha, and in no way to the Romans.

7. *Utrique digrediuntur.* "They each separate," i. e. the ambassadors and Jugurtha.—*Copia non fuit.* The ambassadors had no opportunity afforded them."

1. *Vallo.* In besieging a place, the Roman mode, which Jugurtha here imitates, was to draw lines composed of a rampart and ditch, and sometimes a solid wall of considerable height and thickness, flanked with towers, at proper distances, around the whole.—*Turris.* Fixed towers are here meant. Consult note 2, page 16

2. *Formidinem.* "What was calculated to alarm."—*Prorsus intentus.* "Wholly bent on the object he had in view."

3. *Hostem infestum.* "That his enemy was implacable against him," i. e. was bent on his ruin.—*Miserando casum suum.* "By exciting their compassion for his own hard lot."—*Confirmat.* "He prevails on them."

4. *Recitatae.* "Was read aloud." *Legere,* "to read," to pause with the eyes without uttering any sound. *Recitare,* "to read aloud," that others may hear.

5. *Neque vos, &c.* This is skilfully framed to excite the indignation of the Romans against Jugurtha.—*In animo habeat.* "He cares for," i. e. allows to occupy his thoughts.—*Quam. Malit,* being equivalent to *magis velit,* supersedes the necessity of inserting *magis* before *quam.*—*Urguear.* An archaism for *urgear.*

6. *Plura de Jugurtha, &c.* "My wretched condition dissuades me from writing more respecting Jugurtha."

7. *Nisi tamen, intellego, &c.* The preceding clause, from *etiam antea* to *miseris esse,* is to be taken parenthetically; and then *nisi,* in the sense of *praeterquam,* will serve to correct the assertion made in the words *plura de Jugurtha, &c.* The literal translation will be, "Save this one thing, however, that I perceive he is aiming at something higher than myself." A freer version, however, will render the connexion more apparent: "Only this, however, I will add, that I perceive," &c

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17 8. *Gravus*. "The more important."

9. *Quae sane fuerint, &c.* *Quae*, as beginning a clause, is here elegantly used in the sense of *haec*: "These, I allow, may have been our own private wrongs; they may have been of no concern to you." The construction of *quis* just alluded to, as also the analogous usage of the relative for *et is*, or *et ille*, take place when no particular stress is to be laid on the relative clause.

10. *Quid reliquum, &c.* The order of ideas is as follows: Nothing now remains by which he can be shaken from his wicked purpose, except your power; for I am completely destitute of the means of successfully opposing him. O, would that this were not so! In that event, I would not be suffering under the load of present wretchedness.

11. *Ut Jugurthae scelerum, &c.* "That I might be a proof of the wickedness of Jugurtha." Equivalent to *ut ostenderetur in me, quid sceleris patrare posset Jugurtha*.—*Tantummodo deprecor*. "I only pray to be saved from."—*Per amicitiae fidem*. "By the ties of friendship," i. e. by the faith of that friendship which exists between us.

18 1. *De Jugurtha interim, &c.* "That Jugurtha's conduct should in the meantime be taken into consideration."—*Fautoribus*. "Partisans."—*Summa ope enisum*. "Every effort was made." *Enisum* is here used passively.—*Devictum*. "Was thwarted."

2. *Amplis honoribus*. "Who had borne the highest offices in the state."—*Senati princeps*. Sallust uses *senatus* as of two declensions, the second and fourth. The office of *princeps senatus*, called *principatus*, conferred no command or emolument, but yet was esteemed the very highest in point of dignity, and was usually retained for life. At first, it was given to the oldest person of censorian rank in the house; but, after A. U. C. 544, to him whom the censors thought most worthy. At a later period, the emperor was named *princeps*, and then for the first time the idea of power began to be attached to the word.

3. *In invidia*. "Involved in great public odium," i. e. was exciting great popular resentment.—*Escendere*. An archaism for *ascendere*.

4. *Contra inceptum suum*. "To thwart his design."—*Metu atque lumbidine, &c.* "Was distracted between fear and ambition,"—*Cupidine caecus*. "Blinded by his eagerness for dominion."—*Ad*. "To the execution of."—*Vicit tamen, &c.* "Evil suggestions, however, gained the ascendancy in his ambitious soul."—*Secus* "Otherwise than he had expected." *Secus ac putaverat*.

5. *Conveniret*. *Convenio*, with the accusative, has the signification of "to meet with."—*Provinciam*. Consult note 4, page 8.—

Multa tamen oratione consumta. "Yet, after a long and fruitless discussion."—*Frustra.* "Without accomplishing their object." Page 18

6. *Italici.* Called in the 21st chapter *togati*, (consult note 1, page 16,) and at the close of the present one, *negotiatores.*—*Defensabantur.* "Were wont to be vigorously defended." The student will mark the force of the frequentative.—*Paciscatur.* "To stipulate for."

1. *Potiora.* "More worthy of reliance."—*Excruciatum necat.* To be rendered as two verbs. "Tortures and puts to death." The participle is often elegantly put under the government of the verb in the succeeding clause; an arrangement which sometimes contributes much to perspicuity, as well as precision.—*Omnis puberes* "All the young men."—*Negotiatores.* Referring to the Italian traders.—*Obvius.* "Came in contact with." 19

2. *Ministri.* "Tools." Sallust here purposely employs the term *ministri*, to convey to the reader a just idea of the degrading conduct of the Roman nobility.—*Interpellando.* "By interrupting the course of public business."—*Gratia.* "By their influence with individual senators."—*Leniebant.* "Strove to soften down."

3. *Tribunus plebis.* The tribunes of the commons were the famous popular magistrates, who, by repeated attacks on the nobility, eventually brought over the government of Rome from an aristocratic to a democratical form. They were created originally A. U. C. 260, at the time of the secession to the sacred mount, for the purpose of protecting the rights of the people. Their power was almost destroyed by Sylla, but was subsequently re-established in the time of Pompey and Crassus. They then became mere tools in the hands of the leading men.

4. *Vir acer, &c.* "A spirited man, and an active foe to the power of the nobility."—*Potentia.* This term generally refers to power of our own acquiring; *potestas*, to delegated authority. The former answers to the Greek term *δύναμις*, the latter to *ἐξουσία*. Here the power of the nobility is called *potentia*, from its being of a usurped character.—*Id agi.* "That this was in agitation," or more freely "that the design of all this was."

5. *Profecto omnis invidia, &c.* "Beyond a doubt, all the indignation to which the affair had given rise, would have died gradually away, in consequence of the frequent postponements of their deliberations." The indicative *dilapsa erat* is here used in place of the potential, to give more liveliness to the representation.

6. *Lege Sempronia.* Originally their provinces used to be decreed to the consuls by the senate after the election, or when they had entered on their office. But, by the Sempronian law, proposed by C. Sempronius Gracchus, and passed A. U. C. 631, the senate

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19 were required to decree two provinces to the future consuls, before their election—*Obvenit*. “Fell by lot.” The consuls arranged their provinces by lot or agreement.—*Scribitur*. “Is levied.” The names of the soldiers enlisted were written down on tables. Hence *scribere*, “to enlist,” “to levy” or “raise.”

7. *Venum ire*. “Were venal.” In some editions, *venire*.—*In animo haeserat*. “He had remained under the firm impression.” More literally, “it had adhered to him in mind.” He had heard this first at Numantia, had already made trial of its truth, and up to the present moment firmly believed it.—*Adgrediantur*. “To make trial of.”

8. *Recipi Moenibus*. Foreign ambassadors, whom the Romans did not choose to receive within their walls, had an audience given them in the temple of Bellona, or that of Apollo, both without the walls; or in the *villa publica*, a building erected in the Campus Martius, where they were also entertained during their stay. In the present instance, however, the question was, whether the ambassadors of Jugurtha should be received at all.

9. *Diebus proxumis decem*. The term *proxumis* is here regarded by many editors as superfluous. It suits rather the fulness of phraseology peculiar to an official document.

10. *Legat sibi*. “Selects for his lieutenants.”—*Factiosos*. “Of an intriguing spirit.”—*Quorum auctoritate, &c.* “By whose influence, he hoped that any errors he might commit would be screened from punishment.”—*Natura et habitu*. “Disposition and character.” *Natura* refers here to the innate qualities, *habitus* to the manner of acting in life.

20 1. *Artes*. “Qualities.”—*Acri ingenio*. “Of a penetrating turn of mind.”—*Satis providens*. “Possessed of foresight enough,” i. e. for a military commander.

2. *Animus aeger uaritia*. “His spirit, corrupted by avarice, underwent an easy change.”—*Socius et administer*. “As an accomplice and agent.”—*Ex factione*. “Of his own party.”—*Impugnauerat*. “He had opposed.”—*Pecuniae*. “Of the bribe,” that was offered.

3. *Redimebat*. “Purchased.” More literally, “bargained for.”—*De omnibus pactionibus*. “About a general treaty.” More literally, “about all the stipulations (or articles) of a treaty.”

4. *Fidei caussa*. “For the sake of inspiring Jugurtha with confidence,” i. e. as a pledge of good faith.—*Species*. “The pretence.”—*Quoniam deditiois mora, &c.* “Since a truce was prevailing by reason of the delay necessarily consequent on a surrender,” i. e. a truce was prevailing until a surrender, which of course occupied some time, should be made by Jugurtha.

5. *Praesenti consilio*. "In presence of the council of war." The Roman military council was composed of the lieutenant-generals, and the tribunes of the soldiers, together with the oldest centurion in the legion, the commander-in-chief presiding.—*De invidia facti*. "Concerning the odium to which his conduct had given rise," i. e. for the purpose of exculpating himself from the odium to which, &c.

6. *Quasi per saturam*, &c. "The opinions of the council being asked in a hasty and confused manner as it were." More literally, though less elegantly, "having been taken as it were by the gross or lump." We have nothing in English that can answer as a close and exact translation of the phrase *per saturam*. The term *satura* is properly an adjective with *lanx* understood, and signifies, literally, the dish or platter, annually filled with all sorts of fruits, and offered to the gods as the first-fruits of the season. From this medley, the term is figuratively used in our text to denote a confused and promiscuous collecting of the votes. In like manner, a *lex satura* (where *satura* is again merely an adjective, agreeing with *lex*,) was one that embraced many topics unconnected with each other; and it was a rule of the Roman code, that no existing law be abrogated by a *lex satura*, on account of the unfairness of such a mode of proceeding, and the facilities which it afforded for taking by surprise. So, again, the Latin term *satira*, takes its name from this source, in consequence of the medley of verses of different metres, and topics of various natures, which the earlier writers of *satire* were accustomed to employ. Varro even mixed prose with poetry, and called these pieces *satirae*.

7. *Pro consilio*. "Before the council." This signification of *pro* is derived immediately from that of the Greek πρό.—*Ad magistratus rogandos*. "To hold the election for magistrates." More literally, "to preside at," &c. The usual beginning of all applications to the people was *Velitis, jubeatis, Quirites*; and thus the people were said to be consulted or asked, (*consuli sive rogari*,) and the presiding magistrate to consult or ask them. Hence *rogare magistratus*, "to create magistrates," or, as here, to preside at their election; *rogare quaesitores*, "to appoint commissioners." And hence also, *rogatio* is a "bill," while the matter is still pending, but *lex*, "a law," when it has been favourably received by the people.

1. *De facto consulis agitari*. "The conduct of the consul was a theme of conversation."—*Gravis invidia*. "Deep indignation."—*Patres probarentne*, &c. In translating this clause, the emphasis must be made to fall on *patres*, as opposed to *plebem* in the previous

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21 part of the sentence, and *patres* will then have in our idiom the force of an accusative, (as if governed by *quod ad* understood,) though in fact the nominative to *probarent*. "As to the senate, it was uncertain whether they would approve of so disonourable a course of conduct," &c.

2. *Clara pollensque fuit*. "Was distinguished and influential," i. e. was of a high character itself, and exercised a strong influence over the minds of the people.—*Perscribere*. "To give entire." The speech, however, although this phraseology is here employed, is the mere production of the historian.—*Ac potissimum*. Understand *eam orationem*.

3. *Dehortantur*. The indicative is used here, in the place of the subjunctive *dehortentur*, to impart more force and certainty to the sentence. Render the whole clause as follows: "Did not, O Romans, my zeal for the public welfare overcome every other consideration, many things would dissuade me from espousing your cause." If *dehortarentur* and *superarent* had been employed, the meaning would have been: "Had not a regard, &c. overcome every other consideration, many things would have dissuaded me," &c.

4 *His annis quindecim*. Twenty-two years had in fact elapsed since the death of Tiberius Gracchus, and ten since that of his brother Caius. Sallust, if the reading be correct, takes a kind of middle period between the two dates.—*Quam ludibrio fueritis* "What a sport you have been," i. e. with what insolent scorn you have been treated.—*Vestri defensores*. Alluding particularly to the Gracchi.

5. *Ut vobis*, &c. "To what a degree your spirit has become enfeebled by cowardice and sloth"—*Ignavia* properly denotes slowness and want of spirit in accomplishing what is already begun; *se cordia*, want of heart to begin, slowness in deliberating, &c.

6. *Obnoxiiis inimicis*. "When your enemies are in your power," i. e. in consequence of their corruption and guilt (*ob noxam*.)

7. *Certe ego libertatem*, &c. The idea intended to be conveyed is this: If I cannot break the power of the opposite faction, I still will try to preserve my own freedom. That freedom is the inheritance I received from my fathers; it is my own property, and I will enjoy it as my own, but then I must be aided in this by you. *Certe* may be here rendered by "at least."

8 *Ob rem*. "To the purpose," i. e. successfully—*In vestra manu situm*. "Depends entirely on you."

9. *Neque ego hortor*, &c. After having told the people that it will depend entirely on them whether he succeed in his attempt to assert his own freedom or not, he seeks to urge them on by the easy

nature of the enterprise. There will be no need of arms, no need of a secession, &c. When he speaks of asserting his own freedom, he means of course theirs also, only this way of expressing himself is more calculated to arouse their feelings.

10. *Secessione*. Three secessions of the people are recorded in Roman history. The first took place, A. U. C. 260, on account of the severity of creditors, and was made to the sacred mount. The second was occasioned by the conduct of Appius Claudius, the decemvir, and was made first to the Aventine, and afterwards to the sacred mount. It happened, A. U. C. 305. The third was produced by the same cause as the first, and was made to the Janiculum, A. U. C. 466.

11. *Suomet more*. "In their own way," i. e. by the natural consequences of their vices and crimes.

12. *Quaestiones habitae sunt*. "Severe investigations were instituted." Velleius Paterculus (2, 6.) informs us, that after the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, the consuls Rutilius and Popilius pursued very cruel and vigorous measures against the partisans of that individual.—*Post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvii caedem, &c.* Consult Historical Index.

13. *Utriusque cladis*. "Of either massacre."

14. *Sed sane fuerit, &c.* "But let it indeed have been an aiming at supreme power (on the part of the Gracchi) to attempt the restoration of their rights to the people. Let whatever cannot be punished without shedding the blood of Roman citizens, have been justly done."—*Ulcisci* is here used passively, and *nequitur* is the passive form put, by an archaism, for *nequit*. The passage before us is an ironical concession on the part of Memmius, and the train of ideas is as follows: I admit that the Gracchi, in seeking to restore the rights of the Roman people, were in fact only aiming at sovereign power. I am willing to allow, that the nobility, in punishing with death the attempts of the Gracchi and their partisans, acted with strict justice, since these attempts could have been punished in no other way. But let me ask you, did these exploits close the catalogue? Year after year you have beheld with silent indignation the pillage of your treasury, &c.

1. *Summam gloriam*. "The highest honours," i. e. the highest civil and military preferments.—*Parum habuere*. "They have esteemed it a trifling matter."

2. *Incedunt per ora vestra magnifice*. "They move with an air of grandeur before your very faces."—*Ostantantes*. "Displaying with insulting parade."—*Perinde quasi*. "Just as if."

3. *Imperio nati*. "Born for empire." The dative is here used

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22 to denote *continuance*. The common, but less emphatic form, would be, *ad imperandum nati*.

4. *Occidisse tribunos plebis*. "The having put to death tribunes of the commons." The infinitive is here employed in its original force of a verbal noun, governing the case of its verb. So *caedem in vos fecisse*, a little after. The allusion is to the Gracchi. The persons of the tribunes were sacred, and whoever injured one of these magistrates in word or deed was held accursed, and his property was confiscated.

5. *Quaestiones iniquas*. "Iniquitous prosecutions."—*Pessume*. The adverbs *pessume* and *maxume* have here the force of comparatives. The comparative is often used for the superlative in Latin; the construction of the superlative for the comparative is much more rare.

6. *Metum a sclere suo, &c.* The meaning intended to be conveyed is this: the fear which the nobility ought to entertain on account of their crimes, they have made you feel, because you are too spiritless to oppose them.—*Inter malos factio*. "It is faction when found among the wicked."

7. *Quod si tam libertatis, &c.* "But if you had as strong a regard for the preservation of your own freedom, as they are inflamed with the desire of tyrannising over you." *Tam, quam*, equivalent here to *tantam, quantum*.—*Beneficia vestra*. "Your favours." The consulship, praetorship, priesthood, &c.

8. *Bis, per secessionem*. Consult note 10, page 21.—*Aventinum*. The Aventine was the most extensive of all the hills on which Rome was built. It received its name from an Alban king, who was buried on it, and was the spot which Remus chose to take the omens. On this last account it was generally regarded as a place of evil omen; and, therefore, according to Aulus Gellius, was not included within the *Pomaerium*. But other and better authorities make it to have been joined to the city by Ancus Martius. Compare *Liv.* 1, 33. *Dion. Hal.* 3, 43.

9. *Quo majus dedecus, &c.* Compare Thucydides (2. 62.) *Ἄισχίον ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι, ἢ κτωμένους ἀτυχεῖσθαι*.

10. *Vindicandum in eos, &c.* Understand *consentio* before, and *esse* after, *vindicandum*. "My opinion is, that punishment should be inflicted upon those," &c.—*Non manu neque vi*. "Not by the hand of force, nor by open violence."—*Quod magis fecisse, &c.* "Which would be more unbecoming for you to have done, than to have happened unto them," i. e. a mode of punishment which they deserve, but which it does not become your dignity as a people to inflict.—*Quaestionibus*. "By public prosecutions."

11. *Qui si dediticius est, &c.* A dilemma. The surrender in question is either real or unreal. If real, the Numidian will come in obedience to your command; if unreal, he will not come; but then his absence will form the strongest testimony against those whom we wish to convict by his evidence when present.

1. *Illā.* By *illā tempora* he means the period immediately subsequent to the slaughter of the Gracchi, when every thing was in the hands of the aristocracy. By *hæc tempora* he designates the present moment, when the people are beginning to be aroused to an asserting of their rights.

2. *Leges, jura.* "Laws, justice." The term *leges* here embraces every thing relating to the administration of the state and *jura*, on the other hand, the rights and privileges of private citizens, which rely for support on the impartial dispensing of justice — *Bella, paces.* The control of war and peace is here meant. *Paces*, in the plural number, is not very frequent in its occurrence, though used, notwithstanding, by some of the best writers. Compare Horace, (*Ep.* 1, 3, 8.) "*Bella quis et paces longum diffundit in ævum.*"

3. *Vos autem, &c.* He addresses the plebeians merely, but, in order to animate them the more, he speaks to them as if they formed the true and the whole Roman people, "*populus Romanus.*"

4. *Atque ego.* A transition to the danger which threatens unless the guilty be punished.—*Casura esset.* "Would be likely to end."

5. *Quantum importunitatis habent.* Complete the construction as follows: *Pro tanta importunitate quantum importunitatis habent.* "Such is their overbearing insolence." Precisely analogous to this is the use of the relative in such phrases as the following: "*Quæ tua est virtus expugnabis,*" i. e. *ea virtute, quæ virtus tua est, expugnabis.* "Such is your valour," &c. So again, "*cujus est, lenitatis Galba promisit.*" "Galba, with his usual lenity, promised," i. e. *ea lenitate cujus est lenitatis.*

6. *Deinde faciundi.* "Of acting so again," i. e. of repeating their misconduct.—*Aut serviundum esse.* "That you must either remain slaves."—*Per manus.* "By force."

7. *In tam divorsis mentibus.* "Between minds actuated by such opposite sentiments."—*Peculatus acrarum.* "Embezzlement of the public money." The speaker is endeavouring to show the full enormity of the conduct of Bestia and Scaurus, by comparing it with acts of a flagrant nature on the part of others, but which sink, by the side of the former, into comparative insignificance.

8. *Consuetudine.* "From the influence of custom." Compare the words assigned to Cato, in the 52d chapter of *Catiline*: "*Sint*

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23 *sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis.*—*Hosti acerrumo.* Jugurtha.—*Imperium vestrum.* “Your power,” i. e. your dignity and independence as a people.

9. *Quae nisi quaesita erunt.* “And unless these things shall be inquired into.”—*Id est .egem esse.* The more usual form of expression would be *rex esse*, but we may suppose *eum* to be understood in construction before *esse*, i. e. *eum esse regem*. The term *rex* is here equivalent to “tyrant.”

10. *Ad hoc, &c.* The idea intended to be conveyed is this: If you punish the bad, you deter from the commission of offences; and, if offences be not committed, you will seldom need the aid of the good for your protection, and will consequently be under no very strong obligation to bestow favours upon them for their services.

24 1. *L. Cassius.* He was not long after, when consul, defeated by the Helvetii in Gaul. (*Liv. Epit.* 65.)—*Interposita fide publica.* “The public faith being pledged for his personal safety.”

2. *Quos pecuniae captae arcessebant.* “Whom they accused of having taken money,” i. e. who were then under accusation of bribery. *Arcesso*, strictly speaking, signifies “to send for,” “to summon,” and has here the force of *in jus vocare*. We must understand after it, in construction, the word *crimine*, which is sometimes expressed, as *veneni crimine arcessi.* *Suct. Tib.* 53.

3. *Elephantos.* These were the elephants which Jugurtha had surrendered to the Romans, as mentioned in chap. 29.—*Pacatis.* Understand *regionibus*.—*Agebant.* The student will observe the change of moods in *traderent*, *vendere*, and *agebant*. So we have in Catiline (c. 21.) *increpat*, *laudare*, and *admonebat*, in succession.—*Vcluti tabes.* “Like some infection.” The primitive meaning of *tabes* is “a wasting malady.” The term is here employed figuratively to denote the infection or contagion arising from such a disorder.

4. *Perlata rogatione, &c.* “The bill proposed by Caius Memmius being carried through,” i. e. having become a law. Compare note 7, page 20.—*Ex conscientia.* “From a consciousness of guilt.”—*Quo.* In the sense of *quoniam*. Compare Catiline, chap. 34 “*Non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius,*” where it occurs in the sense of *quod*, “because.”—*Talis ea tempestate, &c.* “Such at that time was the reputation of Cassius.” More literally, “such was the opinion entertained at that time of Cassius.”

5. *Contra decus regium.* “In a manner unbecoming a king.”—*Cultu quam maxime miserabili.* “Attired in a way that was calculated as much as possible to excite compassion.” *Cultus*

refers here not merely to the garb, but to the entire exterior, and the clause might be rendered more freely, "With an exterior that was calculated," &c. So among the Romans, an accused person (*reus*) was wont to change his dress, lay aside every kind of ornament, let his hair and beard grow, and go round in this state to solicit the favour of the people.

6. *Magna vis animi*. "Great intrepidity," i. e. great firmness of purpose.—*Confirmatus*. "Being encouraged." Sallust wishes to convey the idea, that Jugurtha not only displayed an intrepid spirit on this occasion, but was moreover encouraged by assurances of aid from his partisans and friends.—*Parat*. "He secures the assistance of." Literally, "he procures," or makes his own. The regular language of bargain and sale.—*Cujus impudentia*, &c. "By whose effrontery he would be protected against the arm of justice, as well as all personal violence."

7. *De hoste supplicium sumi*. "That punishment be inflicted upon him as a public enemy."—*Dignitati*. Some refer this to the Roman people, others to Memmius. It relates in fact to both, and must be rendered, "for honour."—*Confirmare*. "Assured them."—*Per se*. "As far as he could effect this."

8. *Verba facit*. "He addresses him."—*Romae Numidiaque*. Some editions have *Numidiae*, in the genitive, which, although referring to a country, they construe by the rule of names of towns. There are not wanting examples of this construction in other Latin writers. The ablative, however, is neater and more elegant.—*Quibus juvantibus, quibusque ministris*. "By whose aid and by whose instrumentality."

9. *Corrupturum*. "He would ruin."—*Pecunia corruptum*. "Had been bribed." Literally, "had been corrupted (in principle) by money."—*Tacere*. The verb *taceo* properly means, to keep silence when one might or should speak, and generally after being ordered or requested so to do. *Sileo*, on the contrary, is to say nothing, to continue silent, after having been so previously.

1. *Terrebat eum*. "Sought to terrify him." *Eum* here refers to Baebius. A single tribune might in this way, by his *veto*, or intercession, thwart the proceedings of his colleagues, and oppose an effectual barrier to the wishes of the people. Those who did so, however, might afterwards be brought to trial by their colleagues. Tiberius Gracchus, when his colleague Octavius opposed the passage of the Agrarian law, resorted to the desperate expedient of publicly deposing him by the suffrages of the people.

2. *Quae ira fieri amat*. "Which anger is accustomed to employ."

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25 Literally, "which anger loves to be put in operation." An imitation of the Greek idiom φίλει γίγνεσθαι.

3. *Proximo anno*, &c. The year meant is A. U. C. 644.—*Stirpe*. The term *stirps* properly denotes that part of the trunk of a tree where the roots begin to branch out. Hence it is applied figuratively to the stock or lineage of a family, &c.—*Jugurtham ob scelera*, &c. "And since public odium, together with private fear on his own part, pressed heavily on Jugurtha."

4. *Belli gerundi*. "Of carrying on some war." Of having some war to carry on, in which he might signalize himself.—The consul was well aware, that Massiva could not be established on the Numidian throne without a war.

5. *Movere*. Some editions have *moveri*, but the manuscripts in general favour the active form. The construction, though a harsh one, is characteristic of Sallust. *Movere* governs *omnia* understood, and *omnia* expressed is the accusative before *senescere*. The meaning is, that the consul "wished to throw all things into confusion, than that all should begin to grow torpid" in the arms of repose.

6. *Ac maxume occulte*. "And secretly, if in any way possible."—*Talis negotii artifices*. "Skilled in such business."—*Itinera egressusque*, &c. "Carefully ascertains his accustomed routes, his hours for leaving home; in fine, all his places of resort, and his entire mode of spending the day." *Egressus*, literally, "his goings out," "his departures from home."

7. *Indicium profitetur*. "Makes a full disclosure."—*Fit reus*. "Is put to his trial." Literally, "is made or becomes an accused person."—*Ex aequo bonoque*. "In accordance with what was just and proper," i. e. agreeably to justice and the dictates of plain reason.—*Quam ex jure gentium*. By the law of nations, the retinue not only of ambassadors, but of all persons to whom the public faith had been pledged, were exempted from injury. Grotius proves this to have been an early law among the Romans, from one of the old forms used by the *Feciales*. (*De jure belli et pacis*, 18, 8.)

8. *Animum advortit*. An archaism for *animadvertit*.—*In priore actione*. "In the first stage of the proceeding," i. e. when Bomilcar was first put to his trial, or when, to adopt our own phraseology, the case first came into court.—*Vades*. *Vas* denotes bail in a criminal suit, *praes* in a civil one.

26 1. *Reliquos popularis*. "The rest of his subjects."

2. *Urbem venalem*, &c. "Ah! venal city, and destined soon to fall, if it can but find a purchaser!" Livy's account of this whole affair differs essentially from Sallust's. He makes the king himself

to have been put to his trial for the murder of Massiva, and to have saved himself only by secretly escaping from the city. (*Epit.* 64.)

3. *Comitia*. When the new magistrates would be elected. He was desirous of performing some exploit before the day of election. —*Trahere*. Put for *protrahere*.—*Facere*. “Invented.”—*Instanti* Understand *Albino*.—*Ludificare*. “He trifled with.”

4. *Ex tanta properantia*. “After so much hurry,” viz., on the part of Albinus, in his preparations for the campaign, and during its earlier stages.—*Dilapso tempore*. “Time having glided away,” i. e. having insensibly passed by.—*Pro praetore*. “As acting commander-in-chief.” The term *praetor* is here used in its primitive sense of commander or leader. Compare note 7, page 5.—*Seditionibus tribuniciis*. “By contentions among the tribunes.”—*Continuare magistratum*. “To continue their office,” i. e. to continue themselves in office for another term.

5. *Totius anni comitia*. Alluding not only to the comitia in which the tribunes were to be elected, but also to those which should have been held for choosing other magistrates. Hence the consuls for the year 645, Metellus and Silanus, could not be first marked out as *consules designati*, but were actually chosen after their year of magistracy had commenced.

6. *Pecuniae capiundae*. “Of extorting money.”—*Hieme aspera*. “During a severe winter.”—*Saevitia temporis*. “From the inclemency of the season.”—*Limosa*. “Rendered miry.”—*Cupidine caecus*. “Blinded by cupidity.”—*Vineas agere*. Compare note 2, page 16.—*Aggerem*. The *agger*, or mound, was raised from the inner line, and gradually advanced towards the besieged place, always increasing in height, till it equalled or overtopped the wall. It was composed of earth, stone, wood, and hurdles. The *agger* was secured by towers of different stories, from which the defenders of the ramparts were annoyed with missiles by the besiegers.

1. *Vanitate*. “The weakness.”—*Subdolos augere amentiam*. 27
“Craftily strove to augment his foolish presumption.”—*Tentabat*. “He tampered with.”—*Turmarum*. A *turma*, or troop of horse, consisted of thirty men, and was divided into three *decuriae*, or bodies of ten.—*Transfugerent*. We have thrown out of the text the word *corrumpere*, which in most editions follows after *transfugerent*. It is not needed, as *tentabat* precedes.

2. *Intempesta nocte*. “At the dead of night.”—*Arma capere alii*. “Seized, some of them, their arms.”—*Trepidare omnibus locis*. “Consternation every where prevailed.” *Trepidare* properly denotes to run up and down in confusion and alarm.—*Periculum anceps*. “On all sides danger.”—*Ligurum*. “Of Ligurians”

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27 *Vid.* Geographical Index. The cohort, when full, consisted of 600 men. The usual number, however, about the time of Polybius, was 420.

3. *Centurio primi pili*. "The chief centurion." Each Roman legion was divided into ten cohorts; each cohort into three maniples, and each maniple into two centuries. So that there were thirty maniples and sixty centuries in a legion. There were two centuries in each maniple, called by the same name, but distinguished by the title *prior*, "former," and *posterior*, "latter," because the one was chosen and ranked before the other. The centurion of the first century of the first maniple of the *Triarii*, was called *centurio primi pili*, or *primus pilus*, or *primopilus*, &c. He presided over all the other centurions, and had the charge of the eagle (*aquila*) or chief standard of the legion; whereby he obtained both profit and dignity, being ranked among the *equites*, and having a place in the council of war with the consul and tribunes of the soldiers. The centurion of the second century of the first maniple of the *Triarii* was called *primipilus posterior*. So the two centurions of the second maniple of the *Triarii* were called *prior centurio*, and *posterior centurio, secundi pili*; and so on to the tenth, the two centurions of which were styled *centurio decimi pili prior*, and *posterior*. In like manner *primus princeps prior*, and *posterior*; *secundus princeps prior*, and *posterior*, in speaking of the *principes* or second rank; and *primus hastatus*, &c., in reference to the *hastati* or first rank. Thus there was a large field for promotion in the Roman army. from a common soldier to a centurion; and from being the lowest centurion of the tenth maniple of the *hastati* (*decimus hastatus posterior*) to the rank of *primipilus*.

4. *Hostes, quo minus*, &c. "Prevented the enemy from making an advantageous use of their victory."—*Sub jugum*. "Under the yoke." Two spears stuck in the ground, and crossed by another at the top, like a gallows, received the name of *jugum*. Under this the vanquished army passed disarmed by way of ignominy, and in token of subjection.

5. *Quia mortis metu mutabantur*. "Because they were received in exchange for the fear of death." *Metu* is put in the ablative, as marking the instrument, or means which effected the exchange, the fear of death compelling the Roman soldiery to this disgraceful step. Some editions have *mutabant*, "they wavered," or "were irresolute." Cortius reads *mutabant* for *mutabantur*. We have given the latter form at once with Burnouf.

6. *Metus atque moeror*. No prince except Mithridates, gave so much employment to the army of the Romans as Jugurtha. In the

course of no war in which they had ever been engaged, not even the second Carthaginian, were the people more desponding, and in none were they more elated with ultimate success. (*Dunlop, Hist. Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 152, Lond. ed.*)

1. *Dedecore potius, quam manu.* “By a disgraceful surrender, rather than a brave resistance.”—*Invidiam, ac deinde periculum.* “Public odium, and consequent danger to himself,” i. e. the danger of a prosecution, for having trusted the command of the army to one so totally unfit for the station.—*Nomine Latino.* “The Latin nation.” A general appellation for all the states that bore the general name of Latins. The Latins constituted the chief strength of the Roman armies. They were not, however, embodied in the legions, and were treated with more severity than Roman citizens, being punished with stripes, and also capitally, from which citizens were exempted by the Porcian law.—The *Socii* mentioned in the text, were the other Italian allies. Their general treatment was the same as that of the Latins.

2. *Provincia.* The Roman province is here meant, which has already been alluded to in the 19th chapter.—*Mederi fraiznae invidiae.* “To allay the odium to which his brother’s misconduct had given rise.”—*Solutio imperio.* “All discipline being relaxed.”—*Ex copia rerum.* “Considering all the circumstances of the case.”

3. *Rogationem promulgat.* “Proposes a bill.” The application was called a *rogatio* while pending before the people, and until it became a law. Compare note 7, page 20.—*Neglegisset.* An archaism for *neglexisset.*—*Huic rogationi.* Depending in construction on the verb *parabant.*—*Quin faterentur.* “Without, at the same time, virtually acknowledging.”—*Nominis Latini.* Consult note 1.

4. *Jusserit, decreverit, voluerit.* Some editions have merely *Jusserit*, the other two verbs being regarded as pleonastic. This is, however, far from being the case. The three verbs are purposely employed by the historian to denote, by their almost synonymous force, the ardour of the people in *ordering, decreeing, willing* the passage of the bill. The absence of the copulative, too, imparts additional vigour and rapidity to the clause.

5. *Trepidida etiam tum civitate.* “The city being even yet not free from agitation.” The excitement produced by the triumph of the popular party, and the discomfiture of the nobility, remaining still unallayed.—*Quaesitores.* “Commissioners.”—*Sed quaestio exercita, &c.* “The inquiry, however, was conducted with harshness and severity, under the guidance of mere rumour and popular

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28 caprice." In the absence of positive proof, mere idle rumours and popular feeling were made to supply its place.

29 1. *Mos partium popularium, &c.* "The custom of having a popular party, and another in the senate," i. e. the existence of a popular and an aristocratic party. The plural is here employed (*partium—factionum*) not for the purpose of showing that there were several distinct parties among the people and senate, but that from this time the people and senate respectively formed themselves into parties against each other. As the words *mos partium* would alone suffice to convey the meaning of Sallust, some editors reject the remainder of the clause *popularium, et senati factionum*.

2. *Malarum artium.* "Evil practices."—*Paucis ante annis.* (Carthage had been destroyed thirty-five years before the breaking out of the Jugurthine war.—*Metus hostilis.* "Fear of their enemies." Put for *metus hostium*.—*Scilicet.* Used here as an explanatory particle. Hence the clause may be rendered as follows: "Those effects which prosperity is accustomed to produce, licentiousness, namely, and pride, came *naturally* upon them," i. e. licentiousness and pride, the usual attendants of prosperity, naturally made their appearance.

3. *Asperius acerbisque fuit.* Understand *quam ipsae res adversae fuerant.* "Proved a harsher and more galling visitation than adversity itself had been." The *res adversae* allude to the reverses in the second Punic war.

4. *Dignitatem, &c.* What grammarians call a zeugma takes place in *lubidinem*, which has one meaning when connected with *dignitatem*, and another with *libertatem*. Render the whole clause as follows: "For the nobility began to convert their high rank into an instrument of tyranny, the people to degrade their freedom into licentiousness."

5. *Ducere, trahere, rapere.* "Dishonestly acquired, dragged away, made plunder of, every thing." These words, arranged as they are in the text, are employed to express the progress of corruption, commencing with dishonest and clandestine practices, and rising gradually to bold and unpunished violence.—*Factione magis pollebat.* "Were more powerful as a party." They possessed a better party-organization.—*Soluta atque dispersa in multitudine.* "Disunited, and scattered amid a large number." They possessed numerical strength, but wanted union and close political consolidation.

6. *Agitabatur.* Used impersonally. "Affairs were managed."—*Gloriae.* "Public distinction."—*Interea parentes, &c.* Compare Horace, Ode. 2, 10, 23 seqq.—*Polluere.* They spared divine things as little as human.

7. *Nihil pensi, neque sancti habere.* "It regarded nothing, it esteemed nothing sacred." 29

8. *Ex nobilitate.* Alluding to the two Gracchi, who were of the gens *Cornelia*. Cortius regards these words as a mere gloss, incorrectly, as we conceive.—*Permixtio civilis*, &c. "A civil commotion, like a parting asunder of the earth."

9. *Quorum majores.* Tiberius and Caius Gracchus were grandsons, on the side of their mother *Cornelia*, of the elder Africanus.—*Vindicare plebem in libertatem.* "To assert the freedom of the commons."—*Societatis.* The equites, placed between the patrians and plebeians, as a kind of connecting link, were in general dissatisfied with this intermediate rank, and had a strong inclination for an alliance with the nobility and admission to senatorian honours.—*Actionibus.* "The proceedings."

1. *Tiberium.* For an account of the Gracchi, consult Historical Index.—*Eadem ingredientem.* "Entering upon the same career," i. e. aiming at the restoration of popular rights, and the passage of an agrarian law.—*Coloniis deducendis.* "For planting colonies." Colonies were commonly led out and planted by three commissioners, (*triumviri*). Sometimes five, ten, or more were appointed. The people determined in what way the lands were to be divided, and to whom they were to be assigned. The new colony marched to its destined place in the form of an army, with colours flying. 30

2. *Bono vinci satius est.* "It is better for a good man to be overcome by his opponents."—*Malo more.* "By unlawful means."—*Multos mortalibus*, &c. "Destroyed many individuals by the sword, or deprived them of all their civil rights by banishment." The verb *extinxit* assumes a new meaning with *ferro* and *fuga* respectively.

3. *Studiis partium.* "The violence of party-spirit."—*Omnibus civitatis moribus.* "The manners of the state in general."—*Pro magnitudine.* "In a way commensurate with the vast extent of the subject."—*Deserat.* "Would in all likelihood fail."

4. *Acri viro.* "A man of spirit."—*Adverso populi partium.* "An opponent of the popular party." *Adverso* is here taken as a noun. The same construction sometimes prevails with *ἐναντίος* in Greek (Matth. G. G. § 366.) and *contrarius* in Latin (*Cic. Fin.* 4, 24.)—*Aequabili et inviolata.* "Uniform and unimpeachable." As if Sallust had said *aequaliter inviolata apud plebem atque nobili talem.*

5. *Alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus.* "Having considered every thing common to himself and his colleague." Understand *esse* but not *communis* also, as some maintain; for this last seems

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30 hardly required by the idiom of the language. Sallust does not mean that Metellus neglected the other duties of the consulship, in order to give his whole attention to the war, supposing that his colleague would attend to every thing else: but that he foresaw he could not expect much assistance from him, in these warlike preparations, and therefore paid more attention to them himself, though without neglecting, at the same time, his general duties as a consul.

6. *Bello vario*. "In a war, exposed to various contingencies." The nature of the country, which was to be the scene of operations, and the character of the foe, are here alluded to.—*Ad ea patranda*, &c. "For the accomplishment of these things, the allies and the Latin nation, in consequence of a decree of the senate, kings of their own accord, sent aid."—*Propter bonas artis*. "On account of his excellent qualities."

7. *Advorsum divitias*, &c. "A spirit proof against riches," i. e. not to be subdued by avarice.

8. *Sp. Albini pro consule*. Understand *agentis*, or *imperantis*. "Acting (or commanding) in the stead of the consul." Some editions read a *Sp. Albino*.—*Sine imperio et modestia habitus*. "Kept under no discipline or restraint."

31 1. *Aestivorum*. "Of the summer campaign." Supply *castrorum*. We have the full expression in Tacitus (*Ann.* 1, 16, 2,) "*Castris aestivis tres simul legiones habebantur*."—*Mora*. "The postponement."—*Intentos*. "Were fixed upon him."—*Laborare*. "To endure fatigue," i. e. to accustom themselves to the severe training which formed so conspicuous a part of Roman discipline.

2. *Quantum temporis*, &c. "During as much of the summer campaign as he was in command." Albinus had returned to Africa, and continued to hold the command until the arrival of Metellus.—*Stativis castris*. "In a standing camp."—*Odos*. "The stench," arising from so many men and animals remaining long together on the same spot, and in a warm climate.

3. *Deducebantur*. In the sense here of *diducebantur*. Render the clause as follows: "Besides, the watches were not distributed according to military usage."—*Lixae*. "The followers of the camp." Cortius makes *lixae* mean here all manner of disorderly persons. Festus defines the *lixae* as follows: "*Lixae, qui exercitum sequuntur, quaestus gratia: dicti quod extra ordinem sint militiae, eisque liceat, quod libuerit. Alii eos a Licha appellatos dicunt, quod et ille Herculem sit secutus: quidam a liguriendo quaestum*." Nonius explains the name thus: "*Lixarum proprietates haec est, quod officium sustineant militibus aquae vehendae. Lixam namque aquam veteres vocaverunt; unde elixum dicimus aqua coctum*." Vossius

prefers deriving the term from *elixare*, "to cook," in allusion to their preparing the food of the soldiers. Independently of its referring to the soldiers' servants and to the sutlers, the name appears to have been occasionally also applied to buffoons. This last meaning of the word rests on a passage in Justin, (38, 10,) where, under the general name of *lixae*, are comprehended *coqui*, *pistores*, and *scenici*. Justin is speaking of the army which Antiochus led against the Parthians: "*Sed luxuriae non minor apparatus, quam militiae fuit: quippe octoginta millia armatorum secuta sunt trecenta millia lixarum, ex quibus coquorum, pistorum, scenicorumque, major numerus fuit.*"

4. *Villas*. "Country-seats."—*Panem mercari*. This was in violation of the strict rules of military discipline. Besides his pay, each soldier received a certain allowance of corn, commonly four pecks (*modii*) a month. This they were to grind, sift, and prepare for bread themselves, and afterwards bake it with their own hands. The centurions received a double, and the cavalry a triple, allowance. (*Lipsius, ad Polyb. 5. Dial. 16.*)

5. *Quaecumque ignaviae luxuriaeque probra*. "Whatever disgraceful excesses, the results of idleness and licentiousness."—*Et alia amplius*. "And others besides."

6. *Tanta temperantia, &c.* "Regulated as he was in his deportment, with so much moderation, between a desire to gain popularity on the one hand, and rigid discipline on the other," i. e. preserving in his deportment a well-regulated medium between these two extremes.—*Namque edicto, &c. Sustulisse*, in this clause, and *statuisse*, lower in the sentence, must not be taken for historical infinitives. They are both governed by *comperio* understood.—*Coctum cibum*. "Prepared food." *Ne lixae exercitum sequerentur*. "That no retainers of a camp should follow the army." Compare note 3.—*In agmine*. "On the march." *Agmen* (from *agere*) refers to an army or any body of men in motion; and it sometimes denotes such a body even when unarmed. *Exercitus* denotes an army, in the general sense of the term, as trained by exercise. *Acies* means an army in battle array. Of the three, *Exercitus* answers precisely to our English word "army."

7. *Ceteris arte modum statuisse*. "That he prescribed strict limits to the rest of the army." *Arte* is by an archaism for *arcte*.—*Transvorsis itineribus*. "By cross marches," i. e. deviating from the regular track, and consequently more difficult. His object was to inure the soldiers to fatigue.—*Vallo atque fossa*. Roman discipline was most conspicuous in their encampments. They always pitched a camp, even if they were to remain only one night in a

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31 place. The form of the camp was square. In later ages, in imitation of the Greeks, they sometimes made it circular, or adapted it to the nature of the ground. The ditch was usually nine feet deep, and twelve feet broad. The *vallum* was composed of the earth dug from the ditch, and secured and kept firm by stakes.

8. *Circumire*. "He went the rounds." In general, certain persons were appointed every night to go round the watches, hence called *circuitoires* or *circitores*. This seems to have been at first done by the *equites* and *tribuni*; on extraordinary occasions, as in the present instance, by the commander in person, attended by his *legati*. Subsequently, regular persons were chosen for that purpose by the *tribuni*. (*Vegetius*, 3, 8.)

32 1. *Confirmavit*. "He restored to its former efficiency."

2. *Innocentia*. "His incorruptible integrity."—*Cum supplicis*. "With the emblems of submission." By *supplicia*, in this sense are usually meant branches of olive. The customs, however, of different nations varied in this respect. According to the scholiast on Sophocles, (*Oed. T.* 3,) petitioners among the Greeks, usually carried boughs wrapped around with fillets of wool. Sometimes the hands were covered with these fillets, not only among the Greeks, but also among the Romans. Hence in Plautus, (*Amph.* 1, 1, 101,) we have the expression "*velatis manibus*."

3. *Experimentis*. "By actual trials," i. e. by experience.—*Infidum*, "as faithless."—*Legatos alium ab alio*, &c. "He addresses himself to each of the ambassadors apart from the others."—*Tentando*. "By tampering with them."—*Opportunus*. "Fit for his purpose."—*Maxime*. "By all means."—*Necatam*. "After they had assassinated him."

4. *Contra belli faciem*. "Contrary to the appearance which war usually presents."—*Mapalibus*. In the 18th chapter of this narrative, Sallust uses the term *mapaba* to designate huts. Here, however, *tuguria* evidently has that meaning, and *mapalia* denotes "villages." Compare note 2, page 14.—*Commeatum portare*. "To carry his provisions," i. e. to furnish vehicles for the transportation of his provisions. The advantage resulting to Metellus from this offer, would be the releasing the soldiers from a part of the heavy loads they were accustomed to carry. The strict rule was, that each soldier should carry provisions for fifteen days. The whole load of a Roman soldier was sixty pounds, exclusive of his arms. These last he was taught by active and severe exercise to consider a part of himself.

5. *Munito agmine*. "With his army guarded against every emergency."—*Et insidiis locum tentari*. "And that a spot fit for

an ambuscade was sought by the enemy," i. e. that the enemy were only seeking a spot where they might entrap him, when thrown off his guard by these marks of submission. Most editions read *tentare*. Curtius understands before this last *homines quosdam*, or something equivalent. Others make *tentare* the historical infinitive, and refer it to Metellus. According to both these explanations, however, the reading *tentare* would seem to want spirit.

6. *Velites*. "The light-armed troops." They were first instituted in the second Punic war, according to Livy (26, 4). They did not form part of the legion, and had no certain post assigned them, but fought in scattered parties where occasion required, usually before the lines.—*Perniciosior*. "More mischievous," or "hurtful."

7. *Forum rerum venalium, &c.* "The most frequented mart, for buying and selling commodities, in the whole kingdom." Salust here, by his use of the term *forum*, imitates the Roman way of speaking. The word *forum*, when applied to towns, meant places where markets were held, and where justice also was administered. The reference in the text is to the first part of this meaning, namely Vaga's being a market-town and place of trade.

1. *Huic consul, &c.* We have here followed the reading of the Bipont edition, which alone appears to afford an intelligible meaning for this much-contested passage. The phrase *huic praesidium imposuit* is the true Latin idiom, though, in translating it into our own, we are compelled to give *huic* the force of an ablative. The meaning of the passage will be as follows: "In this place, the consul stationed a garrison, as well for the sake of trying Jugurtha, as of watching the result of his own plans, in case the advantages which the place afforded should allow this to be done," i. e. for the sake of sounding the real intentions of Jugurtha, and of ascertaining whether he actually desired peace or was only seeking to lay an ambuscade, and also of watching the result of his own plans for the assassination or seizure of Jugurtha by the ambassadors; if, upon trial, the place should prove as advantageous for these two objects as he expected it would.

2. *Frequentiam negotiatorum, &c.* "That the great number of merchants residing there, would both aid his army with supplies and be a means of security to the conquests he had already made," i. e. would both readily procure supplies for his army, and, when once they had brought their property into the town for that purpose, would be willing to defend it with him against Jugurtha. We have given *commeatu*, instead of *commeatum*, on the suggestion of a critic in the Journal of Education, No. 11, p. 139. Lond. 1833

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33 In place of *etiam*, the common lection, we have put *et jam*, in the propriety of which the same critic agrees

3. *Impensius modo*. "With greater earnestness now than ever."—*Dedere*. "He offered to deliver up."—*Promissa legatorum*. "The fulfilment of their promises on the part of the ambassadors."

4. *Suis artibus*. "By his own arts," i. e. stratagem and deception.—*Alienata*. "Become the property of another," i. e. fallen into the hands of the enemy.—*Ager*. "The country."—*Animi popularium tentati*. "The affections of his subjects tampered with."

5. *Quas maxumas copias, &c.* The more usual form is *quam maxumas, &c.* which some editions give. The ellipsis may be resolved as follows: "*Parat copias, quas maxumas potest parare.*"

6. *Tractu pari*. "Running parallel with the river."—*Vastus ab natura, &c.* "Left bare by nature and the hand of man," i. e. desert and uncultivated.—*Quasi collis*. "A kind of hill," i. e. an elevation of the soil, resembling a hill.—*Humi arido atque arenoso*. "In an arid and sandy soil." Understand *solo* to govern *humi*, unless, indeed, what is far more probable, *humi* be here the old form for the dative, (*humoi*), with the force of an ablative. Those who are in favour of the ellipsis, however, will find something analagous in Lucretius, where the full form is given, "*acre solum terrae*," (5 1288. *Comp.* 5. 1294.)

7. *Media planicies*. "The intervening plain," i. e. between the mountain and the river.—*Consita arbustis*. "Overgrown with underwood."—*Frequentabantur*. "Were filled." More literally, "were crowded."

8. *Transverso itinere*. "In a cross-direction to the mountain," i. e. at right angles to the mountain.—*Extenuata suorum acie*. "Having drawn out his forces into a thin line," i. e. having extended his front as far as possible.

9. *Propior montem*. Supply *ad*, and compare Catiline, c 11. "*Quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat.*"—*Pedites delectos*. In some editions *et peditibus delectis*. Our reading is more after the manner of Sallust.—*Turmas atque manipulos*. The expressions *turmae* and *manipuli* are here employed by Sallust, either to denote that Jugurtha had introduced the Roman discipline among his troops, or else in accordance with the general custom of Roman writers, who apply to other nations terms and modes of expressions which only suit themselves.

34 1. *Decuerint*. Understand *provideri*.—*Locum superiorem*. Jugurtha enumerates four particulars, in which, like a good general, he had provided that his troops should have the advantage. 1. *Locum superiorem*. 2. *Uti prudentes cum imperitis manuum consere-*

rent. A better knowledge of the country than that possessed by the enemy. 3. *Ne pauciores cum pluribus*. No inferiority of numbers. 4. *Aut rudes cum bello melioribus*. No want of discipline.—Render *prudentes*, “they, acquainted with the country before hand.”

2. *Ut quemque, &c.* “As he had distinguished any one, on account of some military exploit, with a gift of money or with promotion in the army.”

3. *Conspicatur*. Thus far Sallust has shown us Jugurtha, actively employed among his followers. He now changes the picture, and presents us with Metellus, ignorant of the position of the foe, descending the mountain, and merely observing something that wore an unusual appearance on the neighbouring hill. Hence we see the propriety of *conspicatur* (“espies something” on the hill) as a reading, instead of the common lection, *conspicitur* (“is seen” by the enemy). Metellus saw something on the hill, but it was too undefined to enable him to ascertain its nature with any kind of certainty until he came nearer.

4. *Quidnam insolita facies ostenderet*. “What the strange appearance meant.”—*Equi Numidaeque*. “The Numidians, both horse and foot.” Thus *equi virique* signifies both horsemen and infantry.

5. *Incerti, quidnam esset*. “Leaving it uncertain what the thing actually was,” i. e. not entirely discernible. The term *incerti* refers of course to the Numidians. The adjective *certus* is derived from *cerno* and *res incerta* is nothing more than *res non bene et distincte visa*. The primitive meaning therefore of *incertus* is “about which there is no certainty,” “undefined,” “not clearly discernible.” And it is used so in the present instance. Compare the Greek form of expression, ἀόηλοι τί ποτε τοῦτ' ἀν εἶη.

6. *Agmen constitit*. “He halted his army.” *Consisto*, although apparently a neuter verb in most cases, is in reality active; thus *constitit*, “he stopped,” understand *se*. In the present instance, the accusative *agmen* is expressed, and the common reading *constituit* is not needed. Compare *Caes. B. C. 1, 51*. “*Afranius copias educit, et in medio colle sub castris constitit.*”

7. *Commutatis ordinibus*. “Having altered the arrangement of his troops.” Jugurtha, it will be recollected, had drawn up his forces on the hill, which extended in the direction of the river, and at right angles to the mountain. Metellus was descending this mountain in order to reach the river, and consequently had Jugurtha's ambuscade on his right flank. Thus far the Roman army would appear, from chapter 46, to have been marching in a single column,

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34 each legion composing that column being divided, in the usual manner, into three ranks of *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*. The moment Metellus perceives his danger, he converts his flank into a front, by wheeling the legions out of column into line on the right, and by bringing all the *hastati* of the several legions into one line, all the *principes* into a second line, and all the *triarii* into a third. The army is then drawn up in three lines, (*triplicibus subsidiis*;) with its front facing the enemy. But how is it to reach the plain? Evidently by a flank march on the left, and in this flank march the three ranks become so many files. Each soldier, therefore, when the word is given to continue the march down the mountain, faces to the left and moves on in file. If the enemy attacks them on their march, they face again to the front and oppose them. Compare, in further explanation of this movement, Polybius, (*Lips. de Milit. Rom. lib. 5, dial. 12*). 'Ἐπειδὴν προσπίπτῃ τῇ τῶν δεινῶν, ποτὲ μὲν παρὰ δεξιὰ κλίναντες, ποτὲ δ' ἐπὶ δόρυ. κ. τ. λ.

8. *Triplicibus subsidiis*. "In three lines." The term *subsidia*, which properly denotes "bodies of reserve," is here applied to the several lines, with reference to the mutual support which they afford to each other.

9. *Inter manipulos*. "In the vacant spaces between the maniples."—*Transvorsis principibus*. "Having converted the front into a flank." Consult note 7.

10. *Conficeretur*. "Might be distressed."—*Transvorsis praeciliis*. "By attacks on his flank."—*Lassitudinem et sitim*, &c "Would try the effects of weariness and thirst on his men."

11. *Sicuti monte descenderat*. "In the same order in which he had descended from the mountain."—*Post principia*. "In the centre." Literally, "after the van." By the new movement of Metellus, the cavalry of the left wing became the leading division on the march, and are hence called *principes*. The station of Marius was after the cavalry and the heads of the columns of infantry, and consequently about the centre of the line of march.—*Principes*. "The leading division." This term must not be confounded with the usual designation of the second rank of the Roman army.

35 1. *Primos suos*. "Those of his men who were stationed nearest the mountain," i. e. the left wing of the Numidian army.—*Quasi*. "About." Used for *ferè*. Compare Terence (*Heaut. 1. 1. 93*). "*Mercedem quasi talenta ad quindecim coegi*."

2. *Postremos*. By *postremi* are here meant the soldiers of the right wing, who are called the rear in reference to the direction of the Roman march by files.—*Pars a sinistra ac dextera tentare*

These words refer to a state of things immediately following a new movement on the part of the Romans, and of which movement Sallust says nothing, leaving it to be inferred by the reader. When the Romans were first attacked by the enemy, they were proceeding in a long column down to the plain, having wheeled into that order from the previous line of march. Hence by *primi*, in this new arrangement, are meant those who formed the left wing in the old order of things, and by *postremi*, those who composed the old right. The *primi* of Jugurtha's men, on the other hand, are the left wing of the Numidians as they lie in ambuscade. The Numidians attack the *postremi* of Metellus, (*postremos caedere*,) and the moment this attack is made on the Roman flank, it faces to the right and forms a front against the enemy. This is the movement of which Sallust says nothing. When it is made, the head and rear of the Roman column become respectively a new left and right wing, and the Numidians attack them on each of these new flanks, (*pars a sinistra ac dextera tentare*.)

3. *Ludificati incerto praelio*. "Baffled by this irregular mode of fighting."—*Ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur*. "Were themselves alone wounded from a distance," i. e. they could not wound the enemy in return.

4. *Numero priores*. "Being superior in number." Referring to the Numidians.—*Disjectos ab tergo aut lateribus*. The terms *tergum* and *latus* are here applied not to the entire Roman army, but merely to the parties or bands which pursued the Numidians.

5. *Ea*. The ablative. Understand *fuga*, and render as follows: "In prosecuting that flight, the horses of the Numidians, accustomed to the task, easily made their escape amid the underwood."

6. *Foeda atque miserabilis*. "Gloomy and affecting."

7. *Arma, tela, &c.* The absence of the connective conjunction gives an air of peculiar animation to this sentence.—*Consilio neque imperio*. "From previous concert, or by any regular command."—*Die*. The old genitive. Compare chapter 52. "*Et jam die vesper erat*."

8. *Illis*. Referring to the Romans.—*Cedentes*. "In case they should give way."

9. *Quos firmos, &c.* "He kept back, by attacking from afar, those whom he found to be firm in their resistance."

1. *Adverso colle evadunt*. "Charge up the hill."—*Regio hostibus ignara*. Compare chap. 18 of this history. "*Ignara lingua*," and *Tacitus*, (*Ann.* 15, 67.) "*Cui enim ignaram fuisse sacvitiam Neronis?*"

2. *In aequum locum*. "Into the plain."

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36 3. *Quid ubique*, &c. "What the enemy were doing, and where." *Ubi* is put here for *et ubi*.—*Animo vacuum*. "Was without any apprehension of an attack." More literally, "was free (from apprehension) in mind."—*Ex Jugurthae praelio*. "From the quarter where Jugurtha was engaged."

4. *Arte*. "In close order." An archaism for *arcte*.—*Quo hostium itineri obficeret*. Bomilcar extended his line in order to cut off the return of Rutilius, in case he might wish to march back to the army of Metellus.

5. *Prospectum*. "Any distant view." Hence the army of Bomilcar was not seen until quite near, and the dust itself was only beheld on a sudden, (*ex improviso*).—*Et primo rati*, &c. "And at first they thought that the arid surface of the ground was only swept by the wind," i. e. that it was only the wind sweeping over an arid and sandy surface, and raising a large cloud of dust."

6. *Aequabilem manere*. "That it remained of a uniform appearance," i. e. moved onward with regularity.—*Sicuti acies movebatur*. "As if an army were moving along."

7. *Remorati*. Supply *sunt*, which is expressed in some manuscripts and editions.—*Impeditos*. Supply *eos*, scil. *elephantos*.

8. *Fessi laetique erant*. We have recalled the reading of Cortius, *laeti*, and have changed that of the previous edition *lassi*. The meaning intended to be conveyed by Sallust appears to be this. The Romans were fatigued by a long march, and the throwing up the works of a camp, as well as by their exertions in the fight, and were at the same time rejoiced at their victory. But although in this state, and desirous, under the influence of these feelings, of sitting down and enjoying their triumph quietly, rather than commence a new march, with the chance of a second battle, they nevertheless moved forth to meet Metellus, because he delayed longer than they thought he should. The whole passage, therefore, may be rendered as follows: "The Romans, however, though they were wearied by their march, and by the labour of fortifying their camp, as well as by their exertions in the fight, and were at the same time rejoiced at their success; still," &c. (Comp. *Journal Ed.* No. 11, p. 137).

37 1. *Nihil languidi*, &c. "Admitted of no languor nor remissness on the part of the Romans."

2. *Strepitu*. "By reason of the noise made on both sides."—*Facinus lamentabile*. "A lamentable accident."

3. *Advorsae res*, &c. "A defeat casts reproach even upon the brave." Comp. Burnouf: "L'adversité calomnie jusq' aux braves"

4. *Saucios cum cura reficit*. "Carefully attends to the recovery

of his wounded soldiers."—*In praelius*. "In the two engagements," Page
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i. e. the one which he had fought with Jugurtha, and the other between Rutilius and Bomilcar.

5. *Ubi gentium*. "In what part of the country he was." Whereabouts.—*Ut sese victus gereret*. "How he conducted himself since his defeat."

6. *Numero hominum, &c.* "Superior to the former one in point of numbers, but undisciplined and weak, acquainted with husbandry and pasturage, rather than with war," i. e. composed of husbandmen and herdsmen rather than of soldiers.

7. *Ea gratia*. "On the following account." Compare Plautus, *Truc. Prol.* 9. "*Sed hoc agamus, huc qua ventum est gratia,*" i. e. *propter quod*: οὐ χάριν.

8. *Flagitium militiae*. "A disgraceful abandonment of their duty as soldiers."—*Ita se mores habent*. "Such is their national usage." More literally, "so the habits of the nation have themselves." This custom of abandoning their general after a defeat is always characteristic of a semi-barbarous nation, and was of constant occurrence among the uncivilized communities of antiquity.

9. *Ferozem*. "Unsubdued."—*Ex illius lubidine*. "According to his pleasure." Jugurtha was enabled, by retreating rapidly to parts of the country, known to himself, and not to the Romans, to give the enemy an opportunity of fighting only when he himself pleased.—*Iniquum*. "Unequal."—*Non praeliis neque acie*. "Not by regular encounters, nor in a pitched battle."

10. *Temere munita*. "That had been fortified in a hurried manner." More freely, "slightly fortified."—*Praeda esse*. Some editions have *praedam*, as an accusative before *esse*, and depending on *jubet*. In our reading *esse* is the historical infinitive.

1. *Sua loca*. "Places of his own choosing," i. e. advantageous to himself.—*In alienis*. "In those selected by another."—*Ex copia*. "Considering all circumstances." Upon a full review of the case. 38

2. *Plerumque*. Agreeing with *exercitum*. This adjective is rarely used in the singular. In early Latinity, *plerus*,—*a*,—*um*, were often employed without any syllabic adjection, and hence the use, at a somewhat later period, of *plerusque*, &c. in the singular number.

3. *Aviis*. "Removed from the beaten track."—*Ignoratus*. "Unobserved."—*Romanos palantis*. Referring to only a part of the Roman troops, not to the entire army of Metellus.

4. *Ut seque, &c.* The interchange of tenses in this passage gives an air of great animation to the style: "How he *was* regula-

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38 *ting* his own and the department of his army by the usages of former days; though in an adverse situation, *had* nevertheless proved victorious by his valour; *was becoming master of the enemy's country; had compelled Jugurtha, rendered arrogant,*" &c.

5. *Supplicia*. "A thanksgiving." When a general had obtained an important victory, a thanksgiving was decreed by the senate to be made in the various temples. What was called a *Lectisternium* then took place, when couches were spread for the gods, as if about to feast, and their statues were taken down from their pedestals, and placed upon these couches around the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes.

6. *Laeta agere*. "Gave loose to joy," i. e. *agebat laeta negotia*, equivalent in fact to *laeta erat*. The term *gaudium* denotes properly the feeling of joy, or joy of a comparatively moderate kind. *Laetitia* refers to the expression of joy, by words and gestures, and hence is much stronger in meaning than *gaudium*. A similar difference exists between *gaudere* and *lactari*.

7. *Praeclara esse*. For *praeclara erat*.—*Victoriam*. "A decisive victory."—*Necubi*. Equivalent to *ne alicubi*. So *ne quis* for *ne aliquis*.—*Opportunus*. "Exposed." Open to attack.

8. *Effuso exercitu*. "With his army scattered over the country."—*Cohortes*. Referring to the cohorts of the allies. If the legionary troops had been meant, the term *legiones*, or the expression *cohortes legionariae* would have been employed.—*Praesidium agitabant*. "Acted as a convoy." Formed a convoy or guard. Equivalent to *praesidio erant*.

9. *Partim*. The old accusative for *partem*, more commonly taken as an adverb.

10. *Divorsi agebant*. "They acted apart." In different quarters of the country.—*Pugnae*. The dative after a substantive. Scheller, *L. G.* vol. 2, p. 1.

39 1. *Arcem regni*. "A stronghold of the kingdom."—*Zamam* Consult Geographical Index.

2. *Perfugis*. The term *perfuga* denotes a deserter from our enemies to us, and *transfuga*, one from us to our enemies. Compare the remark of Popma: "*Transfuga suos relinquit et ad alios venit; perfuga supplex est: ergo transfuga, ut adjuvetur, fit perfuga.*"

3. *Quia fallere nequibant*. They could not prove false to Jugurtha, and go back to the Romans, because they were sure of receiving from the latter the severest punishment. Hence Jugurtha had no fear of their abandoning his standard, and rejoining their countrymen. Valerius Maximus speaks of deserters having been

deprived of their hands by Quintus Fabius Maximus; of others who were either crucified or beheaded by the elder Africanus; of others who were exposed to wild beasts by the younger Africanus and of others whom Paulus Aemilius ordered to be trampled under foot by elephants, (2, 7). Hence it follows, that the punishment of deserters was left to the pleasure of the commander.

4. *Ex itinere*. "From the line of march." The main army was marching towards Zama.—*Frumentatum*. "To obtain provisions." So *aquatum*, "to obtain water," *lignatum*, "to procure fuel," &c. —*Post malam pugnam*. The allusion is to the recent defeat sustained by Jugurtha as mentioned in chapter 52.

5. *In porta*. "In the very gate of the city." Referring to Sicca.—*Casum*. "An opportunity."—*Sese*. Alluding to himself, Jugurtha.—*Illos*. The people of Sicca.—*Inferre signa*. "To advance." To move straight onward. *Referre signa*, "to retreat." *Convertere signa*, "to face about." *Conferre signa*, "to engage."

6. *Fidem mutavissent*. "Would have changed sides." Would have broken the faith they had pledged to the Romans, after the defeat of Jugurtha, and gone over to their former master.

7. *Infensi intentique*. "Full of hostile ardour and on the alert." —*Alii*. Opposed to *pars*. Some editions have *evadere alii* before *alii succedere*, but this is very properly rejected by others. The assailants were only of two classes, those who fought from a distance (*eminus*), and those who advanced to the ramparts (*succedere*), and attempted at one time to undermine, at another to scale, the walls.

1. *Pice et sulphure taedam mixtam*. "Torches besmeared with pitch and sulphur." *Mixtam* is to be taken in the sense of *illitam*, and *ardentia* ("all on fire") is put in the neuter gender as referring to *sudes*, *pila* and *taedam*, things without life. The *pila* had combustibles attached to them.—The reading we have adopted, is that of Gruter. Cortius, however, gives the following: *sudes, pila, prae-terea picem sulphure et taeda mixtam, ardentia mittere*. 40

2. *Illos, qui procul manserant*. Referring to those of the Romans who are described in the previous part of the chapter, as fighting from a distance (*eminus pugnare*.)—*Muniverat*. In the sense of *tuebatur*.

3. *Castra hostium*. This is one of the very few passages where Sallust applies the term *hostes* to his own countrymen, in contradistinction to the Numidians.

4. *Quisque pro moribus*. "Each, according to his character."

5. *Pauci in pluribus*, &c. "Being few in number amid numerous host of assailants, they were less mistaken in their aim."

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40 In casting their weapons among the great numbers opposed to them, it was impossible for the Romans not to do great execution.—*Ibi vero*. “Then indeed.”

6. *Ad se vorsum*. For *advorsum se*.—*Popularis esse*. “That they were his own men.” Literally, “his countrymen.”—*Statim*. This adverb is not redundant here as some imagine. Metellus first quickly despatched the cavalry, and, *immediately after*, Marius with the allied cohorts.

7. *Inultos*. “Unpunished.” Without taking ample vengeance upon them. *Inultus* is here taken passively. It is used actively in Catiline, c. 58. “*Cavete inulti vitam amittatis*.”

8. *In angustiis*. “In the narrow passages of the gates.” *Ipsi sibi obficerent*. “Obstructed one another.”

9. *Agitare*. “To patrol.”—*Proxima loca*. “The adjoining posts,” i. e. the parts nearest the gates.

41 1. *In proximo*. “Nearest the enemy,” i. e. “*in loco proximo hostibus*.”—*Pedites*. “Their infantry.” Referring to the Numidians.—*Facerent*. The pluperfect *quivissent* refers to the probable result, the imperfect *facerent*, to the action as going on at the time.

2. *Quibus illi freti*. *Quibus* refers to the infantry, and *illi* to the cavalry, of the Numidians.—*Advorsis equis concurrere*, &c. “Charged straight onward, disordered and broke our line.”—*Hostis paene victos dare*. After the Numidian cavalry had broken the Roman line, they gave the enemy, now almost conquered, into the hands of their light-armed infantry, who were intermingled with the horse. The Romans, it will be perceived, are here again called *hostes*, with reference to the Numidians.

3. *Niti*. Referring to the Roman soldiery.—*Pariter*. “With equal energy.”—*Oppugnare aut parare*, &c. The former of these two verbs refers to the Romans, the latter to the Numidians. With *parare* we may understand *defensionem*.

4. *Hostes*. Referring to the Romans.—*Pugnam*. “The attack.”—*Intenti*. “With eager feelings.”

5. *Niti corporibus*. “Made movements with their bodies.”—*Et huc, illuc, agitare*. “And threw themselves into this posture, and then into that.”

6. *Lenius*. “With less vigour.”—*Diffidentiam rei*. “A distrust of success.”—*Sine tumultu*. “Without any disturbance on his part,” i. e. without interruption.—*Visere*. “To view.”

7. *Studio suorum adstrictis*. “While they were engrossed with anxious concern for their countrymen.”—*Scalis aggressi*. “Having assailed it by the aid of their scaling ladders.” Some editions

have *egressi*, which will refer to the soldiers having left the ladders, and being now in the act of clinging to the battlements.

8. *Unae*. This numeral is used in the plural with nouns which have no singular, or are used in a different sense in that number; or else, whose singular is of rare occurrence. Thus, *una moenia, una castra, unae literae*, &c. In the present instance the singular number of *scala* is rarely, if ever, met with, and hence the plural form is employed. Charisius, Diomedes, and other grammarians, maintain that the singular of this word is never used. Compare Quintilian, 1, 5, 16 :—“*Scala tamen et scopa, contraque hordea et mulsula, licet literarum mutationem, detractionem, adjectionem non habeant, non alio vitiosa sunt quam quod pluralia singulariter, et singularia pluraliter efferuntur.*” Celsus, however, (8. 15,) uses the singular of *scala*: thus, “*Sic brachium deligatum super scalae gallinariae gradum trajicitur;*” and also Caius, (*Dig. lib. 46. tit. 2. leg. 56.*) “*Qui scalam commodaverit ad ascendendum.*”

9. *Ceteri*. Those who stood on the ladders that had not yet been broken.

10. *Inceptum*. Understand *fuisse*.—*Suo loco*. “In a place of his own selecting.” Equivalent to *loco sibi opportuno*.

1. *Ceterum exercitum*. “The rest of his army.”—*Qua*. Sup- 42
ply *parte*. If we read *quae*, as most editions do, we shall have merely an unmeaning gloss, *quae proxima est Numidiae*.

2. *Vadibus datis*. “Although sureties had been given for his appearance.” Compare chap. 35.—*Per maxumam amicitiam*. “On account of his very intimate friendship with the monarch.”

3. *Sua omnia*. He had lost all his property by confiscation, in consequence of his not having stood his trial at Rome. Metellus promises that this shall be restored to him, if he betray Jugurtha.—*Per conditiones*. Because he had broken his engagement and not stood trial.

4. *Illo*. Referring to Jugurtha

5. *Jugurtham*. Understand *qui dicerent* before *Jugurtham*. Some editions have *Qui Jugurtham imperata facturum dicerent*.—*Sine ulla pactione*. “Unconditionally.” Without any stipulation.

6. *Cunctos senatorii ordinis*. There were of course many individuals of senatorian rank in the army, either as *legati, quaestores*, or even *tribuni militum*.—*Quos idoneos ducebat*. It appears from Cæsar, B. G. 5, 28, that the chief centurion in each legion was also entitled to a seat in the council of war.

7. *Argenti pondo ducenta millia*. “Two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver.” *Pondo* is the old ablative, for *pondere*; we must therefore understand *librarum* after *ducenta millia*.

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1. *Ad imperandum*. The gerund is here used, according to the grammarians, in the passive sense, "for the purpose of being ordered," i. e. "of receiving orders." A few other passages occur, in the Latin writers now extant, in which the gerund is similarly employed. In the present instance, however, an active meaning, though not a very elegant one, may be given to *imperandum*, "for the purpose of an ordering of him on the part of Metellus," i. e. "for the purpose of Metellus's ordering him." In this same way, perhaps, the other instances may be explained. Thus, *Nep. Att.* 9, "*Spes restituendi nulla erat.*" "There was no hope of his being restored," i. e. "of a restoring of him;" and again, *Justin*, 17, 5, "*Athenas erudiendi gratia missus.*" "He was sent to Athens, for the sake of being instructed," i. e. for an instructing of himself.

2. *Flectere animum suum*. "To change his resolve." T waver.

3. *Multis magnisque praesidiis*. "Many and great resources" Money, horses, arms, elephants.

4. *Numidiam Metello decreverat*. Metellus's consulship having expired, he was continued in command another year, as proconsul, and the province of Numidia was voted to him by the senate. The consuls for this year (A. U. C. 646.) were Servius Sulpicius Galba and Q. Hortensius, in the place of which latter M. Aurelius Scaurus was afterwards chosen.

5. *C. Mario*. Marius was a complete slave to superstition, as might well be expected in an ignorant and uneducated man. Plutarch and Frontinus both make mention of a Syrian woman, named Martha, whom he carried about with him, and who, as he pretended, and very likely believed, was possessed of the gift of prophecy.

6. *Agitabat*. "He was meditating."—*Cuncta prospera evenitura*. The adjective *prospera* is here used adverbially. Compare Catiline, chap. 26. "*Quae occulte tentaverat, aspera foedaque evenerant*"

7. *Praeter vetustatem familiae*. "Except antiquity of family." Noble birth.—*Alia omnia*. "All other qualifications."—*Animus belli ingens, &c.* "A spirit intrepid in war, moderate in peace." This *animus domi modicus* underwent a change, when, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter, *ambitione praeceps datus est*.

8. *His natus*. Understand *virtutibus* after *his*. Most editions read *Sed is, natus, &c.* The lection we have adopted, however, appears decidedly preferable, as marking the contrast between the early and later periods of Marius's life.

9. *Stipendiis faciundis*. "In actual service." Literally, "in making campaigns."

10. *Urbanis munditiis*. "The luxurious refinements of a city life." These are enlarged upon by Marius in the course of his speech before the people, chap. 85.—*Inter artis bonas*. "Amid manly practices." By a course of manly discipline.

11. *Plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus*. The reason of this was, because he had been born and brought up out of the city, and been always hitherto conversant with camps and warfare.—*Facile notus*. "Being easily recognised by name." At first, no one knew who the candidate was: but when his name, *Caius Marius*, was heard, he was easily recognised by the people as a brave and gallant soldier.

12. *Per omnis tribus*. The tribes were, at this period, thirty-five in number. Compare Livy, 33, 25.

13. *In potestatibus*. "In the exercise of authority."—*Ampliore* "Of a higher office."

14. *Ad id locorum*. "Up to that time." *Locus* is here used for *tempus*. Compare chapter 72. "*Post id locorum*," i. e. *postea*. So Terence uses *interea loci* for *interea*, and Plautus *interibi*.

15. *His*. "By these," i. e. the nobility.

16. *Cupido animi*. "His ambitious feelings."—*Petundi*. Sup-
ply *consulatum*.—*Missionem*. "Leave of absence." A furlough.

1. *Contemptor animus*. "A disdainful spirit."—*Tam prava*. "So
erroneous a line of conduct." 44

2. *Jure*. "With good reason." On account of his low birth, and want of proper education.

3. *Ubi primum, &c.* "As soon as he should be allowed to do this, by the state of public affairs," i. e. as soon as he, Marius, could be spared from the army.

4. *Satis mature*. "Soon enough."—*Cum filio suo*. With his (Metellus's) son," i. e. when his son should be old enough to stand candidate along with him.—*Contubernio patris*. "In the tent of his father." *Contubernium* properly denotes a certain number of soldiers quartered in the same tent. Hence young noblemen, under the general's particular care, were said to serve or live in his tent (*contubernio ejus militare*) and were called his *contubernaes*.

5. *Annos natus, &c.* As the strictly legal age for obtaining the consulship was 43 years, Marius, according to the ironical advice of Metellus, would have to wait 23 years longer: and as we may suppose Marius to have been, at the time here alluded to, at least 43 years, (since he entertained thoughts of then standing for the consulship,) he would have to delay his suit until he was 66 years old. Compare Plutarch's account of this same matter, at the conclusion of note 3, page 47, of this narrative.

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44 6. *Grassari*. "He advanced boldly onward to the object of his ambition."

7. *Ambitosum*. "Calculated to gain popularity."—*Laxiore imperio*. "Under a more relaxed discipline."—*Negotiatores*. The *negotiatores*, especially under the republic, were they who remained for some considerable time in one particular place, whether at Rome or in the provinces. The *mercatores*, on the contrary, remained a very short time in any place; they visited many countries, and were almost constantly occupied with importing or exporting articles of merchandise.

8. *Criminose simul*, &c. "Both in a style of accusation as regarded Metellus, and of boasting with respect to himself."—*Dimidia pars*. Understand *si*, and compare Virgil, *Aen.* 6, 31, "*sineret dolor*."

9. *Trahi*. Understand *bellum*.—*Quod homo inanis*, &c. "Because, being a vain man, and with all the haughtiness of a king." The epithet *regiæ* is well calculated to arouse the indignant feelings of Romans.

10. *Corruperant*. "They had impaired."—*Animo cupienti*. "To an ardent spirit." One impatient to attain its object.

11. *Secundum heredem*. By *hæres secundus* (next or second heir) among the Romans, was meant the individual to whom the inheritance descended, if the heir or heirs who were first appointed did not choose to accept, or died under the age of puberty.

12. *Mente paulum imminuta*. "With his mental faculties a little impaired."

13. *Sellam*. The general had a chair of state, on which he sat when he presided in a council of war, or in judgment, or gave audience to ambassadors. His lieutenants, or *legati*, and other persons of distinction, took places around him; and if a king happened to be in the army, he sat next to the general on his right hand. The *sella curulis*, used not only on these occasions, but by all the higher classes of Roman magistrates, was a stool or seat without a back, with four crooked feet fixed to the extremities of cross pieces of wood, joined by a common axis, somewhat in the form of the letter X, and covered with leather; so that it might be conveniently folded together for the purpose of carriage, and set down wherever the magistrate chose to use it. It was frequently adorned with ivory, and hence called *Curule ebur*.

14. *Custodiæ caussa*. He was apprehensive lest he might meet with the same fate as Massiva, who had been assassinated at Rome.—*Equitum Romanorum*. "Of Roman horse." Not of Roman knights, but of the cavalry of the army.—*Honorem*. Referring to

the privilege of sitting next to the commander on the right.—*Reges adpellavisset*. “Had saluted with the title of kings.”—*Numidae*. The dative case. 44

1. *Anxium*. “Vexed at the refusal.”—*Secunda oratione*. “In flattering speech.”—*Id adeo*. “That this indeed.” *Adeo* is here equivalent to *vero*. 45

2. *Milites et negotiatores*. Both these terms apply to *equites Romanos*, by which last are here meant, not the cavalry merely, as in the previous instance, but members of the equestrian order, some of whom served in the army, while others were engaged in carrying on trade.—*Aspere*. “Harshly.”

3. *Honestissima suffragatione*. “By a very respectable interest,” i. e. by great numbers, in a manner highly honourable.—*Plebes*. A noun of the fifth declension, *plebes—ei*, unless we consider, as some do, the form *plebei* as an old dative, where the diphthong *ei* is put in the place of the long final *i*. If so, the genitive of *plebes* will be *plebis*, and it will be, like *plebs*, a noun of the third declension.

4. *Omissa deditione*. The narrative now returns, after this digression respecting Marius, to the state of things mentioned at the close of chapter 62.—*Bellum incipit*. “Begins the war anew.” Renews the war. *Incipit* is here to be taken in the sense of *rursus incipit*, or *renovat*.

5. *Adfectare*. “He strove to recover.”—*Communire*. “He carefully fortified.”—*Reficere*. “He made anew.”—*Commercari*. “Bought up on all sides.”—*Cuncta agitare*. “He put every engine in motion.” Left nothing unattempted.

6. *Vagenses, quo*. Translate *quo*, “in whose city.”—*Pacificante*. “Was making proposals for peace.”—*Supplicius*. “By the entreaties.”—*Voluntate*. “In affection.”—*Principes*. To be construed along with *Vagenses*. “The principal inhabitants of Vaga.”

7. *Nam volgus, &c.* The lower orders are here referred to in their turn. The meaning of the historian is, that the principal inhabitants conspired against the Romans, because they still retained an attachment to Jugurtha, and were, therefore, easily prevailed upon by his entreaties. The lower orders, however, needed no solicitation for this purpose, as they were naturally fond of change, and impatient of repose.

8. *Discordiosum*. “Contentious” Fond of discord and quarrels. This is supposed by some to be a word peculiar to Sallust. It occurs, however, in Sidonius (*Ep* 6, 2, *extr.*) and Cyprian (*Ep* 42, 2.)

9 *Festus*. Days among the Romans were divided into *dies festi*.

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45 "holy days;" *dies profesti*, "common days;" and *dies intercesi*, "half holy days." The *dies profesti*, again, were the same with the *dies fasti*, or those on which the courts of law could be held, and the *dies festi* were the same with the *dies nefasti*, or days on which no law business could be transacted.

10. *Ludum et lasciviam*, &c. "Presented an appearance of sport and merriment, rather than of what was calculated to alarm."

11. *Quippe*. In the sense of *utpote*.—*Sine imperio*. "Under no command."—*Acta consiliumque*. "Of what had been done, and of the plot which had been formed." *Acta* refers to what had been arranged beforehand by the conspirators, not to what was then passing, which would have been expressed by *quae agebantur*.

46 1. *Trepidare ad arcem oppidi*. "Hurried in great confusion to the citadel."—*Praesidium hostium*. "A guard of the enemy stationed there."—*Pro tectis*. "In front of the roofs," i. e. on the eaves of the houses.

2. *Anceps malum*. "The evil which threatened on all sides."—*Infirmisimo generi*. "The feeblest portion of the human race," i. e. women and boys.

3. *In ea tanta asperitate*. "In this so distressing a situation of affairs."—*Nisi*. "Except that." Equivalent to *nisi quod*.—*Intestabilisque*. "Infamous," or, "detestable." The word properly denotes one who can neither make a will, be a witness, nor receive a testamentary bequest. Sallust, in his account of the conduct of Turpilius, does not agree with Plutarch, who makes the accusation to have been a false one, and Turpilius to have been condemned through the agency of Marius. Compare note 3, page 47.

4. *E conspectu abit*. "Withdraws from public view," i. e. from the view of the army. Understand *militum*.—*Ira et aegritudo* "Resentment and grief."

5. *Numidas Equites*. Forming part of the allied forces.—*Expeditos*. "Disencumbered of baggage."—*Horam tertiam*. The Romans divided the natural day, or the space from sunrise to sunset, into twelve hours, which were of course shorter in winter and longer in summer. At the equinoxes, the third hour would exactly coincide with our ninth. The night was divided into four watches, each consisting of three hours, which were likewise of a different length at different times of the year. Thus *hora sexta noctis*, "midnight."—*Septima*, "one o'clock in the morning," &c.

6. *Abnuentis omnia*. "Entirely averse to any farther exertion." Sallust does not mean that the troops now openly refused obedience to orders, but that, by their looks and gestures, they plainly expressed

their unwillingness to proceed. This is extremely well indicated by *abnuentis*. 46

7. *Mille passuum*. "A mile." Literally, "a thousand paces." The Roman *passus*, or, "pace," was equal to one yard, 1.85375 feet of English measure, and, consequently, the Roman mile was 1617 yards, 2.75 feet.

8. *Praedam benigne ostentat*. "He generously offers them the booty of the place."—*In primo*. Understand *agmine*.—*Late*. The object of this arrangement was that the cavalry might conceal from view the infantry behind them.

9. *Numidas equites*. It is now seen why these were stationed in front.—*Rursum*. Referring to their change of opinion. Render the clause, "having changed their opinion, and thought it was Jugurtha."

1. *Volgum*. The ancient writers generally prefer *volgum* or *vulgum*, in the accusative, to *volgus* or *vulgus*.—*Effusum*. "That had poured out in great numbers." 47

2. *Ex perfidia*. "After their treachery."—*Poenae cuncta, &c.* "Was entirely given up to punishment or plunder." *Poenae fuit* is an unusual form of expression, but does not offend when placed in the same sentence with the more usual construction *praedae fuit*.

3. *Capite poenas solvit*. According to Plutarch, Turpilius and his family had long been retainers to that of Metellus, and he attended him in this war in the character of master of the artificers. Marius, who was one of the council of war that tried him, was not only himself severe against him, but stirred up most of the other judges; so that it was carried against the opinion of Metellus, and it was much against his will that he passed upon him sentence of death. A short time afterwards, according to Plutarch, the accusation appeared a false one, and all the other officers sympathized with Metellus, who was overwhelmed with sorrow; while Marius with joy declared that the thing was all his own doing, and was not ashamed to acknowledge, in all companies, that he had lodged an avenging fury in the breast of Metellus, which would not fail to punish him for having put to death the hereditary friend of his family. Plutarch states, that after this they became more open enemies, and that the conversation between Metellus and Marius, of which Sallust makes mention in the 64th chapter of this narrative, took place subsequently to this event. According to the biographer, one day, when Marius was standing by, Metellus said by way of insult, "You are thinking, then, my good friend, of leaving us, and going home to solicit the consulship: would you not be contented to stay, and be consul with this son of mine?" The son of Metellus, adds

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47 Plutarch, was then very young. (*Plut. Vit. Mar. c. 8.*—*ed. Hutten* vol. 3, p. 68.)

4. *Nam is civis ex Latio erat.* It was enacted by the Porcian law, that no one should bind, scourge, or kill, a Roman citizen; and by the Sempronian law, that sentence should not be passed upon the life of a Roman citizen without the order of the people. It still remains a disputed point whether the operation of these laws was suspended or not in the Roman camp. The present passage of Sallust goes to prove, that the laws in question were not superseded by the military power of the consul, but remained in full force, since the words of our author fairly imply that Turpilius would not have lost his life had he been a citizen of Rome. In the days of Polybius, however, before the period of which Sallust treats, it would appear that the punishment of delinquents in the camp was not impeded by the laws mentioned above. The subject is discussed by Lipsius, (*De Mil. Rom. 5. dial. 18.*), though without being brought to any definite conclusion.

5. *Eum suspiciens* "Suspecting him." An unusual meaning for the verb *suspicio*, which commonly denotes, "to look upward," "to admire," &c. It derives its peculiar force, in the present instance, from its opposition to *suspectus*, both *suspectus* and *suspiciens* coming from the same verb. The common form is *suspectans*.

6. *Fatigare animum.* "He wearied his invention."—*Popularibus suis.* "To his countrymen."—*Superaverant.* "Had remained undone." More literally, "had remained over." To complete the construction we may understand *agenda*, but this is not necessary.

7. *Inter hiberna.* In chapter 61 we are informed, that Metellus had fixed the winter quarters of his army in that part of the Roman province which was nearest to Numidia, and that he had besides stationed garrisons in several cities of Numidia. Hence the propriety of the phrase *inter hiberna*.

8. *Metusque rem impediabat.* These words are added in order to explain the force of *perculsus*, and are not therefore superfluous, as some consider them.

9. *Vetere consilio.* "His former design," i. e. his late engagement.

10. *Mollitiem seordiamque.* "The effeminacy and want of spirit."—*Praemia.* The rewards they were to receive from Metellus, in case they betrayed Jugurtha.—*Id modo agitari.* "That this alone was the question."

11. *Aegrum animum.* "A mind burdened with care." Ill at ease.—*Negotiorum curator.* "The manager of his private affairs." Some of the French editors make this office the same as that of private secretary. It is rather that of confidential agent and adviser

1. *Opera et ingenio suo.* "Of his assistance and abilities."—*In pulvino.* "On the pillow."

2. *Rem omnem, &c.* "Learnt the whole affair, as it had taken place." Was informed of all that had taken place. An imitation of the Greek idiom, for *cognovit uti res omnis acta esset.*—*Indicem.* "The informer."—*Paravisset.* "Had intended to do."—*Praeventa* "Had been anticipated."

3. *Oppresserat.* "He suppressed."—*Quieta.* "Given to uninterrupted repose." Jugurtha enjoyed no tranquillity of mind either by day or night.—*Fuere.* Some editions have *fuit*, and, strictly speaking, the singular is here the proper form on account of the disjunctive *aut* which precedes. Similar deviations, however, sometimes occur in the best writers. Thus Cicero, (*Or.* 2, 4, 16,) "*Ne Sulpicius aut Cotta plus quam ego apud te valere videntur.*" So Longinus, (c. 14, ed. Weiske,) πῶς ἂν Πλάτων ἢ Δημοσθένης ἕψωσαν, ἢ ἐν ἱστορίᾳ Θεουκιδίδης. The aim of the writers, who use this construction, appears to be, to present the different objects to the mind in such a way as that they may operate with combined force upon it, and at the same time not lose their individuality.

4. *Circumspectare.* "He narrowly inspected."—*Omni strepitu* "At every noise."—*Contra decus regium.* "In a manner unsuitable to royal dignity."—*Ita formidine, &c.* How well does Sallust here describe the heavy penalty which Jugurtha was now beginning to pay for his crimes!

5. *Fatigantem de profectione.* "Importuning him for leave to depart."—*Quae de Metello ac Mario, &c.* Compare chapter 65, towards the close.—*Volenti animo, &c.* "Received, with feelings of satisfaction, the accounts contained in them respecting both." *Volenti animo* are here ablatives, and not, as some think, datives with *quae erant* understood, in imitation of the Greek construction.

6. *Illi alteri.* "To the other." *Illi* is here used for the definitive article. The reference is to Marius.—*Studia partium.* "The violence of party-spirit."

7. *Metellum capitis arcessere.* "Charged Metellus with capital offences." *Arcesso* properly means "to send for," "to summon," "to summon to a court of justice," &c.

1. *Quorum res fidesque, &c.* "Whose whole substance and credit depended on their daily labour."—*Frequentarent Marium* "Attended Marius in crowds." 49

2. *Post multas tempestates.* "After a long series of years," i. e. after a long period of uninterrupted possession on the part of the former, namely, the nobility. Cicero, another *novus homo*, obtained

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49 the consulship a long time after Marius. Some very erroneously refer *tempestates* in this passage to civil dissensions, contrary to the usage of Sallust. Compare Catiline, chapter 53, "*multis tempestatibus.*"

3. *Decreverat.* "Had decreed this," i. e. the management of this war. Some editions have *Numidiam* expressed, which is equivalent. The determination of the consular provinces properly belonged to the senate. Sometimes, however, the people, as in the present instance, reversed what the senate had decreed respecting the provinces. So the attempt of Marius, by means of the tribune Sulpicius, to get the command of the war against Mithridates transferred from Sylla to himself by the suffrages of the people, gave occasion to the first civil war at Rome.

4. *Bocchum.* Bocchus was king of Mauritania. Compare chap. 19.

5. *Varius incertusque agitabat.* Understand *sese.* "Was distracted by a variety of schemes, and uncertain which to put in operation."—*Neque illi res,* &c. "Neither any result, nor any plan of operations, nor any individual fully pleased him." *Res* is here equivalent to *facta,* and *consilium* to *facienda.*

6. *Quocumque intenderat.* Understand *animum.* "Whithersoever he directed his thoughts."

7. *Pro tempore.* "As well as the occasion would admit."—*Ejus milites.* These words have very much the appearance of a useless gloss, though they are given in all the manuscripts.

8. *Tuta sunt.* For *tuita sunt,* from *tueor.* The primitive form was *tuor, tuitus sum, tui.* Compare *Catullus,* 20, 5. *Stat. Achill.* 1, 131, *ap. Prisc.* 8, 17. *Plaut. Asin.* 2, 3, 23, &c.

9. *Impensius modo,* &c. "Now more than ever distrusting the success of his affairs."

10. *Filiorumque ejus,* &c. "And where many things had been provided for the educating and rearing of his offspring." *Filiorum* appears to be here used both for sons and daughters. Compare the remark of Quintilian, (9, 3,) "*Jungit autem et diversos sexus, ut cum marem feminamque filios dicimus.*" So also, Cortius, (*ad. loc.*) "*Filiorum credo etiam ad filias Jugurthae spectat. A potiore enim sexu denominationem sumunt, et filios, fratres, soceros, patres, avos, reges, dicunt, qui sunt ex utroque sexu.*"

11. *Flumenque proximum.* Referring to the last river that would be met with before coming to Thala.—*Patrandi.* In the sense of *conficiendi,* "bring to a close."—*Naturam etiam.* Referring to the difficulties presented by the arid country which intervened.

50 1. *Vasa.* In the singular *vas, vasis,* in the plural *vasa, vasorum.* The old nominative *vasum* occurs in *Plaut. Truc.* 1, 1, 33

2. *Ubi praesto forent.* We have adopted the reading of all the old editions, *forent*, instead of *fuertint*, which latter is given by Cortius and others. The sense requires *forent*, "where they should be ready."

3. *Ea modo.* "It alone."—*Officia intenderant.* "Had overdone their duty," i. e. had exceeded their instructions. *Intendere* has here the force of "*augere*," "*in magnitudinem extendere.*" Compare *Suetonius*, (*Tib.* 62,) "*Auxit intenditque saevitiam.*"

4. *Religione.* "From a religious feeling." They ascribed the rain to the manifest interposition of the gods.—*Animis eorum.* "To their courage." The more usual form would be the singular *animo.*

5. *Locorum asperitate.* "By the difficulties which the country presented."

6. *Infectum.* "Impracticable."—*Arma, tela.* These terms must be translated generally, "calculated for defence, for offence."—*Ceteris imperitantem.* "Giving laws to the rest of men." *Imperito* denotes the frequent exercise of unlimited authority, and is well calculated to express the superiority of nature over the efforts of man.—*Industria.* "By persevering efforts."

7. *Per otium, &c.* "In time of leisure, and in consequence of opportunity."

8. *Praelio intentos.* "Determined to defend themselves." Equivalent to "*ad strenue pugnandum paratos.*"

9. *Ex copia.* "Out of the whole number," which the situation of the place afforded. Sallust does not mean, out of a large number, but out of as many as the place presented for selection.

10. *Et super aggerem, &c.* We have given the reading of Cortius. The Bipont edition has, *insuper aggere, turribus, opus et administros tutari.*

11. *Multo ante labore, &c.* In construing, we must render *ante* as if it were an adjective qualifying *labore* and *praeliis.* "At length, the Romans, worn out by much previous fatigue and fighting," i. e. previously to taking the place. *Ante* is equivalent, in fact, to *antequam urbem ceperint.*

12. *Pox dies quadraginta, quam, &c.* Equivalent to *die quadragesimo postquam eo ventum erat.* Consult note 3, page 68.—*Oppido modo potiti.* "Made themselves masters of the town alone."—*Corrupta.* "Was destroyed."

1. *Arietibus.* The most formidable machine made use of by the Romans for the taking of cities was the *aries*, or "battering ram;" a long beam, like the mast of a ship, and armed at one end with iron in the form of a ram's head; whence it had its name. It was sus-

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51 pended by the middle with ropes or chains fastened to a beam that lay across two posts, and, hanging thus equally balanced, it was by a hundred men, more or less, (who were frequently changed,) violently thrust forward, drawn back, again pushed forward, till by repeated strokes it had shaken and broken down the wall with its iron head. The ram was covered with sheds or mantlets, called *vineae*, which have already been described.

2. *Adfictas*. "Completely ruined." Literally, "dashed to the ground."—*Prima*. "Most valuable." Compare Catiline, chapter 36.—*Eas ipsi volentes pependere*. "This (punishment) they suffered voluntarily from their own hands." Literally, "these (atonements) they of themselves voluntarily paid." They had nothing to expect from the Roman commander, in case they fell into his hands, but the cruelest punishment.

3. *Pariter cum capta Thala*. The same as *Eodem tempore quo Thala capta fuit*.—*Praefectumque*. "And governor."—*Ni id festinaret*. "That unless he should hasten to do this," i. e. to afford them aid.

4. *Suam salutem, &c. Illorum* in this passage refers to the Romans, and it is the same as if Sallust had said, *suam, qua illorum socii essent, salutem*. The passage may hence be paraphrased as follows: "they, the allies of the Romans, would be involved in the greatest danger." Or, we may render more literally, though less in accordance with the English idiom, "their safety, who were the allies of the Romans, would be in the greatest danger."

5. *Navi fecerant*. "They had executed with promptness." The more usual form, and, we may add, the earlier one, would seem to have been *gnavus*, not *navus*. The term appears to be derived from, or analogous to, the Greek *γενναῖος*, by contraction *γναῖος*, and with the insertion of the digamma, dropping at the same time the *ι* we have *γναFος*, in Latin *gnavus*.

6. *Situm inter duas Syrtis*. Of course, Leptis Magna is meant. Consult Geographical Index.—*Quibus nomen, &c.* "To which this name has been given from the circumstances of the case." Consult Geographical Index, under the article Syrtis.

7. *Extrema Africa*. The extremity of Africa towards the east is here meant, according to the ancient division of it, by which Egypt was excluded from it and made part of Asia.—*Proxuma*. Understand *loca*.

8. *Uti fors tulit*. "As chance has brought it about."—*Alta; alia in tempestate vadosa*. "Are at one time deep, at another shallow." Some very erroneously explain this as if *alia* agreed with *loca* understood, and *in tempestate* meant "during tempestuous weather."

9. *Leges, cultusque, &c.* "Their laws and the principal features in their mode of life were Sidonian." *Cultus* is here the genitive depending upon *pleraque* the plural neuter.

10. *Frequentem Numidiam.* "The thickly-settled part of Numidia."—*Multi vastique loci.* "A large tract of desert country."

11. *Indignum.* "Unsuitable."—*Facinus.* "Achievement,"

1. *Pleraque Africae.* Compare chapter 54. "*Plerumque exercitum,*" and consult note 2, page 38.—*Ager in medio arenosus, &c.* "A sandy region intervened, of one uniform appearance," i. e. a naked, open plain."

2. *Legiones.* "Armies." Sallust here speaks "*more Romano,*" and applies to other nations terms which can only suit his own.

3. *Per inducias.* "During a truce."—*Legati.* "Deputies."

4. *Quibus nomen Philaenis erat.* "Whose name was Philaeni." An elegant construction, the dative *Philaenis* being attracted, as the grammarians term it, to the dative of the person. The plain syntax would be, *quibus nomen Philaeni* (or *Philaenorum*) *erat.* Compare Livy, (3, 17,) "*Consules leges decemvirales, quibus tabulis duodecim est nomen, in aes incisas in publico proposuerunt.*"

5. *Nuda gignentium.* "Bare of vegetation." Compare chapter 93. "*Cuncta gignentium.*"

6. *Morari iter.* Understand *solet, iter* being the accusative depending on *morari.*

7. *Ob rem corruptam.* "For their mismanagement."—*Criminari.* "Alleged." The primitive meaning of *crimen* is a charge, or accusation.—*Conturbare rem.* "They threw the whole matter into confusion," i. e. they maintained that the whole agreement was null and void.

8. *Graeci.* The Cyreneans, as being a Greek colony.—*Optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt.* "Give the Carthaginians their choice."—*Vel illi.* Understand *ut,* which is expressed in some editions.

9. *Aras consecravere.* Consult Geographical Index, under the article *Philenôn arae.*

1. *Ordines habere.* "To keep their ranks."—*Imperium observare.* "To obey orders."—*Alia militaria facere.* "To perform other military duties."

2. *Proximos.* "The intimate friends," i. e. the confidants and favourites.—*Ad studium sui.* "To favour his views."—*Quis.* For *quibus.*

3. *Facilius proniusque.* "The more easy to be effected, and the more agreeable to the inclinations of Bocchus." It is the same as if Sallust had said, *facilius factu propter Bocchi pronam ad bellum suscipiendum voluntatem.*

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4. *Opportunissimam*. "Most advantageous." Promising to be productive of the most important aid.

5. *Bocchi*. Many of the old editions read *Boccho*, in the dative making Bocchus to have been Jugurtha's son-in-law. The Abbè Brotier, relying upon this reading and some of Sylla's medals, proposes to substitute, in Plutarch's life of Marius, where mention is made of the Moorish king, the term son-in-law (*γαμβρός*), for father-in-law (*πευθερός*). But M. Vauvilliers more judiciously contends, from six manuscripts of Sallust, and in conformity with Florus (3, 1) for the term father-in-law. In this Larcher concurs. Cortius, the Bipont editor, Burnouf, Planche, Kunhardt, &c. read *Bocchi*.

6. *Ea necessitudo*. "This connexion."—*Denas*. "Ten a piece."

7. *Animus multitudine distrahitur*. "Affection is weakened by the large number that have claims upon the heart." Literally, "the heart is distracted amid a large number."—*Nulla pro socia obtinet*. "No one of them enjoys the rank of consort."

8. *Profunda avaritia*. "Of insatiable cupidity." A metaphor borrowed from a deep engulfing whirlpool. Compare Livy (29, 17,) "*Si avaritiam solus ipse exercere satis haberet, unam profundam quidem voraginem tamen patientia nostra expleremus.*"

9. *Quis omnia regna, &c.* "That all monarchies were to them objects of hostile regard." *Quis* for *quibus*, and, as it begins a clause, to be rendered by *illis*.

10. *Tum sese, &c.* "That, at present, he himself was; that, ■ short time previous, the Carthaginians, and also king Perses, had been; that, for the time to come, as each one appeared very powerful, so he would be regarded as, an enemy by the Romans." Perses had been king of Macedonia, and was vanquished and led in triumph by Paulus Aemilius.

11. *Operae pretium fore*. Understand *sibi*. "He would obtain a recompense for his labour," i. e. by making himself master of what was contained in the city.

12. *Bocchi pacem imminuere*. "To lessen Bocchus's chance of peace."—*Moras agitando*. Equivalent to *morando*.

13. *Cognitis Mauris*. "After he had made himself acquainted with the character of the Mauri."—*Ex commodo*. "On advantageous terms."

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1. *Supra bonum atque honestum*. "Beyond what was right and becoming."—*Vir egregius in aliis artibus, &c.* "Though a man illustrious for other high qualities, he bore mental affliction with too little firmness."

2. *Vortebant*. "Attributed."—*Bonum ingenium*. "An honourable spirit." Understand *dicebant* after *alii*.—*Multi* "Many

asserted that it was owing to the following circumstance." Supply after *multi* the words *hanc esse doloris causam arbitrabantur*, or something equivalent. **54**

3. *Magis excruciatum*. "Was more severely tortured."—*Tam anxie*. "With so much pain of mind."

4. *Stultitiae*. Understand *esse*. "To be the part of folly."—*Alienam rem*. "The interests of another." Referring to Marius, the new consul.

5. *Magnam copiam*. "A great opportunity."

6. *Omne bellum, &c.* "That every war was easy to be undertaken, but ended with the greatest difficulty." *Sumi* is here used in the sense of *incipi*.—*Deponi cum victores velint*. Compare Cati line, chapter 56. *Nemo nisi victor pace bellum mutavit.*"

7. *Perditis*. "The ruined ones." Understand *rebus*.

8. *Satis placide*. "Very mildly."—*Si eadem copia, &c.* "That if the same opportunity were afforded to that monarch." If the same offer were extended to Jugurtha.

9. *Contra*. "In reply to."—*Illa partim probare*. Referring to Bocchus.—*Bellum intactum trahi*. "The war was protracted, without any thing of importance being done."

10. *Cupientissima plebe*. "In full accordance with the wishes of the populace." Literally, "by the very eagerly desiring commons."—*Jussit*. The accusative *provinciam* is generally thought to be dependant here on *jussit*. The simpler construction, however, would be *jussit Numidiam esse provinciam ei*.

11. *Multus atque ferox instare*. "Was frequent and violent in his attacks on that order." The adjectives *multus* and *ferox* are here elegantly employed instead of the adverbs *multum* and *ferociter*.

12. *Sese consulatum, &c.* Compare the account given by Plutarch: "He (Marius) scrupled not to say, that he had taken the consulship, as so much booty, from the effeminacy of the high born and the rich."

13. *Magnifica pro se, &c.* "Full of boasting as regarded himself, and, at the same time, galling to them."

14. *Prima habere*. "He considered of primary importance."—*Populis et regibus*. Foreign communities and monarchs.—*Sociis*. The Italian allies.

1. *Plerosque militiae, &c.* "Most of them known to him in war, a few by report." We have here an instance of double construction not unusual in Sallust. *Militiae* (scil. *in tempore*) is equivalent here to *apud exercitum*. **55**

2. *Ambiando cogere, &c.* "By going around in a friendly man-

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55 ner, he induced persons who had served out their time to go along with him." Veterans, who were exempt from any farther military duty, were sometimes induced to serve again by special request from a commander. If they did so, they were freed from all the drudgery of the camp, such as going for water, wood, forage, standing guard, &c. and were generally marshalled by themselves under a standard of their own. The military age with the Romans began at seventeen, and ended generally with the forty-fifth year, after which period they were exempt, and only served if they pleased, as has just been stated. They were then called *emeriti stipendius*, and, from their being invited to serve a second time, *evocati*.

3. *Ceterum etiam*. "Nay they even."—*Quia neque plebi, &c.* We have here an imitation of the Greek construction alluded to in note 5, page 48. "Because military service was thought to be disagreeable to the common people, and Marius to be likely to lose the new levies that were needed for the war, or else the affections of the multitude." Compare the following examples of the Greek idiom:—Ὅκ ἂν ἔμοιγε ἐλπομένην τὰ γένοιτο. "I had not expected this." (*Od.* 3, 228.) Ἐπεὶ δ' ὧν ἠδομένοισιν ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι. "Since we were pleased with your discourse." (*Herod.* 9, 46.) Τῷ Νικίᾳ προσδεχομένην ἦν τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἑγεσταιῶν. "Nicias expected the events in Segesta." (*Thucyd.* 6, 46.) We have an imitation also in Tacitus, (*Agric.* 18.) "*Quibus bellum volentibus erat*, and in chapter 100 of the present narrative.

4. *Tanta libido*. "So strong a desire."—*Animis trahebant* "They fancied in their minds." Equivalent to *animo fingebant*.

5. *Exagitandi*. "Of inveighing against."—*Concionem*. The primitive meaning of *concio* is, as in the present instance, an assembly convened to hear an harangue. Its secondary meaning is an harangue itself.

6. *Scio ego, Quirites, &c.* "I am well aware, Romans, that most persons do not seek an office from you, and discharge its duties after they have obtained it, in the same character."—*Modicos* "Modest in their department."

7. *Contra ea*. "The opposite to all this"—*Videtur*. "Appears to be the true course."

8. *Nam, &c.* "For it is my opinion, that," &c. Understand *videtur* to govern *debere*.

9. *Neque me fallit, &c.* "Nor does it escape my observation, how heavy a burden I am called upon to sustain, in consequence of the signal favour you have conferred upon me." More literally, "how heavy a task, &c. together with your very great act of kindness." I am well aware, how laborious at the present juncture.

are the duties of that station to which in your kindness you have called me. 55

10. *Opinione, Quirites, asperius est.* "Is more difficult, Romans, than is generally supposed."

11. *Ad hoc.* From this to the end of the sentence, *nam alia infirma sunt*, Marius seeks to show, how absolutely necessary it is for him to be possessed of integrity and principle, since he wants all those adventitious aids on which the nobility rely for impunity in their guilty career.—*Nam alia infirma sunt.* "For my other supports are weak."

12. *Et illud intellego.* A new argument is here advanced, to show why he must labour strenuously and faithfully in his new office. In order, namely, that he may fulfil the hopes of the good, and disappoint the expectations of the bad.

13. *Aequos bonosque.* "That the just and the upright." These are flattering epithets purposely applied to the commons.—*Quippe benefacta, &c.* "Since the correct discharge of duty, on my part, proves of service to my country."

14. *Invadendi.* "Of attack." Some understand *me*, it is better, however, to take the verb here absolutely, without any special reference to a case. The nobility may be considered, according to the idea of Marius, as watching for an opportunity of attacking both the commons and himself.

15. *Ut neque vos capiimini, &c.* "That you may not be ensnared, and that they may be disappointed." A thing *est frustra*, when it is attended with no advantage; a person *est frustra* when disappointed in his hopes.

1. *Ita fui.* "I have so lived." *Fui* is here used in an uncommon sense for *aetatem egi*.—*Consueta.* "Familiar to me." 56

2. *Ante vestra beneficia.* "Before I received any favours at your hands."—*Accepta mercede.* Alluding to the consulship.—*Deseram.* "To discontinue." Or, perhaps, the verb is susceptible of a still stronger meaning: "Basely to abandon."

4. *Ex illo globo.* "From that throng of nobility." The patricians are here contemptuously designated as a mere crowd or herd.

3. *In potestatibus temperare.* "To act with moderation in the exercise of authority."—*In optimis artibus.* "In the most praiseworthy pursuits."—*Benefacere.* "To do what duty demands," i. e. the correct discharge of duty. Equivalent to *honeste agere.*

5. *Veteris prosapiae, &c.* "Of ancient lineage, and a long line of ancestors, and a total stranger at the same time to all military service." The sense requires a slight pause between *et* and *nullius*

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56 *stipendii*, in order to excite expectation on the part of the hearer and make the contrast more striking. In explanation of the phrase *multarum imaginum*, consult note 1, page 3.

6. *Ignarus omnium*. "Ignorant of all things, that a good commander ought to know."—*Trepidet, festinet*. "He may, when called on to act, be plunged into the greatest confusion, may hurry to and fro.

7. *Homines praeposterii*. "Preposterous creatures." *Præposterus* is compounded of *prae* and *posterus*, i. e. "*qui prima in posteriori loco ponit*." The term *homines* is here used to denote strong contempt.

8. *Nam gerere, quam fieri, &c.* After *gerere* understand *consulatum*, and after *fieri*, *consulem*. The whole clause may be rendered as follows: "For the discharge of the duties of the consulship, though posterior, in point of time, to the being elected consul, is in reality prior to it, as regards the truth itself and the advantages resulting to the state." The idea intended to be conveyed is this: In strictness of language, no one can be said to hold a station, the consulship, for example, until he is appointed to it by the suffrages of the people. And yet, if we take into consideration the faithful discharge of official duties, and the advantages thence resulting to the state, we must admit that qualifications and experience are prior in the scale of importance to the mere formal appointment to office. In a word, they alone are *true* consuls, who are qualified to discharge correctly the duties of the consulship, when they present themselves before the people as candidates for that high station; and the administration of such men only will prove beneficial to the state.

9. *Generosissimum*. "The noblest." Compare the language of the poet, "Virtue alone is true nobility."

10. *Quid responsuros creditis, &c.* "What answer do you believe they would make, but that they would have desired the worthiest to be their sons."—*Ex virtute*. "From merit."

57 11. *Nec, illi falsi sunt*. "Yes! widely do they err." *Nec* is an archaism for *nae*, which comes from the Greek *vai*.

1. *Ignaviae voluptatem*. "The pleasure arising from the indulgence of effeminacy."

2. *Quod contra est*. "The reverse of which is the case." More literally, "which is contrary to the fact."

3. *Posteris lumen est*. "Sheds a light over their posterity." *Lux*, strictly speaking, is the light itself, and *lumen*, the body which imparts the light.—*Hujusce rei inopiam patior*. Alluding to his want of illustrious ancestry.

4. *Ex aliena virtute* "From the merit of others," i. e. of their ancestors. 57

5. *Abunde illis facundam, &c.* "They will have abundance of eloquent and studied language at command."

6. *In maximo vestro beneficio.* "After the very ample favour which you have bestowed upon me."—*Ne quis modestiam, &c.* "Lest any one might construe my forbearance into a consciousness of guilt."

7. *Ex animi sententia.* "As I am well persuaded."

8. *Quippe vera, &c.* "Since a true one must necessarily speak well of me; my life and character confute one that is false." *Necesse est ut vera oratio praedicet bene de me.*

9. *Vestra consilia.* "Your measures," i. e. in electing me consul.

10. *Fidei causa.* "For the sake of inspiring you with confidence.

11. *Hastas, vexillum, &c.* These were among the rewards of bravery bestowed by the Roman commanders on such as had distinguished themselves. The *hasta* was a spear, without any iron head, and hence called *hasta pura*. The *vexillum* was a streamer on the end of a lance or spear, of different colours, with or without embroidery. The *phalerae* were trappings, or ornaments for horses, and also for men, worn commonly on the breast.

12. *Relicta—illa—quae.* These are plurals referring to *imagines et nobilitas*. In translating, say: "things, not left to me by inheritance," &c.

13. *Non sunt composita, &c.* "My language (they say) is unpolished: for that I care little."—*Illis artificio opus est, &c.* "They have need of artful and studied language, that they may hide their infamy beneath a specious covering of words."

14. *Neque litteras Graecas didici, &c.* "Nor have I learned the language of Greece. I felt little inclination to learn it, since it has proved of no advantage to those who are its teachers, in making them braver men." Alluding to the subjugation of Greece by the Romans. "Marius," observes Plutarch, "neither learned to read Greek, nor would ever make use of that language upon any serious occasion: thinking it ridiculous to bestow time on learning a language of which the teachers were slaves. And when, after his second triumph, at the dedication of a temple, he exhibited shows to the people in the Grecian manner, he barely entered the theatre and sat down, and then immediately departed." Plutarch justly ascribes, to this neglect of the softening qualities of literary pursuits, the excesses which stained the character of Marius.

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57 15 *Praesidia agitare*. "To guard." Compare the remark of Cortius: "*Praesidium agitare nihil aliud est quam praesidio esse, vel frumentantibus, vel impedimentis, vel urbi oppugnatae.*"

58 1. *Neque illos arte colam, &c.* "Nor will I treat them with severity of discipline, myself with indulgence."

2. *Hoc est utile, &c.* "This is an exercise of authority productive of benefit to the state; this, such as one citizen should put in practice towards another." In explanation of the peculiar meaning of *civile* in this passage, compare Livy 6. 40:—" *Sermo est minime civilis;*" and Crevier's note:—" *Sermo est qui minime deceat cives memores se cum civibus agere, qui pari jure libertatis fruuntur, in quos minime liceat imperioso genere sermonis uti.*"

3. *Tute*. The pronoun. "When you yourself live in luxurious indulgence, to compel your army to the performance of their duty by severity of punishment, this is to be a tyrant, not a commander" With *esse* understand *te*, so that *dominum* and *imperatorem* may be accusatives after the verb.

4. *Quia parum scite, &c.* "Because I furnish out an entertainment with little elegance, and keep no buffoon nor cook of higher price than my steward: charges which I am perfectly willing to admit." The term *histrion*, which here denotes a buffoon kept for the amusement of the company, is a general appellation, among other Roman writers, for an actor. Livy makes the word of Etrurian origin:—" *Quia hister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum.*" (Liv. 7. 2.) Festus is undoubtedly wrong in supposing that they were so called because they came originally from Histria:—" *Histriones dicti quod primum ex Histria venerint.*" In relation to the inroads of luxury among the Romans, compare Livy, 39. 6:—" *Luxuriae enim peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico (Manlii Vulsonis, A. U. C. 568) invecta in urbem est. Ii primum lectos aeratos, vestem stragulam pretiosam, plagulas et alia textilia, et quae tum magnificae suppellectilis habebantur, monopodia et abacos, Romam advexerunt. Tum psaltriae sambucistriaeque, et convivalia ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis. Epulae quoque ipsae et cura et sumptu majore apparari coeptae. Tum coquus, vilissimum antiquis mancipium, et aestimatione et usu in pretio esse, et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi coepta. Vix tamen illa, quae tum conspiciebantur, semina erant futurae luxuriae.*"

5. *Sanctis viris*. "Other venerable men."—*Munditias*. "Effeminate indulgences."

6. *Ament, potent*. "Let them indulge in licentious pleasure, in wine."—*Ubi*. Equivalent to *in quibus artibus*, and *ibi* to *in illis*.

7. *Sudorem, pulverem, &c.* Every thing here is calculated to excite the bitter feelings against a corrupt nobility. 58

8. *Cladi sunt.* "They bring ruin upon."—*Mores mei.* "A regard for my own character."—*Illorum flagitia.* An enumeration of their disgraceful excesses would require much longer discourse.

9. *Avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam.* By these three words three commanders are designated. *Avaritia* refers to Bestia, *imperitia* to Albinus, and *superbia* to Metellus.

1. *Militaris aetas.* The military age, as has already been remarked, commenced at 17 and ended generally at 46. 59

2. *Meque vosque, &c.* Marius means that he will, in every instance, desire his troops to act no otherwise than as they see him act.

3. *Omnia matura sunt.* "All things are ripe for the harvest."—*Quae si dubia, &c.* An argument *a fortiori.* Even if victory, spoil, glory, were not within our grasp, still it would become all good men to take up arms and aid their country. How much more so then when victory is ripe for the harvest?—*Decebat.* For *deceret.* The indicative is employed to give an air of greater certainty to the clause.

4. *Neque quisquam parens, &c.* The idea is borrowed from Plato, (*Menex.* 20,) Οὐ γὰρ ἀθανάτους σφίσι παῖδας εὐχοντο γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοὺς καὶ εὐκλειεῖς.

5. *Ex classibus.* By the institution of Servius Tullius, the Roman people were divided into six classes, according to the valuation of their property. The richest were placed in the first class, from which there was a regular progression, as respected wealth and dignity, down to the lowest or sixth class. The members of this class formed the great bulk of poorer citizens, and were denominated *capite censi*, from having no fortune, but being "rated by the head." At first, none of the lowest class were enlisted as soldiers, except in dangerous emergencies. The alteration introduced by Marius may be regarded as one of the chief causes of the ruin of the republic.

6. *Capite census plerosque.* "Principally from the poorest citizens." Compare preceding note.—*Bonorum.* "Of the better class." *Boni* is here equivalent to *ditiores.*

7. *Quod ab eo genere, &c.* "Because he had been extolled, and advanced to office, by that class of persons," i. e. he owed to them, first his reputation, and then his advancement.

8. *Cum pretio.* "If attended with profit to themselves."

9. *Expletis.* "Being filled up."—*Agrum.* "A tract of country."—*Ceterum levia, &c.* We have adopted the reading suggested by Cortius. The common text has *ceterum alia levia aliis locis facere*

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1. *Divorsi*. "Separating."—*Effusos*. "When scattered about the country." Equivalent to *palantes*.

2. *Laetissumis animis excipitur*. "Is received with the most joyful feelings." Consult Historical Index, for an account of the subsequent career of this nobleman.

3. *Nihil apud se remissum, &c.* "He allowed no remissness in his own army nor security in those of the kings." Literally, "no remissness with himself, nor security with them.—*Ex socis nostris*. Referring to the cities and communities of Numidia which had surrendered to the Roman arms, and were now regarded as a kind of allies.

4. *Armis exuerat*. "Had stripped of his arms," i. e. had compelled to fly with the loss of his arms.

5. *Belli patrandi*. "Calculated to bring the war to a close." Scheller and other grammarians would here understand *negotia esse*, making *negotia* govern the genitive *belli patrandi* expressed. The simpler way, however, would be merely to understand *esse*, in the sense of belonging to, appertaining to, &c. and let the genitive *belli* depend upon this verb.

6. *Pro hostibus, &c.* "Favourable to the enemy, and most disadvantageous to himself."—*Praesidiis nudatum*. "Would be stripped of his strongholds." With *nudatum* supply *iri*.

7. *Quo improvisus, &c.* "That he might, on a sudden, fall more heavily upon the Romans." Some read *accederet*, which is far less expressive.—*Mobilitate ingenii*. "From the fickleness of his disposition."

8. *Mediocris*. "Operations of no great importance."—*Majora et magis aspera adgredi*. "To enter upon greater and more difficult undertakings." Cortius omits *magis* before *aspera*, and insists that the word *majora* involves also the comparative of the adjective which follows.

9. *Hercules Libys*. Cicero (*N. D.* 3, 16) makes mention of six different individuals who bore the name of Hercules. He is silent, however, respecting a Libyan Hercules, unless the one whom he mentions second in order, as born of the Nile, and surnamed Aegyptius, be the same. In truth, however, the history of Hercules is a mere fable. Hercules is the sun, and his twelve labours have a direct reference to the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Creuzer has discovered some very striking points of resemblance between Hercules, Djemschid, Mithras, and Osiris.

10. *Immunes*. "Free from all taxes."—*Levi imperio*. "Under a mild government." This circumstance, and the immunity from all tribute would seem to indicate a city of sacerdotal origin

1. *Infesta serpentibus*. Silhus Italicus makes mention also of the African serpents, (1. 211,) and, in his sixth book (v. 146, *seqq.*) describes the contest between the army of Regulus and a monstrous serpent, near the river Bagradas.

2. *Quarum vis*. "Whose fury."—*Ipsa pernicioso*. "Deadly in itself."—*Siti magis*, &c. Compare Virgil, *Georg.* 3, 434.

3. *Usum belli*. "Its importance to the war."—*Res*. "The enterprise."—*Oppidum Thalam*. Compare chapters 75 and 76.

4. *Jugi aqua*. "Affording an unfailing supply of water."—*Cetera*, &c. Understand *aqua*. "What they used besides was rain water."

5. *In omni Africa, quae agebat*. For *in omnibus Africanis qui agebant* (scil. *vitam*). Cortius reads *qui* and *agebant*, which is extremely harsh after *Africa*.

6. *Salem*. *Sal* is found in the singular as a neuter also. The plural *sales* is masculine, and signifies witticisms.

7. *Illis erat*. "Was employed by them." Literally, "food was to them."

8. *Tentabatur*. "He was threatened."—*Arvo*. "Tillage."—*Quodcumque natum fuerat*. "Whatever had been produced from the fields," i. e. all the grain.

9. *Pro rei copia*. "Considering all circumstances."—*Agendum* "To be driven on."

10. *Se praedabundum*, &c. "He adds, that, after pillaging the country, he will come thither at the end of a few days." Literally, "that he, pillaging the country, (i. e. at present,) will come there after a few days." Understand *dicit*. The form in *bundus* has the general force of a present participle, with the meaning somewhat strengthened. *Praedabundus* here denotes an active system of pillage.

11. *Centurias*. Referring to the infantry, *turmas* to the cavalry.—*Aequaliter*. "In equal proportion," i. e. according to their respective numbers.

1. *Proxima*. Understand *nocte*.—*Tumulosum*. "Covered with hills." These hills would conceal his forces from the view of the people of Capsa, until the cavalry and light-armed troops could strike the first blow.

2. *Res trepidae*. "The consternation into which they were thrown."

3. *Id facinus*. "This act of severity." Sallust, in what follows, makes a poor excuse for the conduct of the Roman commander.—*Coercitum*. "Capable of being kept in subjection." *Coercitum*, if the reading be correct, has here the force of *coercendum*. Compare

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62 the remarks of Cortius, (*ad loc.*) and Perizonius, (*ad Sanctii Min.* 1, 15). Still, however, the whole clause is very suspicious. If *coërcitum* be taken as the simple participle of the passive voice, with the preteritive meaning ("kept in subjection,") it may well be asked, when had the inhabitants of the place proved faithless to the Romans? If, on the other hand, *coërcitum* be taken for *coërcendum*, the Capsensians are punished on anticipation merely! For the Romans as yet know nothing about them. The only way to obviate the difficulty, is by supposing that the allusion in *genus hominum*, &c., is to the race of Numidians generally.

4. *Omnia, non bene, &c.* We have adopted the reading of the Bipont edition, which has the authority of some manuscripts in its favour. Cortius and many subsequent editors read, *Omnia non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur*. Our lection, however, appears decidedly preferable, if we only take *virtutem* in its more extended sense, "military talents."

5. *Modesto imperio*. "Under a gentle command."—*Deorum nutu*. "By the will of the gods," i. e. their special interposition.

6. *Deserta*. "Abandoned by their inhabitants."

7. *Ad aliam rem adgreditur*. An imitation of earlier Latinity. The common texts omit *ad*. Render, "He advances to another enterprise."

8. *Non eadem asperitate, &c.* "Not marked by the same hazardous features as that against the Capsensians."

9. *Inter ceteram planitiem*. "In the midst of a plain." There was only a single mountain, the *rest* was one entire plain.—*Satis patens*. "Sufficiently large on the top."

63 1. *Omnis*. In the sense of *totus*. Understand *mons.*—*Natura*. The ablative, and opposed to *opere et consulto*.

2. *Importunus*. "Unfit for."—*Iter castellanorum*. "The path by which the inhabitants of the castle went and came," i. e. the path leading to it.

3. *Pro opere*. "In front of the works." Either to defend them against the sallies of the enemy, or to attempt the walls by scaling. By the works are here meant the *vineae*.—*Iniquitatem loci*. Referring to the steepness and narrowness of the path.—*Intra vineas*. We have here adopted the emendation of Glareanus, *intra*, in the place of *inter*. The sense requires *intra vineas*, "under the shelter of the *vineae*."

4. *Administrare*. "To labour."—*Optumus quisque*. "The bravest."

5. *Anxius trahere cum animo*. "Anxiously debated with him

self."—*Omitteretne*. "Whether he should give over."—*Fortunam*. "The interposition of fortune."

6. *Aestuans*. "In the greatest perplexity." Literally, "boiling" with vexation.—*Quidam Ligus*. The Ligurians were accustomed to a mountaineer-life, (Flor. 2, 3,) which makes the narrative of the historian the more probable.

7. *Avorsum praeliantibus*. "On the side opposite to that where the two parties were contending."—*Cochleas*. Snails were held in high repute, as an article of food, among the ancients. Those of Africa were particularly prized. (*Plin. H. N.* 9. 56.)

8. *Solitudinem intellexit*. "He perceived that he was completely alone." He saw no traces of any human being.—*Ignara* In the sense of *ignota*. Compare *Aulus Gellius*. 9. 12.

9. *Paullulum modo prona, &c.* "Bending a little downward at first, then taking a turn and growing upward, a direction to which their nature causes all vegetable productions to tend." *Cuncta gignentium* put for *quaecumque terra gignuntur*.

10. *Castelli planitiem perscribit*. "Reconnoitres the platform of the fortress." With *perscribit* understand *animo*.

11. *Eadem*. Supply *via*.—*Temere*. "Heedlessly," or "carelessly."

12. *Ex praesentibus*. Understand *quosdam*.—*Paullum arrectus*. "Somewhat aroused." The distinction between *paullum* and *parum* should be noted by the student. *Paullum* means "a little," *parum* "little." Thus *paullum pecuniae*, "a little money," "some money;" but *parum pecuniae*, "little money," hardly any.

1. *Tubicinum et cornicinum*. "Of trumpeters and cornet-blowers." 64

2. *Ex praecepto*. "According to the instructions of Marius."—*Pergit*. Understand *Ligus*.—*Illi qui centuriis praeerant*. A circumlocution merely for *centuriones*. Cortius, however, suspects that there is something wrong in the text.—*Duce*. "Their guide," the Ligurian.

3. *Prospectus nisusque per saxa*. "The view before them, and their clambering over the rocks."—*Ponderis gratia*. "For the sake of lightness." Literally, "on account of their weight," which was much less than that of the ordinary shield.—*Et offensa quo levius streperent*. "And that, when struck against any thing, they might make the less noise." Might less loudly resound.

4. *Vetustate*. "Through age."—*Laqueis vinciebat*. "Bound with cords," i. e. fixed cords about.—*Quibus adlevati*. "Being aided by which."—*Levare manu*. "He assisted with his hand."

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64 5. *Dubia nisu*. "Dangerous to be attempted." *Nisu* is the old dative.—*Potissimum tentare*. "He tried first of all."—*Digre diens*. "Stepping aside."

6. *Testudine acta succedere*. "Having formed a *testudo*, advanced to the walls." The soldiers formed a *testudo* by joining their shields over their heads and on their sides, so as to resemble the shell of a tortoise (*testudo*). This was done as a defence against the missiles of the enemy.

7. *Jugurthae servitium*. Equivalent to *servitutem apud Jugurtham*.

8. *Fugere*. Supply *intra muros*.

65 1. *Sauciare*. They merely wounded their opponents, and then hastened on to take the fortress.—*Praeda*. The nominative—*Ex culpa*. "From a fault," i. e. from his very imprudence.

2. *L. Sulla*. Consult Historical Index.—*Quos*. Referring to *equites* which is implied in *equitatu*. Some editions have *quod*, "because," qualifying *relictus erat*.—*Res admonuit*. "My subject has led me to make mention."—*De natura cultuque ejus*. "Of his disposition and habits."

3. *L. Sisenna*. An historian, of the Cornelian family. Consult Historical Index.—*Parum libero ore*. "With but little freedom," i. e. with not sufficient political freedom.

4. *Gentis patriciae*. He belonged to the Cornelian house or line.—*Exstincta*. "Sunk in complete obscurity."—*Ignavia*. "By the degeneracy."

5. *Otio luxurioso*. "Of debauched habits, in the intervals of leisure." He kept company, according to Plutarch, with mimics, jesters, &c., and went with them to every excess of licentiousness and riot: and, though at other times a man of business, he would change instantly whenever he had company, and begin a carousal.

6. *Nisi quod*, &c. "Except that he might have had more regard for his own character in matrimonial affairs." Sylla, according to Plutarch, was five times married; but, during all these unions, still indulged in libidinous attachments. On dedicating the tenth of his substance to Hercules, he gave a magnificent entertainment to the people. In the midst of this feasting, which lasted many days, his fourth wife, Metella, sickened and died. As the priests forbade him to approach her, and to have his house defiled with mourning, (an artifice, probably, of his own,) he sent her a bill of divorce, and ordered her to be carried to another house while the breath was still in her body. A few months afterwards, he espoused Valeria, the sister of Hortensius the orator, who had managed to attract his attention in the theatre, by her personal beauty and artful

behaviour Yet according to Plutarch, though she was a female of great accomplishments and respectability, he still continued his intercourse with actresses and female musicians, and sat drinking whole days with a company of buffoons. A loathsome disease soon after put a period to his existence.

7. *Amicitia facilis*. "Accommodating in his friendships." Ever ready to oblige his friends.—*Ad simulanda negotia*, &c. "The depth of his soul was incredible, for concealing from others his secret plans."

8. *Ante civilem victoriam*. "Previous to his success in the civil wars." Alluding to the contest between himself and Marius. He assumed the title of *Felix*, after his success had been consummated by the overthrow of the younger Marius. Consult Historical Index.—*Industriam*. "His merit." The reference is to the active exercise of talent.—*Postea quae fecerit*. Alluding to his excesses in the civil contest

9. *Sollertissimus omnium*. "The most accomplished soldier of all."—*In paucis tempestatibus*, for *parvo tempore*.

10. *Aes mutuum*. "Borrowed money."—*Illi*. Put for *sibi* When no ambiguity is to be apprehended, *is* and *ille* are sometimes put for *sui*. Thus, *Caes. B. G.* 1, 5 :—" *Persuadent Rauracis, uti, eodem usi consilio, una cum iis profisciscantur.*" Here *iis* is put for *se*. So Quintilian :—" *Non petit, ut illum miserum putetis,*" where *illum miserum* is for *se miserum*. (*Crombie, Gymn.* vol. 2, p. 85.)

11. *Multus adesse*. The adjective for the adverb. (*Zumpt. L. G.* p. 235. 3d ed.)—*Manu*. "In action."—*Quis rebus*. For *qui bus rebus*.

1. *Magnam pecuniam*. "A large portion of his treasure." 66

2. *Dubium belli*, &c. "That he, undecided what course to pursue, was weighing the arguments for war and peace."—*Ipsique Mauro*. Bocchus.—*Integris suis finibus*. "Without any loss of territory." His dominions being restored to him.

3. *Vix decima*, &c. *Die* is here the old genitive. Aulus Gellius (9. 14) makes mention of this very passage of Sallust, and considers *die* a genitive not an ablative. It would appear from his remarks, that some of his contemporaries made *die* equivalent to *ex die*.

4. *Nulla*. The old dative. The early writers, whom Sallust here imitates, sometimes declined such adjectives as *nullus*, *solus*, &c., regularly. (*Rudd. L. G.* vol. 1, p. 53. ed. *Stalb.*)

5. *Sarcinas colligere*. All the baggage was collected into one place before an engagement.

6. *Quirit*. The verb *queo* is weaker in meaning than *possum*, and expresses mere possibility under existing circumstances. Thus

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66 we cannot say, *quire plurimum*, nor *quoad queo*, but *posse plurimum*, and *quoad possum*. So again, "*Non queo reliqua scribere, tanta vis lacrymarum est.*" "I cannot well," &c. Here *possum* would have been too strong.

7. *Non acie*. "Not in regular array." Equivalent to *non turmis in aciem ordinatis*.—*Concurrunt*. Stronger than *incurrunt*, the reading of some editions.

8. *Latrocinio*. "An affair with banditti."—*Equites, pedites*. Alluding to the Romans and Numidians.

9. *Contra adversos*. "Against those in front," i. e. those facing them.

10. *Novique, et ob ea, &c.* "And the new levies along with them, rendered even in this way more familiar with warfare." If the text be correct, Sallust means to convey the idea, that the new levies, being accustomed to be united with the veterans, (*chap. 87*,) had learned the art of war by practice and example, and displayed their military experience very effectually on the present occasion, being encouraged by the presence and support of the older troops. Hence, *ob ea* will refer to their having been in the habit of being united with the veterans on previous occasions, and their being again so united in the present instance. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether Sallust wrote what we have given in the text, and what all the editions follow. Cortius retains the common reading, but suggests the following, partly from a manuscript lection, and partly from conjecture:—*Denique Romani veteres, belli scientes, si quos, &c.*

67 1. *Cum turma sua*. This troop of cavalry answered the purpose of a body-guard, or *cohors praetoria*.—*Manu consulere militibus*. "He aided his soldiers by taking a personal share in the fight."—*Imperare*. "To give any orders," i. e. to discharge the duties of a commander.

2. *Noctem pro se rati*. "Having imagined that the night would be in their favour."—*Ex copia rerum consilium trahit*. "Forms a plan adapted to the nature of the emergency."

3. *Paucio munimento, &c.* The singular of *paucus* is of rare occurrence. We meet with it in Horace, (*A. P.* 203,) "*foramine paucio*," and in Aulus Gellius, (20, 1,) "*injurias paucio aere diluere.*" Cortius reads, *pauca munimento quaerebat*.

4. *Agitare*. "To patrol." Better than *agitare noctem*, "to pass the night," as some render it. *Noctem* is "during the night."

5. *Pleno gradu*. According to Vegetius, (1, 9,) the ordinary step was at the rate of twenty miles in five hours, the quick step, (*plenus gradus*,) twenty-four miles in the same time.

6 *Effusi*. "Without any regular order." Equivalent to *nullo servato ordine*. Page. 67

7. *Ipsi duces*. Jugurthā and Bocchus.—*Feroces*. "Highly elated."

8. *Uti per vigiliis solebant*. It was customary at the end of each watch to sound the trumpets, in order to call out those who were to stand guard in turn.

9. *Ita*. "To such a degree."—*Strepitu, clamore*. "By reason of the uproar, the shouting."

1. *In hiberna*. Supply *proficiscitur*. A similar ellipsis occurs in Livy, (41, 3,) "*Tum demum nuncius ad tertiam legionem revocandam et Gallorum praesidium*." Understand *missus est*. So also Florus, (3, 10,) "*Reversus igitur in Galliam classe majore, auctisque admodum copiis, in eundem versus oceanum*." Understand *it*. 68

2. *Quadrato agmine*. The *agmen quadratum* of the Romans was a right-angled parallelogram, not a square. *Quadrato agmine* may therefore be rendered, "with his army in column." Compare the words of Salmasius, (*de Re Mil. Rom.* c. 10, p. 103, edit. Ludg. 1657,) "*Quadratum agmen non dicitur, cujus latitudo aequalis sit in omnes adspectus longitudini; sed quod frontem habet recta linea exaequatam et ad extremitates angulos rectos*." So also Guischart, (*Memoires crit. et histor. sur les antiquités militaires*, vol. 1, p. 195,) "*La figure ressembloit à une parallelogramme quelconque à angles droits*."

3. *Apud dextimos*. "On the extreme right."—*Praeterea cohortes Ligurum curabat*. "Had charge also of the cohorts of the Ligurians"—*Manlius* is the nominative to *curabat*. The meaning is, that Manlius, besides the slingers and archers, commanded also the Ligurians.—*Primos et extremos*. "In the front and rear."

4. *Minime cari*. "Whose lives were least valued."—*Quasi nullo imposito*. "As if no one were placed over them by him," i. e. as if no share of the command were committed to any other.—*Merentis*. "Those who were deserving of either," i. e. as each deserved commendation or blame.

5. *Neque secus, &c.* "Nor was he less careful in fortifying his camp, than he had been in prosecuting his march."—*Excubitum* "To keep watch there."

6. *Non diffidens ea futura, &c.* "Not so much from any distrust, on his part, that the orders he had given would not be obeyed, as," &c. We have here followed the Bipont reading. Cortius gives, *non diffidentia futuri quae, &c.*, and completes the sentence thus, *non diffidentia futuri ejus omnis quae, &c.*, making *quae* plural, on account of the plural import of *omnis*. Few will approve of such an explanation.

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7. *Uti militibus*, &c. "That their toils, being shared by their commander, might be cheerfully endured by the soldiers at large." We have here another instance of the Greek construction, explained in note 3, page 55.

8. *Malo*. "By punishment."—*Per ambitionem*. "From a desire for popularity."—*A pueritia consuetam duritiam*. "Hardships become familiar from boyhood."

9. *Nisi tamen*, &c. "And yet, however, the affairs of the state were managed with as much success and dignity, as if his authority had been exercised in the most rigorous manner." *Nisi tamen* is here equivalent to *sed tamen*, and the meaning intended to be conveyed, is: "But, whether he acted from ambitious motives, or from being himself accustomed to hardships, still one thing is certain, that the affairs of the state were managed," &c. Compare chapter 24, "*Nisi tamen intellego*."

10. *Citi*. "Advancing at full speed."—*Divorso*. "From different quarters."—*Advorsum omnia paratus*. His troops being arranged in the *agmen quadratum*.

11. *Utique*. We have adopted the conjectural emendation of Gronovius, in place of *aeque* as given by Cortius. The meaning of the whole clause will be, "having supposed, that, out of the whole number, some certainly, no matter who, would come in the rear of the enemy." (Compare *Quarterly Journal of Education*, No. 3, p. 151.) Cortius refers *aeque* to *ab tergo*, and translates it, "*gerade von hinten zu*," "directly in the rear." The Bipont editor explains *aeque* as follows: "*Ex quadruplici agmine certe unum, quodcunque esset*." This explanation suits, however, *utique* much better than *aeque*.

12. *Quem primum adtigerant*. "With whom they first came in contact."—*Caeteri*. Referring to the rest of the cavalry under his command.

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1. *Bocchus cum peditibus invadunt*. The verb is put in the plural, as if *Bocchus cum peditibus* were a double nominative. "We sometimes find," observes Scheller, "a plural verb after a single subject or person, which, however, is united to another subject by *cum*, since they are there regarded as two subjects or nominatives." (*L. G.* vol. 1, p. 334.) Compare Catiline, (chap. 43, *Lentulus cum ceteris constituerant*).

2. *Apud primos*. "In the front," i. e. *apud eos quos primos collocaverat*.—*Numida*. Jugurtha.

3. *Ad pedites*. It is a matter of some doubt among commentators, whether the infantry here meant are the Roman, or those which Volux had brought and with which Bocchus had attacked the

Roman rear. It is more than probable that the former are alluded to, especially as the words *ibi Latine* follow. Curtius, however, is in favour of the opposite opinion. 69

4. *Satis impigre*. "With great quickness," i. e. with so much celerity as to have escaped the observation of the Romans around. Some, however, render it "with great bravery." This is certainly inferior.

5. *Atrocitate rei*. "With the dreadful nature of the thing." The meaning intended to be conveyed is this: The Romans were thrown into alarm, not so much from any confidence which they placed in the words of Jugurtha, as from the reflection, that there was indeed a possibility of their favourite commander's losing his life in the action.

6. *Adeptam*. Used passively, *adipiscor* being a common, not a deponent, verb.—*Vitabundus*. "After making the most vigorous exertions to escape." Or, it may be rendered generally, "by a desperate effort." Consult note 10, page 61.

7. *Sequi*, &c. A beautiful specimen of the figure *Asyndeton*, in imitation, very probably, of the celebrated passage in *Xenophon*, (*Ages. 2, 12*), praised by *Longinus*, § 19. Συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας, ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον.

8. *Niti modo*. Supply *surgere*. "They merely made an effort to rise."—*Qua visus erat*. "As far as the eye could reach." *Visus* is a noun of the fourth declension, and the clause, rendered literally, is, "where there was a view."

9. *Postea loci*. For the simple *postea*.

10. *Post diem quintum, quam, &c.* "On the fifth day after the barbarians had met with their second defeat." The Latin language admits several variations of this construction. Thus we may either adopt the form used in the text, or *quinto die postquam pugnauerant*, or *quinque diebus postquam pugnauerant*, or *post dies quintos quam pugnauerant*; or with the ablative alone, omitting *post*, *die quinto quam pugnauerant*. The anomalous appearance of *post diem quintum quam, &c.*, and some other of the phrases just quoted, arose, according to *Zumpt*, from a transposing of the preposition. Having once written *post die quinto quam*, they would be easily led to change *die quinto* into *diem quintum*, as if it had been governed by *post*.

11. *Cum is*. An archaism for *cum iis*.—*Acciti*. "Having been invited," i. e. on an invitation from the king.

1. *Cujus facundiae, &c.* *Manlius* gave precedence to *Sylla*, 70 although he was younger than himself, on account of his superior ability in speaking.

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2. *Talem virum*. Artful flattery. So, a little farther on, *optimum cum pessumo*.

3. *Persequi*. A Hellenism, for *persequendi*. Compare Scheller *L. G.* vol. 2, p. 202. *Vechneri Hellenolex*, p. 265.

4. *Principio*. Cortius reads *jam inopi visum*, omitting a *principio reipublicae*. The remark of the Bipont editor on this emendation is perfectly conclusive: "*Sed inopum non foret, quaerere servos populos; neque iis facile, amicos invenire, nedum quod ea Sulla parum ex dignitate Romana dixisset.*"

5. *Gratia par, &c.* "While you will enjoy the same high estimation with us, as if we were your immediate neighbours." Equivalent to *in eodem honoris et gratiae loco apud nos eris*.

6. *Parentes*. "Subjects."

7. *Cui scilicet placuit, &c.* We have here given the reading of the Bipont edition, which is based in part upon that of the Aldine. Cortius has *placuisse*, and makes the infinitive depend on *scilicet* (i. e. *scire licet*).

8. *Officiis*. "By future services."

9. *Pro delicto*. "In extenuation of his misconduct."

10. *Expulerit*. Understand *ipse*, i. e. Bocchus. The monarch here utters an intentional falsehood, in asserting that he had driven Jugurtha from this part of Numidia. His object in making this bold assertion would seem to have been, to ingratiate himself with the Romans, and to show his pretended hostility towards Jugurtha. Cortius reads *expulerat*, and refers it to Marius; making the clause *jure belli suam factam* relate to Bocchus.

11. *Copia facta*. "When an opportunity of sending them was offered."

12. *In loca sola*. "Into a desert country."—*Perfugas omnis* On whom he could rely with the greatest certainty. Compare note 3, page 39.

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1. *Venerant*. In the sense of *evenerant*, which some editions give.—*Ex omni copia*. "From the whole number."

2. *Agendarum rerum, &c.* "He gives them full power to negotiate affairs, and bring the war to a close in any manner," i. e. on any terms.

3. *Sine decore*. "Without any external marks of dignity." Without any badges of their official rank as plenipotentiaries.—*Pro praetore*. "As acting commander-in-chief."

4. *Vanis hostibus*. "Faithless enemies."—*Adcurate ac liberaliter*. "In a respectful and generous manner."

5. *Largitio*. "Liberality, with a view to corruption."—*Nisi pariter volens*. Equivalent to *nisi benevolo simul animo*—*In be-*

magnitate habebantur. “Were regarded as the result of a generous impulse.” 71

6. *Benevolentiae.* “Calculated to conciliate his good will.” Consult note 5, page 60.

7. *Ibi infecto, &c.* “The enterprise having proved unsuccessful in the quarter whither he had directed his course.” *Ibi* refers to the region where the *turris regia* was situated. *Cortius* reads *infecto, quo intenderat, negotio*, and makes it equivalent to *infecto negotio, quo confecto redire intenderat.* This is altogether inferior to the lection which we have adopted.

8. *Cognoscit.* “He takes into consideration.”

9. *Ea.* Referring to both *potestas eundi* and *induciae.*—*Ferocius decernunt.* “Decide in favour of a harsher course.”—*Mutant.* “Keep changing.” Understand *sese.* *Advorsa* is here equivalent to *contraria*; “the opposite.”

10. *Studium Sullae.* “The zeal of Sylla in their behalf.”

11. *Deprecati sunt.* Understand *confitentes* or *dicentes*, and render the whole clause, “after they had deprecated the resentment of the Romans, by confessing that their monarch,” &c.

1. *Cujus arbitrato.* “In order that by his intervention,” i. e. 72
under his counsel and advice.

2. *Item.* We have inserted this on the authority of one of the manuscripts.—*Funditorum Balearium.* The Romans obtained their slingers from Achaëa, and from the Balearic isles, Majorca and Minorca. The inhabitants of these islands were remarkable for their dexterity in the use of the sling, having been trained to this exercise from their boyhood.

3. *Praeterea.* Supply *profecti sunt cum eo*, or else the simple *erant.*—*Sagittarii.* The Romans obtained their best archers from Crete and Arabia.—*Peligna.* The Peligni were a people of Italy, of Sabine descent, according to Ovid. Their territory lay to the east of that of the Marsi. Consult Geographical Index.

4. *Cum velitaribus armis.* The arms of the *velites*, or light-armed troops, were, besides bows and slings, seven javelins with slender points like arrows, so that, when thrown, they bent and could not easily be returned by the enemy; a Spanish sword, for both cut and thrust; a round buckler, about three feet in diameter, made of wood and covered with leather, and a light helmet for the head.

5. *Ea.* Referring to *tela.*—*Muniti.* Agreeing in gender with the persons implied in *cohors.*

6. *Temere et effuse.* “In a disorderly and scattered manner.”—*Sullae aliisque, &c.* What grammarians call a *zeugma* takes place

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72 here in *efficiebant*, that is, the verb has two meanings, to suit our idiom, one for each clause. "Caused the number to appear greater than the reality to Sylla and the rest of his party, and gave rise to apprehensions as of the approach of an enemy."

7. *Expedire*. "Got ready for battle." We may understand *ad pugnam*, which is expressed in Livy, (38, 21,) "*Quos ubi Romani viderunt, expediunt sese ad pugnam.*"

8. *Tentare*. "Each tried."—*Intendere*. This is commonly rendered, "they bent their bows," with an ellipsis of *arcus*. Such an interpretation, however, is decidedly pleonastic, since *arma atque tela tentare* precedes. The true meaning is, "directed his whole attention to the approaching engagement." Understand *animum*.

9. *Rem, uti erat, &c.* "Bring back word, as was actually the case, that all was peaceful," i. e. that there was nothing to fear.

10. *Obviam illis simul, et praesidio*. "Both to receive them, and to act as an escort." Literally, "both to meet them, and for a guard."

11. *Incerto voltu*. "With a troubled look."

12. *Animo feroci*. "With stern resolution."—*Certa pestis* "Certain destruction."—*Ab eodem*. Referring to Volux.

13. *Coenatos esse*. "To have their evening repast over." Some neuter verbs have participles which are passive in form, but active in meaning; as *coenatus*, "one who has supped;" *pransus*, "one who has dined;" *juratus*, "one who has sworn," &c. The Roman soldiers took food twice a day, at dinner and at supper. The former was a slight meal, which they commonly took standing. They indulged themselves a little more at supper.

14. *Prima vigilia*. The Romans, as has been observed in a previous note, divided the night into four watches of three hours each. The first watch commenced at sunset.

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1. *Ante*. "In advance of them."

2. *Manu vindicandum*. "That immediate vengeance ought to be taken." That he ought to be punished in a summary manner.

3. *Prohibet*. "Protects."—*Advorsum multitudinem*. "Against host."—*Quanto sibi, &c.* Compare Catiline, (*chap.* 58,) "*Semper in praelio,*" &c.

4. *Nudum et caecum corpus*. "That part of the body which has no shield to protect it, and no eyes by which danger may be avoided;" i. e. a defenceless and blind back. Compare Xenophon, (*Cyrop.* 3, 3,) *Μωρον γὰρ τὸ κρατεῖν βουλομένους τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἄοπλα, καὶ ἄχειρα, ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας.*

5. *Quoniam hostilia faceret*. "Since he was acting the part of an enemy."

6. *Ceterum, &c.* "Besides, since he (Jugurtha) had not a large force with him, and his hopes and resources depended upon his (Volux's) father, that he (Jugurtha) would not dare to do any thing openly, while he himself, (Volux,) the son, was present as a witness of his conduct." 73

7. *Per media ejus castra.* Cortius thinks the meaning would be improved if *media* were omitted, and *prae* rendered by *praeter*. We cannot agree with him. Volux had stated, that Jugurtha would not dare to do any thing openly if he were present: in confirmation of this, he proposes that they march boldly through his very encampment. Jugurtha probably had encamped his forces in two divisions, or else in scattered order.

8. *Acciderant.* Some editions have *accesserant*. Cortius, however, successfully defends the lection we have given in the text, and makes it signify "they had come;" for *accido* frequently has this meaning when any person or thing chances to arrive unexpectedly. Compare Livy, (32, 30,) "*Civitati fama incerta accidit;*" and Quintus Curtius, (4, 4, 6,) "*Alexander classem litori, e quo fremitus acciderat, admovit.*" So also Tacitus, (*Hist.* 4, 29, 4,) "*Unde clamor acciderat;*" and our own author, chapter 88 of this narrative, "*quo improvisus gravior accideret.*"

9. *Orator.* "As his ambassador," or "agent." Compare Livy, (30, 16,) "*Jam nullo auctore belli ultra audito, oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt.*" Observe also the change of construction in our author, "*praemissus orator, et (praemissus) speculatum.*"

10. *Quem Bocchus, &c.* Cortius inserts *Romanis* after *fidum*, but Bocchus had not been long acquainted with the Romans, and, therefore, *fidum Romanis* seems too harsh. *Fidum* here means simply, "worthy of reliance."

11. *Consulta sese omnia, &c.* "That he was keeping every subject of consultation undetermined, until he could consider it in conjunction with him," i. e. that he had reserved every thing for their common consideration.

1. *Neu Jugurthae legatum pertumesceret, &c.* The true reading here is extremely doubtful. Some have *accitum esse quo res, &c.* Others *cautum esse*. Cortius places a semicolon after *pertumesceret*, and makes *quo res communis, &c.*, follow immediately after, without either *accitum esse* or *cautum esse*. As *accitum esse* is wanting in most of the manuscripts, we have adopted the conjecture of Gronovius, by which *quo* is changed into *quin*, and the meaning of the passage then becomes, "Nor should he be disquieted at the presence of Jugurtha's ambassador, lest, in consequence of" 74

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74 this, their common business might be carried on with less freedom than otherwise."

2. *Nam ab insidiis ejus, &c.* Bocchus means, that he has been compelled to allow Jugurtha to have an ambassador at his court, since otherwise that monarch would have been constantly annoying him by his intrigues; whereas the presence of his ambassador would lead Jugurtha to think, that no scheme could be formed by Bocchus, unfriendly to his (Jugurtha's) interests, without that ambassador's perceiving it, and hence the suspicions of the Numidian monarch would not be so constantly excited.

3. *Punica fide.* "With a treacherous intent." The Roman writers used the expression *Punica fides* to denote bad faith, in allusion to the frequent violation of compacts which were charged against the Carthaginians by their haughty rivals. The Carthaginians might have returned the compliment without any great violation of the truth. *Attica fides* was a proverbial expression, on the other hand, to indicate good faith. Compare Velleius Paterculus, (2, 23, 4.) "*Adeo enim certa Atheniensium in Romanos fides fuit, ut semper, et in omni re, quidquid sincera fide gereretur, id Romani Attica fieri praedicarent.*" Some writers extend this character for good faith to the whole nation, and make *Graeca fides* and *Attica fides* synonymous. This is altogether incorrect. The true explanation is given by Junius, (*Adagia Veterum*, p. 577,) "*Graeca fides pro dubia et vana accipitur, haud pro certa: quippe quae nulla prorsus esset, nisi praesente pecunia oculitus creditori satisfaceretur. Quod ex Plauto, in Asinaria, manifestum fit, ubi ait: Cetera quaeque volumus uti, Graeca mercamur fide: et ostendit hoc clarissime Polybius, historiae lib. 6, his verbis: παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐὰν τάλαντον μόνον πιστευθῶσιν, ἀντιγραφεῖς ἔχοντες δέκα, καὶ σφραγίδας τοσαύτας, καὶ μάρτυρας διπλασίου, οὐ δύνανται τηρεῖν τὴν πίστιν.*"

4. *Adtinnuisse.* "Kept amused."

5. *Lubidinem.* "Inclination."

6. *Quae responderentur.* "What answer should be given," i. e. what answer Bocchus must give him in the presence of Jugurtha's envoy.

7. *In sua castra.* The reference here is to Sylla and Bocchus, not to Sylla and Aspar as Cortius maintains. "*Sulla,*" observes Burnouf, "*quamvis paucos milites haberet, eos videlicet alicubi habere necesse fuit. Ubi autem si non in castris? Et Bocchus, quum bellum gereret, cur non et ipse castra in proprio regno habuisset?"* In addition to this it may be observed, that Aspar on the very next day was still at the court of Bocchus, which could not

possibly have been the case if he had set out the day previous for the camp of Jugurtha, since it took many days subsequently for him to go and come: "*properato itinere, post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum.*" (ch. 112.)

8. *Internuncius*. "As a mutual adviser."—*Sanctus vir*, &c. "A man of strict integrity, and acceptable to both parties." The common text has *ex sententia jurat ambobus*. "And who swears ■■ was agreed upon by both parties, to make faithful representations to each." This, however, is deservedly rejected by Cortius and others.

9. *Fuerit mihi pretium*, &c. "Let it have been my good lot to have stood in need, at length, of your friendship." *Fuerit mihi pretium* is here equivalent to, *res in bonis numeranda fuerit mihi*.

10. *Id adeo*, &c. "Of the truth of this indeed you may make full trial."

11. *Integra*. "In full force," i. e. undiminished in value. — *Me sciente*. "Provided I be made acquainted with the object of your wishes."

12. *Cujus curator*. "As the agent of which," i. e. for the purpose of attending to the interests of which.

13. *Tutus sum*. For *tuitus sum*. Consult note 8, page 49.

1. *Egrediar*. In the sense of *transgrediar*. Some verbs, compounded of prepositions that govern an ablative, take an accusative. Thus, besides the example in the text, we have in Livy, *egredi urbem*, and, in other writers, *excedere urbem*, &c. (*Zumpt. L. G.* p. 256.)

2. *Quod polliceatur*. "With regard to the offer just made." Sylla here refers to the offer of Bocchus, stated in the preceding chapter, "*Arma, viros, . . . sume, utere*; and again "*Ego flumen Mulucham non egrediar, neque*," &c.

3. *Id adeo*, &c. "That this, indeed, was an easy matter, since he had Jugurtha in his power."

4. *Negitare*. "Gave a decided negative."

5. *Fluxa fide usus*. "If he acted with bad faith towards Jugurtha."—*Avorteret*. "He might alienate."

6. *Lenitur*. "He is softened down." Some editions have *leniter*, the adverbial form, "with a softened air."

7. *Ad simulandam pacem*. "For keeping up the appearance of a negotiation for peace."—*Namida*. Jugurtha.

8. *Posse poni*. "Could be brought to a close."—*Cuncta edoctus*. "Having received full instructions."

9. *Conventam*. "After having been agreed upon."—*Frustra fuisse*. "Had proved of no effect," i. e. had never been ratified by the government at home.

10. *Ceterum si ambobus*, &c. "That, however, if he wished to

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- 75 consult for their common interests, and to have a firm peace," &c.
11. *Non sua ignavia*. "Not through any ill conduct on his part."
—*Rempublicam*. "His attention to the public business."—*Relictum iri*. Supply *ibi*.
12. *Dolo an vere*. "Treacherously or sincerely."
- 76 1. *Ipsae sibi advorsae*. "They clash with one another." Are inconsistent with one another.
2. *Constituto*. "We have thrown out, after this, the words in *colloquium uti de pace veniretur*, as a mere repetition from the previous chapter, and savouring of a gloss.
3. *Benigne habere*. "He treated them kindly."
4. *Adhibitis amicis*. "Having called in his friends," i. e. to aid him with their advice.—*Remotis*. "Having dismissed them."
5. *Voltu corporis, &c.* "The movements of his body varying with the purposes of his soul." *Voltus* is here used as a general term for the gestures of the body, including also the expression of the countenance, in short, any thing indicative of the will (*vultus a volo*). Compare chapter 34, *terrebat eum clamore, voltu, &c.*, where the same usage occurs.
6. *Patefecisse*. Governed by *dicitur* understood. Some read *quae scilicet, tacente ipso, occulta pectoris patefecisse*, making this last word depend for its government on *scilicet*, i. e. *scire licet*.
7. *Quaestore nostro*. Sylla.—*Tumulum*. "A rising ground"—*Insidiantibus*. "By those lying in wait."
8. *Ut dictum*. "As had been agreed upon."
9. *Ad Marium deductus*. Plutarch, in his life of Sylla, states, that, although the capture of Jugurtha procured Marius a triumph, yet envy ascribed the whole glory of it to Sylla. This Marius in his heart not a little resented, adds the biographer, especially when he found that Sylla, who was naturally fond of fame, and from a low and obscure condition now rose to general esteem, suffered his ambition to carry him so far as to order a signet to be engraved with a representation of the capture of Jugurtha. This he constantly used in sealing his letters. The device was, Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha, and Sylla receiving him.
10. *Gallos*. More correctly *Germanos*, for they were the Cimbri, Teutones, and Tigurini. Compare Florus, (3, 3,) "*Cimbri, Theutoni atque Tigurini, ab extremis Galliae profugi, quum terras eorum inundasset Oceanus, novas sedes toto orbe quaerebant; exclusique Gallia et Hispania, quum in Italiam remigrarent misere legatos in castra Silani, inde ad Senatum,*" &c.; and again, "*Sed nec primum quidem impetum barbarorum Silanus, nec secundum Man-*

lius, nec tertium Caepo sustinere potuerunt. Omnes fugati, exuti castris. Actum erat, nisi Marius illi seculo contigisset. 76

11. *Illique, &c.* "Both the Romans of that day, and thence downward even to our own time."

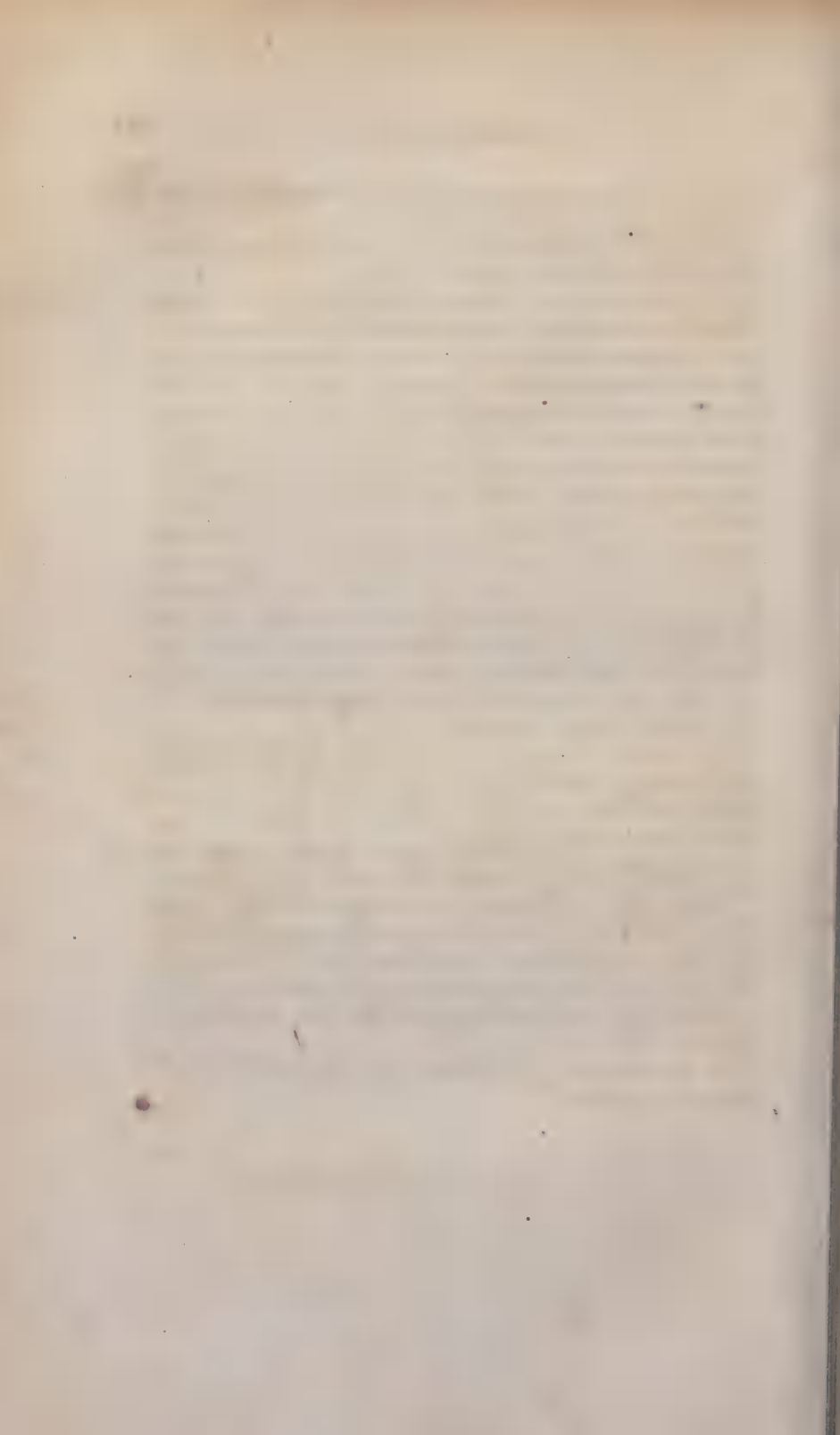
12. *Cum Gallis, &c.* Compare Cicero, (*Off.* 1, 12,) "*Cum Cimbris, ut cum inimicis, gerebatur; uter esset, non uter imperaret.*"

13. *Jugurtham vincitum, &c.* It may not be improper to add a few words relative to the fate of Jugurtha. "It is said," observes Plutarch, "that when he was led before the car of the conqueror, he lost his senses. After the triumph, he was thrown into prison, where, while they were in haste to strip him, some tore his robe off his back, and others, catching eagerly at his pendants, pulled off the tips of his ears along with them. When he was thrust down naked into the dungeon, all confused, he said with a frantic smile, "Heavens! how cold is this bath of yours!" There, having struggled, for six days, with extreme hunger, and to the last hour labouring for the preservation of life, he came to such an end as his crimes deserved. There were carried (we are told) in his triumph, three thousand and seven pounds of gold, five thousand, seven hundred and seventy-five of silver bullion, and of silver coin, seventeen thousand and twenty-eight drachmas."

14. *Absens.* "Though absent." This was a violation of the law, since no person, strictly speaking, was allowed to stand candidate for the consulship, unless present at the time in Rome. The condition, however, was often violated.

15. *Kalendis Januariis.* The first of January, the day when the new consuls were inducted into office. Consult note 13, page 105. After the solemnity of the triumph was finished, Marius, as Plutarch informs us, assembled the senate in the capitol, where, either through inadvertence, or gross insolence, he entered in his triumphal robes; but soon perceiving that the senate was offended, he went and put on his ordinary habit, and then returned to his place.

16. *Ea tempestate.* Emphatical. His subsequent career was ruinous to the state.



NOTES

TO

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE



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1. *Omnis*. For *omnes*. The old form. (*Jugurtha*, note 9, page 1,).—*Sese student praestare*. The insertion of the pronoun here is not a pleonasm, as some maintain, but in reality the older and fuller form of expression, and may be regarded as equivalent to *ut ipsi praestent*. Instances occur in other writers also. Thus, Cicero, (*Off.* 2. 20.) “*Gratum se videri studet.*” So also after *cupere, velle, and malle*.

2. *Silentio*. “In obscurity.” The *silence* which the rest of mankind preserve respecting us, when we have done nothing to render our names illustrious.

3. *Prona*. “Stooping downward to the earth.” Compare Ovid (*Met.* 1, 84,) “*Pronaque quum spectent animalia caetera terram.*”

4. *Animi imperio, &c.* “We use more the empire of the mind, the obedience of the body.” Sallust wishes to convey the idea, that it is the province of the mind to command, of the body to obey. Some very erroneously make *imperio* depend for its government on the comparative *magis*. “We make more use of the empire of the mind, than of the obedience of the body.”

5. *Quo*. “On which account.”—*Rectius*. “More consistent with reason.”—*Opibus*. “By the resources.”

6. *Memoriam nostri*. “The remembrance of ourselves.” *Memoriam nostram* would mean “our faculty of memory.”

7. *Habetur*. The force of this verb, in the present passage, is best seen by a paraphrase: “The endowments of mind form the only illustrious and lasting possession.”

8. *Sed*. Elegantly used in the sense of continuation, like *δέ* in Greek, and to be rendered “Now.”—*Vine corporis, &c.* “Whether a warlike enterprise depended more for its success on strength of body, or energy of mind.” Literally, “whether a warlike operation proceeded more from strength of body,” &c.

9. *Consulto*. “Of deliberation.”—*Mature facto*. “Of speedy execution,” i. e. in proper season. The participles *consulto* and

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79 *facto* are here elegantly used in place of nouns. The literal translation would be, "of a thing's being deliberated upon," and "of its being performed in proper season."

10. *Imperii*. "Of authority."—*Diversi*. "Differing in their views."—*Agitabatur*. The frequentative for the simple verb, as in Jugurtha.

11. *Cyrus*. The elder of the name.

12. *Lubidinem dominandi*. "A lust of dominion."—*Mazumam gloriam*. Understand *sitam esse*, or something equivalent.

13. *Periculo atque negotiis*. "From actual experience, and from affairs themselves," i. e. from the experience which affairs themselves bestowed.

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1. *Quod si regum, &c.* "But if the mental qualities of kings and of those who command were exercised to the same degree in peace that they are in war."—*Aequabilis atque constantius, &c.* "Human affairs would proceed with more regularity and steadiness." This usage of the verb *habeo* with the pronoun is analogous to the Greek idiom: *εὖ ἑχει* "he is well," i. e. *εὖ ἑχει (ἑαυτόν)* "he has himself well." (Compare *Viger's Greek Idioms*, p. 84. *Seager's transl.*)

2. *Aliud alio, &c.* *Alius*, as has already been remarked in the Notes to the Jugurthine War, is frequently used by Sallust, and also by the best writers, with one of its own cases, or an adverb derived from it, to denote what in English requires two separate expressions. Thus we may render the passage in the text, "neither would you behold one thing carried in one direction, another in another," &c.—*Artibus*. "Means."

3. *Pro labore*. "In the stead of active exertion." *Labor* has here a special reference to military operations.—*Pro continentia et aequitate, &c.* "In the stead of moderation and a regard for natural equality, cupidity, and a tyrannical spirit," &c. As Sallust here contrasts virtues and vices, *continentia* will be opposed to *lubido*, and *aequitas* to *superbia*; which removes, we conceive, all difficulty as to the meaning of the individual terms. Burnouf makes *lubido* in this passage signify "caprice," an opinion in which we cannot concur.—*Fortuna*. Understand *principum*.

4. *Optimum quemque*. "The most deserving." Literally "each most deserving person."—*Arant, &c.* Equivalent to *arando, navigando, aedificando efficiunt*: hence *quae homines arant, &c.* may be rendered by nouns, "agriculture, navigation, architecture."—*Virtuti omni parent*. "Depend all upon the energies of mind for their successful employment."

5. *Peregrinantes*. A beautiful expression, by which the sensualist and the sluggard are compared to "travellers in a foreign

land." Cortius, cites in explanation, a passage from Zeno of Verona, (*Serm.* 32,) "*Sed qui sunt praetereuntes, nisi qui peregrinantes corporalis vitae saeculum transeunt.*"

6. *Quibus, profecto, &c.* "Unto whom, certainly in opposition to the views of nature," &c.—*Juxta.* "Alike," i. e. as equally unimportant.—*Quoniam de utraque siletur.* "Since silence is preserved respecting each," i. e. since they leave no memorial of their having ever existed.

7. *Frui anima.* "To enjoy his rational nature, i. e. to answer the end of his existence.—*Qui, aliquo negotio intentus, &c.* "Who, in whatever employment he may be engaged, seeks for the reputation attendant on some praiseworthy deed or the exercise of some useful talent."

8. *In magna copia rerum.* "In the great variety of employments."—*Aliud alii.* Compare note 2.

9. *Bene dicere.* Equivalent to *eloquentiam exercere.* Eloquence was one of the surest passports to office among the Romans.—*Ab surdum.* This term was originally applied to any harsh and disagreeable sound, ("*Vox quae surdis auribus audiri digna est,*") and subsequently to any thing devoid of merit and unworthy of notice. *Haud absurdum est* may therefore be rendered, "is no contemptible acquirement."

10. *Et qui fecere, &c.* Supply *eorum* before *qui.*

11. *Auctorem rerum.* "The actor." Some editions have *actorem rerum*: both lections occur in manuscripts. Compare Velleius Paterculus, (2, 120, 6,) "*Praeclari facinoris auctor fuit Calvus Coelius,*" &c.—*Res gestas.* "An historical narrative."—*Dictis.* "By the style." Livy has an expression similar to that in the text, in which, however, *dicta* is used in its original meaning; "*facta dictis aequando.*" (6. 20.)

12. *Putant.* The manuscripts vary, some inserting *dicta* before *putant*, others *ducta*, &c. We have followed the reading of Cortius. The ellipsis is to be supplied by *reprehendisse*, which is in fact expressed in one of the manuscripts. Sallust appears to have borrowed the idea in the text from Thucydides, (2, 35).

13. *Ubi de magna virtute, &c.* "When you make mention of the distinguished merit and glory of illustrious men," &c.

14. *Supra ea.* "Whatever things go beyond this," or, "all beyond this."

15. *Studio ad rempublicam, &c.* "Was led by the ardour of youth to turn my attention to public affairs," i. e. to become a candidate for public office.—*Ibique.* "And in this career."—*Nam pro pudore &c.* *Pudor* is here opposed to *audacia*, *avaritia* to *absti-*

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80 *nentia*, and *largitio* to *virtus*.—*Insolens malarum artium*. “Unaccustomed to evil practices.”

16. *Reliquorum*, &c. We have followed the reading of Havercamp and Burnouf. The Bipont text has *reliquis* and *qua ceteros*, by which *eadem fama* and *invidia* become ablatives. In our lection *fama* and *invidia* are likewise ablatives, but *eadem* is in the nominative agreeing with *cupido*. The whole passage may be rendered as follows:—“And though I was uncontaminated by the evil principles of others, nevertheless the same desire of advancement disquieted me, by reason of the obloquy and odium that accompanied it, which disquieted the rest,” i. e. standing forth as a candidate for public honours, I shared the fate of others: my character was assailed with obloquy, and an attempt was made by my political opponents to render me an object of popular odium.—De Brosse thinks that Sallust here endeavours to offer a plausible excuse for his recent and disgraceful expulsion from the senate.

81 1. *Ex multis miseriis*, &c. “From the many miseries and dangers by which it had been encompassed.”

2. *Bonum otium*. “Valuable leisure.”—*Servilibus officiis*. “Mere coporeal employments.” The phrase is here used in allusion to the expression in the first chapter, “*animi imperio, coporis servitio magis utimur*.” The charge therefore which some bring against Sallust, of his stigmatizing agriculture and hunting as employments fit only for slaves, rests on an entirely erroneous acceptance of the epithet *servilibus*.

3. *Studio*. Cortius considers *studio* as having reference to historical labours. We would rather, with Dahl, extend the term to “liberal studies” generally, so as to embrace the literature both of Greece and Rome, especially the former.

4. *Carptim*. “In detached portions.” Compare Pliny, (*Ep.* 8, 4, 7,) “*Respondebis, non posse perinde carptim, ut, contexta, perinde inchoata placere, ut effecta*,” and Tacitus, (*Hist.* 4, 46, *extr.*) The term is sometimes used in the sense of *breviter*, as in Pliny, (*Ep.* 6, 22, 2,) “*egit autem carptim et κατά κεφάλαια*,” (i. e. *breviter et summam*.)—Some editions of Sallust have *strictim*, “cursorily,” in place of *carptim*; but this reading carries with it its own refutation. From this passage of Sallust, it appears that the history of Catiline’s conspiracy was his first literary production.

5. *Partibus reipublicae*. “The factions which agitated the republic.” Dahl is of opinion, that, from the language of the text, Sallust must have composed this narrative after his return from the government of Numidia; since, to suppose with some commentators that the work was written at the time of his expulsion from the

senate (A. U. C. 703) does not harmonize with the expressions, "a *spe, metu, &c., animus liber erat.*"

6. *Paucis absolvam.* "I will give a brief account." *Paucis verbis absolvam narrationem.—Id facinus.* "That daring deed."

7. *Nobili genere natus.* Catiline was the last of the gens *Sergia*, a patrician house. Consult Historical Index.

8. *Sed ingenio malo pravoque.* "But of a wicked and depraved spirit." The term *ingenium* appears to denote *quicquid est ingenium*, and is applied to the native qualities of the whole soul, those of the heart, as well as those of the head. (*Crombie, Gymn. vol. 2, p. 73.*)

9. *Ibique.* "And in these." *Ibi* is here elegantly used for *in iis rebus.*—*Juventutem.* By the Romans, generally speaking, human life was divided into four stages of fifteen years each: thus *pueritia* was within 15; *adolescentia* within 30; *juventus* within 45; and *senectus* comprised the remaining period of life. Compare *Classical Journal*, vol. 1, p. 473. *Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 1 p. 160.

10. *Patiens.* The verbal adjective, distinguished from the participle by its particular government; thus, *patiens inediae*, "able to endure want of food," referring to a habit; *patiens inediam*, "suffering want of food," referring to a particular point of time. So also *doctus linguam Latinam*, "one who has been taught the Latin language;" *doctus linguae Latinae*, "one skilled in Latin."

11. *Varius.* "Capable of assuming any shape." Compare the picture drawn by Cicero, (*pro Coel. 6.*) "*Illa vero in illo homine (sc. Catilina) mirabilia fuerunt. . . . versare suam naturam, et regere ad tempus, atque huc et illuc torquere et flectere: cum tristibus severe, cum remissis jucunde, cum senibus graviter, cum juventute comiter, cum facinorosis audaciter, cum libidinosi luxuriose vivere. Hac ille tam varia, multiplicique natura, cum omnes omnibus ex terris homines improbos, audacesque collegerat: tum etiam multos fortes viros et bonos specie quadam virtutis assimulatae tenebat.*"

12. *Simulator.* The verb *simulare*, whence this noun is formed, means "to pretend to be what we are not;" but *dissimulare*, "to dissemble, or conceal what we are." It is the character of hypocrisy to pretend to virtues which it has not, (*simulare*), and to dissemble the vices which it has, (*dissimulare*.)

13. *Satis loquentiae.* "Possessing fluency of speech enough." Several editions have *eloquentiae*, but this would be too strong here, although the reading appears in a majority of the MSS. The distinction between *loquentia* and *eloquentia* is well pointed out in the

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81 following extract from Pliny, (*Ep.* 5, 20.) "*Julius Candidus non invenuste solet dicere aliud esse eloquentiam, aliud loquentiam. Nam eloquentia vix uni, aut alteri; haec vero quam Candidus loquentiam appellat, multis, etiam impudentissimo cuique maxime contingit.*" We may compare with this the words of Gellius, (1, 15, extr.) "*Valerium Probum, grammaticum illustrem, ex familiari ejus, docto viro, comperi, Sallustianum illud (in Catil. c. 5.) Satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum, brevi antequam vita decederet, sic legere coepisse, et sic a Sallustio relictum affirmasse: Satis loquentiae, sapientiae parum: quod loquentia novatori verborum Sallustio maxime congrueret; eloquentia cum insipientia minime conveniret.*"

14. *Vastus animus.* "His insatiable spirit." Dureau de Lamalle renders it "Son ambition immodérée."

15. *Post dominationem.* This expression is equivalent, not to *finita dominatione*, but *ab eo tempore quo dominari coeperat*. The preposition must therefore be rendered by "*since.*"

16. *Lucii Sullae.* Consult Historical Index.

17. *Reipublicae capiundae.* "Of seizing upon the government."—*Regnum.* "Supreme power."—*Quidquam pensi habebat.* "Did he at all regard."

18. *Agitabatur.* "Was goaded on."—*His artibus.* "By those practices."—*Quos.* Referring to *mores*, and not, as Cortius maintains, to *cives*, implied in *civitatem*. Render the whole clause as follows: "On which luxury and cupidity, evils of the most pernicious tendency, and directly opposite to each other, kept exercising an active influence."

19. *Res ipsa.* "The subject itself."—*Tempus.* "The occasion."—*Supra repetere.* Understand *narrationem*.—*Instituta majorum.* "The principles of government adopted by our forefathers."—*Quomodo, &c.* "How they governed the republic."

82 1. *Sicuti ego accipi.* We may fairly infer from these words that, even in the days of Sallust, uncertainty attached itself to the early history of Rome. The origin of the eternal city is lost in fable.

2. *Trojani.* No Trojans ever set foot in Italy; the arrival of Aeneas in that country is purely fabulous. (*vid. Niebuhr's Roman History*, vol. 1. p. 150. seqq.)

3. *Aborigines.* A name given by the Romans to the primitive inhabitants of Italy, and which is supposed to be equivalent to the Greek *Αὐτόχθονες*. Consult Geographical Index.

4. *Sine imperio.* "Without any form of government."

5. *Dispari genere.* "Though differing in origin."—*Alius alio*

more viventes, i. e. *viventes* (alio more), *alius* (vivens) *alio more*. "Though living each after a different manner."

6. *Res eorum*. "Their state."—*Civibus, moribus, &c.* "Increased in number of citizens, improved in manners, and enlarged in territory." The participle assumes a different meaning here with each of the nouns to which it refers.—*Sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur*. "As is the case, for the most part, with human affairs"—*Opulentia*. "Prosperity."

7. *Tentare*. These and the following verbs are what are called historical infinitives, that is, the infinitive is used for the imperfect. Compare Jugurtha, note 4, page 4.

8. *Perculsi*. Other editions have *percussi*, which is inferior. Bentley (*ad. Horat. Epod. 11, 3*) correctly lays down the distinction between *percellere* and *percutere*, as follows: "*Utrumque de corpore proprie, de animo μεταφορικῶς dicitur. Percellere tamen magis quid quam percutere significat; tanta scilicet vi percutere, ut evertas et solo prosternas. Ergo in re graviore percussus aptius vocabulum est; percussus terrore, metu, formidine, clade, ruina, damno, discordiis, passim in auctoribus occurrunt.*"

9. *Imperium legitimum*. "A government regulated by laws."

10. *Vel actate, &c.* "In the cities of all the civilized nations around the Mediterranean," observes Niebuhr, "a senate was no less essential and indispensable than a popular assembly. It was a select body of the elder citizens: such a council, says Aristotle, there always is, whether the constitution be aristocratical or democratical." (*Rom. Hist. vol. 1, p. 290.*)

11. *Conservandae libertatis*. "For the preservation of freedom." Some understand *causa*, which actually appears in a few manuscripts and editions. Scheller, however, from a review of this and similar passages, inclines to the opinion that it will be better to supply *negotium*, or, when the context requires it, *negotia*. Thus *negotium conservandae libertatis, &c.* (*L. G. vol. 1, p. 400.*)

12. *Dominationemque*. "And tyranny." The Romans always attached an improper meaning to the term *dominus*, the root of *dominatio*, using it in the sense of "tyrant," "a master of slaves," &c. On this account Augustus refused the name.

13. *Convertit*. Understand *sese*. "Changed."—*Annua imperia, &c.* "Annual offices of magistracy, and two chief magistrates." The term *imperium*, in its stricter acceptation, accords better with the character of the early consulship, than with the form it assumed after the successive encroachments of the plebeian power. From the law given by Cicero, in his own plan of a well-ordered state, and which is taken with some slight alteration from one of the old

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82 laws of Rome, an idea may be formed of what he considered the genuine definition of the consular power. "*Regio imperio duo sunt: iique praeuendo, iudicando, consulendo, praetores, iudices, consules appellantur. Militiae summum jus habent, nemini parento. Ollis salus populi suprema lex esto.*" (Cic. de leg. 3, 3, 8, ed. Goerenz.)

14. *Insolescere*. "Grow haughty." Compare Florus, (1, 9,) "*Ex perpetuo annuum (imperium) placuit; ex singulari duplex; ne potestas solitudine vel mora corrumperetur.*"

15. *Sed*. The connexion between the commencement of this chapter and what precedes, is as follows: *Dum reges imperium habebant, nemo se extollere audebat et laborabat. Sed postquam libertas populo restituta, quisque gloriam quaerere et ingenium prompte agendo ostendere coepit.—Ea tempestate.* "At that particular period." *Tempestus* and *tempus* very often differ like *καιρός* and *χρόνος* in Greek, the former being limited to a more definite and particular period of time than the latter. "Ὁ μὲν Καιρός δηλοῖ ποιότητα χρόνου, οἶον, ὅτε πόλεμος ἦν· Χρόνος δὲ ποσότητα, οἶον, πρὸ δέκα χρόνων, ἢ, μετὰ δέκα ἔτη. (Ammonius περὶ διαφ. λεξ. ed. Valck.)

16. *Coepere se quisque extollere, &c.* "Each one began to act with redoubled energy, and to display more openly the abilities which he possessed." The common text has *magis* before *extollere*, which we have rejected with Cortius as savouring of a gloss.—*Boni*. "The talented."—*Mali*. "Those of inferior intellects."

17. *Adepta libertate. Adipiscor*, being a common verb, admits both this construction, as well as *adepta libertatem* with *adepta* in the nominative. It remains to be seen whether the Latin deponents be not in fact middle verbs, and whether the existence of common verbs be not a strong collateral proof of this.

18. *Simul*. For *simul ac*. Compare Livy, (9, 26,) "*intellectuosque id ita esse, simul magistratu abiissent.*" The common text of Salust has *simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiam discebat*. The reading which we have adopted is given by Cortius partly from manuscripts and partly from conjecture.

19. *Per usum*. "By experience," i. e. actual service—*Militaribus equis*. "War steeds."

83 1. *Labos*. The Æolo-Doric tribes were fond of *β*, as the Lacedaemonians, who said ἵππορ, πάρ, σίορ, for ἵππος, ποῦς, θεός, &c. Hence we may account for the Latin forms *labor* and *labos*, *honor* and *honos*, &c. (Vid. Maittaire Dial. ed. Sturz. p. 196.)—*Virtus omnia domuerat*. "Their valour had triumphed over every obstacle."

2 *Sese quisque, &c.* Compare note 7, page 75.—*Tale*

facinus "Such an exploit." *Facinus*, as has already been remarked in the Notes to the Jugurthine War, denotes "a bold or daring action," and, unless it be joined with a favourable epithet, or the action be previously described as commendable, the term is always to be understood in a vituperative sense. In the present case, the previous description of the action fixes its character. (*Vid. Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 2, p. 159.)

3. *Eas divitias*, &c. "These they considered riches, this an honourable fame," &c.—*Divitias honestas*. "Moderate wealth." The expression *divitias honestas* is the same as *divitias bonis artibus partas, adeoque mediocres*.

4. *Ni ea res*, &c. "Were it not that such a detail might draw me off too far from my subject." *Ea res* is regarded by some as an archaism for *id*; but this mode of expression occurs in the best writers, though Sallust uses it more frequently than others.

5. *Res cunctas*. For *cuncta*. Consult preceding note.—*Celebrat obscuratque*. "Raises to eminence, and, again, buries in oblivion."

6. *Scriptorum magna ingenia*. More elegant than *scriptores magni ingenii*, which is, however, the meaning of the phrase: "writers of great talent." Compare Curtius (3, 2, 13,) *robora virorum*, for *viri robustissimi*, and Catullus, (64, 4,) *robora pubis*, for *adolescentes robusti*. The writers to whom Sallust alludes are, without doubt, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, &c. Some critics have regarded *scriptorum* in this passage as a mere gloss, especially as some manuscripts omit it, and others place it after *ingenia*, but its presence is necessary to the sense.

7. *Eam*. Referring to *virtutem* understood. Some editors read *ea*, understanding *facta*.—*Ea copia*. "That advantage." Kuhnhardt thinks *copia* equivalent to *multitudo*, but incorrectly we conceive. If his explanation, however, should be preferred, *ea copia* may be rendered, "the same number of able historians."

8. *Prudentissimus quisque*, &c. "The most talented were the most occupied with public affairs."—*Ingenium nemo*, &c. Referring to the martial habits of the early Romans, and the military service which was imposed upon all.

9. *Optimus quisque*. "The best citizens."—*Benefacta*. "Brave deeds."

10. *Igitur* This conjunction refers back to chapter 7, from which chapter 8 is a digression.—*Jus bonumque*. "Justice and probity." The expression which follows, *non legibus magis quam natura*, is strictly Thucydidean, and would be, when rendered into Greek, οὐ νόμοις μᾶλλον (or τὸ πλεῖον) ἢ φύσει. Compare the language

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83 of Tacitus, (*de moribus Germ.* 19,) "*plus ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonae leges.*"

11. *In suppliciiis*. "In the worship." *Supplicium* signifies both "punishment" and "supplication," "worship," or "sacrifice." Scheller's explanation is perfectly satisfactory. He makes the primitive import of the term, "a kneeling down." This may be done either to supplicate the Deity, whence we have the kindred meaning of "religious worship;" or it may be for the purpose of being beheaded, whence we deduce the meaning of "punishment." (*Scheller, Lateinisch-Deutsches Worterb.* s. v.)

12. *Ubi pax evenerat*. Sallust uses this mode of expression and not *in pace*, for the purpose of showing that the Romans neither avoided war nor courted peace; but, whenever the latter chance to arrive, proved themselves not unworthy of enjoying it, by the justice and moderation of their conduct.—*Sæque remque publicam, &c.* "They regulated their own conduct as well as the administration of the republic."

13. *Quod sæpius, &c.* Some editions have *in bello* before *sæpius*. We have rejected it with Cortius as being sufficiently implied from the context.

84 1. *Imperium agitabant*. "They managed their authority." *Agitabant*, the frequentative is here used for the simple *agebant*.

2. *Labore et justitia*. "By the exertions of its citizens, and the equity of its administration."

3. *Reges magni*. Before these words, and also before *Carthago* and *cuncta*, in the next clauses, supply the term "when," in translating. The monarchs here alluded to are, Perses, king of Macedonia, Jugurtha, Mithridates, &c.—*Populi*. "Communities."

4. *Carthago*. Consult Geographical Index.

5. *Optandæ*. Agreeing with *divitiæ* the nearest noun.—*Ea*. Referring to "cupidity" and "a thirst for dominion," *pecuniæ et imperii cupido*.

6. *Materies*. "The germ."—*Artis bonas*. "Virtuous qualities."—*Neglegere*. The old form for *negligere*. The infinitives *neglegere* and *habere* depend on *edocuit* in common with *superbiam* and *crudelitatem*. "The neglect of the gods, universal venality."

7. *Falsos*. "Insincere."

8. *Ex re*. "From their real importance."—*Magisque vultum* &c. "And to preserve rather a fair exterior than rectitude of principle." Literally, "than an honest spirit."

9. *Vindicari*. "They were punished."

10. *Post, ubi, contagio, &c.* Great doubts exist respecting the true punctuation of this sentence. We have adopted that which is given

by Cortius, making *contagio* an ablative from the old form *contagium*: (*Contagio quasi*, "by a sort of moral contagion.") The Bipont edition removes the comma after *quasi*, placing one after *contagio*, and another after *pestilentia*. *Contagio* then becomes the nominative to *invasit*. In either reading, *contagio* has *vitiorum* understood.

11. *Propius virtutem erat*. Sallust means, that ambition, though a vice, has some affinity to virtue, which cupidity has not. *Virtutem* is governed by *ad* understood. We find the preposition supplied in Plautus, (*Mil. Glor.* 4, 6, 55,) "*Si accesserit prope ad te*;" and again, (*Mostell.* 2, 2, 30,) "*Fuge ad me propius*."

12. *Bonus, ignavus*. "The man who has merit and he who is devoid of it."—*Vera via*. "By the true path," i. e. by fair and honourable means.

13. *Studium habet*. "Implies the desire."

14. *Venenis malis*. "With poisons." *Venenum*, like *facinus*, &c., is what the grammarians call *medium nomen*. It properly signifies "that which by its penetrating influence changes the natural qualities of any thing." As this may be either beneficial or injurious, *venenum* hence may indicate in the latter case "a poison," and in the former "a drug," "a medicine," "a colouring matter." In this passage Sallust uses the term in its strict acceptation, and therefore adds the qualifying adjective; so that *venenis malis*, when literally rendered, will signify "with pernicious (or poisonous) drugs," i. e. poisons. This, after all, however, is somewhat of an affected archaism on the part of our historian, since the purest Latin writers are accustomed to use the word *venenum*, when standing alone, in a bad sense, without employing any adjective. The old form of expression occurs in a law cited by Cicero, (*pro Cluent.* 54,) "*Qui venenum malum fecit*," &c. (Compare Ernesti and Schütz, *Index Lat. Cic. s. v.*) The term *φάρμακον* is another well known instance of a *medium nomen*. Herodotus uses it to express colours, (1, 98,) *πρωμαχεδώνες ἠνθισμένοι φαρμάκοισι*. Vid. Koen, *ad Greg. Dialect.* (*Ion.* 94,) and Schweigh. *Lex. Herod. s. v.*

15. *Neque copia*, &c. The idea intended to be conveyed is this: He who possesses much is as strongly influenced by the desire of having more, as he whose present resources are scanty; and while want urges on the latter, the possession of abundant means does not quench the thirst for gain in the former. The desire of wealth makes both of them its slaves.

16. *Recepta republica*. "Having wrested the state from the hands of his opponents." Alluding to Sylla's final overthrow of the Marian faction.—*Ex bonis initiis* &c. "Caused a fair beginning

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84 to be succeeded by an evil issue." The first acts of Sylla, upon his attaining to the unlimited control of the state, argued well for its interests. He favoured the party of the nobility, which Marius, plebeian in origin, had always sought to depress, and he seemed on the point also of reviving the ancient constitution. The mask, however, was soon dropped, and the most horrid excesses ensued. Compare Velleius Paterculus, (2, 25,) "*Putares Sullam venisse in Italiam, non belli vindicem, sed pacis auctorem,*" &c., and also Cicero, (*de Off.* 2, 8,) "*Secuta est honestam causam non honesta victoria.*"

17. *Neque modum, &c.* "The victors knew no limit, and practised no self-restraint."—*In civibus.* "Among their fellow-citizens," or "in the case of their fellow-citizens." The common text has *in cives*. The present reading was first given by Wasse, from a manuscript. "*Perleganter,*" observes the critic in speaking of this lection, "*nescio an vere, certe supra captum librariorum.*" He then refers in support of it to *Virgil Aen* 2, 541. *Ovid. Met.* 1, 442. *Cic. N. D.* 1, 42, &c. He gives also in *amicis*, in the 9th chapter of the present narrative.—*Quem in Asia ductaverat.* Cor tuis reads *Asiam*, giving in the force of *intra*.

85 1. *Amoena.* *Amoenus* most commonly denotes what is pleasing to the eye, while *voluptarius* properly refers to the senses. The expressions in the text may be rendered as follows: "A delightful country, the abode of pleasure."—*Amare, potare.* "To indulge in the excesses of licentiousness and intoxication." *Potare* is "to drink to excess," "to be addicted to drinking." "*Bibunt sobrii, ad naturae necessitatem; potant ebriosi affluenter, et ad ebrietatem.*" (Popma.) As Sallust means to say that the Roman soldiers had acquired in Asia the habit of drinking to excess, *bibere* would evidently have been inadmissible in the text.

2. *Privatim ac publice.* "Whether the property of individuals or communities."—*Delubra.* *Delubrum*, properly speaking, is merely a small chapel, or part of a temple; or, as Noltenius (*Lex. Antibarb.*) defines it, "*Aedicula, in qua stat Dei cujusdam simulacrum; parvum templum, vel pars templi.*" The capitol was called *Templum*, in which there were three *Delubra* inclosed by a common wall, namely Jupiter's, Juno's, and Minerva's. In this passage of Sallust, the word may be rendered "shrines."

3. *Fatigant.* A strong expression: *sapientium animos fatigant*, "shakes the principles of the wise."—*Ne.* Used for *nedum*, "much less."—*Temperare* with the dative, signifies "to set bounds to something," "to moderate." With the accusative it means "to regulate," "to arrange."

4. *Innocentia*, &c. "A life of innocence in another was regarded the mere offspring of a malevolent feeling," i. e. they gave him who led a virtuous life no credit for sincerity, but supposed him to be actuated merely by a spirit of malevolence and opposition, and a wish to set his own mode of life in direct contrast with that of the profligate, in order that it might carry with it a tacit censure on the conduct of the latter.

5. *Rapere, consumere*. "They plundered, they wasted."

6. *Pudorem, pudicitiam*, &c. "Modesty, chastity, things divine and human without distinction, they utterly disregarded, and in their violation of them acted without the least compunction or self-restraint." Seneca (*de Benef.* 1, 9) has borrowed some of his ideas and expressions from this and the preceding passages of Sallust. "*Jam rapta spargere, sparsa pari avaritia recolligere certant: nihil pensi habere, pauperiatem alienam contemnere, suam timere, nullum alium vereri malum:*" &c.

7. *Verum*. This term is used here to denote strong indignation. Compare the remarks of Drakenborch (*ad. Liv.* 45, 19) on the emphatic *vero*.

8. *Praeter injuriae licentiam*. "Except the power of injuring."

9. *Victores*. Some manuscripts have *victis* instead of *victores*, but the former is implied in the latter, and therefore need not be expressed. Other manuscripts give *hostibus*, but this again is already implied in the term *sociis*. "*Quasi socios istos*," observes Cortius, "*non olim hostes fuisse per se constat.*"

10. *Constructa*. "Built up," or "constructed." The historian refers to the *piscinae*, or fish-ponds, which the wealthy Romans caused to be formed, generally on the seashore, by the damming up of the waters, and which were commonly of such vast dimensions as almost to deserve the name of seas. Some editions, however, read *constrata*, "built upon," referring to the splendid residences of many of the Roman nobility, built on large artificial moles projecting into the sea. *Contracta*, which other manuscripts present, is probably a mere gloss. If otherwise considered, it may be supposed to allude to the encroachments made upon the limits of the ocean by these moles and marine palaces. Compare, as regards this last reading, Horace, (*Carm.* 3, 1, 33,) "*Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt*," &c.

11. *Turpidinem*. An old form for *turpitudinem*. The nominative *turpido* occurs in Tertullian (*de cor. mil.* c. 14.) Gesner thinks this an error for *turpitude*, but without any necessity.

12. *Cultus*. "Luxurious habits."—*Vescendi causa*. "For the sake of gratifying the appetite "

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13. *Luxu*. "By luxurious indulgence." On this whole passage, compare *Seneca, Epist.* 89, *ad fin.* *Aulus Gellius*, 7, 16, and *Lacian*, 4, 373.

14 *Animus imbutus*, &c. "The heart, once contaminated by evil inclinations, could not easily forego the gratification of its vicious propensities." By *lubidinibus* are here properly meant the ruling propensities and desires of the heart.

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1. *In tanta tamque corrupta civitate*, &c. The student will observe with what peculiar force the mention of Catiline's conspiracy is re-introduced, after the masterly picture of Roman corruption which has just preceded.

2. *Flagitiorum atque facinorum*. For *flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum*, the abstract for the concrete. "Of all kinds of profligate and daring spirits." *Facinus*, as we have already observed in a previous note, means a bold or daring action. *Flagitium*, though generally referring to lustful excess, denotes any fault, error, or crime, which reflects more or less disgrace on the offender; and implies a less degree of moral guilt than *scelus*. (*Crombie's Gynnasium*, vol. 2, p. 162, 3d ed.)

3. *Quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret*. "In order to purchase impunity for some disgraceful or daring offence."

4. *Convicti iudicis*. "Persons convicted on trial."

5. *Quos manus*, &c. *Manus* refers to *sanguine civili, lingua to perjurio*. Compare Cicero, (2, in *Cat.* 4,) "*Quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subjector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur?*"

6. *Proximi familiaresque*. "Bosom friends and intimate companions."

7. *Inciderat*. A metaphor taken from prey that falls into the trap or net of the hunter.

8. *Par similisque ceteris*. *Par* refers to internal resemblance, *similis* to external. Hence the clause may be rendered, "as corrupt in principle, and as profligate in conduct as the rest."

9. *Aetate fluxi*. "Pliant in consequence of their years."

10. *Modestiae suae*. "His own honour." *Modestia* is here used in the sense of *pudor*, and marks the utter corruption of Catiline.

11. *Obnoxios*. "Dependant upon." *Obnoxios* properly denotes a dependance founded upon a consciousness of crime, and a dread of being exposed to punishment in case we disobey him who is privy to our guilt.

12. *Cum virgine nobili.* Who the female here alluded to was is not clearly ascertained. It is generally thought that the historians of those times suppressed the name out of respect for the noble lineage to which she belonged. The daughter who was the offspring of this intercourse is spoken of by Plutarch, (*vit. Cic. 10*, ed. *Hutten*, vol. 5, p. 318,) and is referred to by Cicero, (*frag. orat. in tog. cand.* ed. *Ernesti*, vol. 7, p. 1052,) “*Cum ex eodem stupro*,” &c.

13. *Sacerdote Vestae.* The vestal of whom mention is here made was Fabia Terentia. She was brought to trial by Clodius for a violation of her vow. Several of the most respectable citizens, however, either convinced of her innocence, or wishing to thwart the tribune, exerted themselves in her defence with such success, that she not only obtained sentence of acquittal, but her prosecutor was obliged to flee from Rome. Cato, Catulus, and Cicero, espoused her cause. She was the sister of Terentia, the wife of Cicero. In the picture which Cicero draws of the scandalous misdeeds of Catiline, no mention is made by him of this incident, probably out of respect for his sister-in-law.—The Vestal virgins were introduced at Rome by Numa, in imitation of a similar priesthood existing at Alba. They were originally four in number. Two were subsequently added by Tarquinius Priscus, or by Servius Tullius, and six continued to be the number ever after. These priestesses had charge of the sacred fire, and were bound to inviolable chastity. When convicted of dishonour, they were buried alive in the *campus sceleratus*, and their paramours scourged to death in the forum. (*Vid. Lipsius de Vesta et Vestalibus*, Antv. 1603.)

14. *Jus fasque.* “Human and divine law.” Thus Isidorus (*Orig. 5*, 11) remarks, “*Fas lex divina est, jus lex humana.*”

15. *Aureliae Orestillae.* The sister or daughter of Cneius Aurelius Orestis, who was praetor, A. U. C. 677.

16. *Nubere.* The distinction between *nubere* and *ducere* must be attended to by the student. *Ducere*, “to marry,” or “to take in marriage,” is used when a man is the subject of discourse, or the nominative to the verb. *Nubere*, “to veil,” or *duci*, “to be led,” is used when a woman is the subject of discourse, or nominative to the verb. The ellipsis is supplied in the case of the former verb, by *domum*, in the latter by *se*. Thus, *Itane tundum uxorem (domum) duxit Antipho?* because the husband led the bride to his own abode from her father’s house. *Tullio (se) nupsit*, literally, “she has veiled herself for Tullius,” because the bride was veiled during the ceremony of marriage. The same distinction holds good in Greek between *γαμέω*, and *γαρόμαι*, although depending on a different explanation. Thus *γαμέω*, “I marry,” is said of the husband, (*υζο-*

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86 *rem duco*,) but γαρῆομαι, in the middle voice, "I suffer, or permit, of cause myself to be led away in marriage by another," is said of the female, (*nubo*.) Compare *Kuster de verbis mediis*, p. 153.

17. *Privignum*. "A son of his by a previous marriage."

18. *Necato filio*. Cicero alludes to this horrid deed in his first oration against Catiline, (c. 6.) Valerius Maximus is more explicit (9, 1, 9.) He makes Catiline to have despatched his son with poison, (*veneno sustulit*.)

19. *Vacuum domum*, &c. "He freed his home from every obstacle to this most wicked marriage."

20. *Dis hominibusque infestus*. "Obnoxious to the hatred of gods and men." *Infestus* is here used in what the grammarians denominate a passive sense.

21. *Ita conscientia*, &c. A powerful expression. "To such a degree did conscience desolate his tortured spirit." Some editions read *vexabat*, others *versabat*. Both lections are inferior to the one which we have given.

22. *Colos exsanguis*. "His complexion was deadly pale."—*Foedi oculi*. "His eyes had a ghastly look."—*Facie vultuque*. "In his features, and in the whole expression of his countenance."

23. *Sed juventutem*, &c. The commencement of this chapter is connected with the end of the 14th, and the 15th intervenes in the light of a digression.

87 1. *Signatoresque falsos*. "Forgers:" Persons who forged wills and other documents.—*Commodare*. "He lent out to others."

2. *Fidem, fortunas*, &c. "He regarded their good faith, their standing in the eyes of the world, the perils which they encountered as things of little value," i. e. he despised these things in their case, and taught them to do the same. The term *fortunas*, in this passage, is generally rendered "fortunes," i. e., property. It may be doubted, however, whether this meaning will suit here. Neither Catiline, nor his accomplices, could well be indifferent about riches, since to obtain these they spared no act of baseness or crime. Gesner's explanation of *fortuna* seems to answer better here. "*Fortunae totum illum statum quo censentur felices aut infelices notare solet.*"

3. *Ubi eorum famam*, &c. "When he had worn away their character and sense of shame." *Attriverat* very forcibly expresses the insidious arts and gradual approaches of Catiline.

4. *Insontes*. "Those who had given him no cause of offence."—*Circumvenire*. This infinitive, and also *jugulare*, are governed by *imperabat* understood.

5. *Manus* The nominative plural.—*Gratis*. "Without any

views of advantage." Compare *Seneca*, (*de Clem.* 2, 4,) "*Qui ignotos homines et obvios, non in compendium, sed occidendi causa occidunt.*"

6. *Quod aes alienum*, &c. "Because debts were heavy through out all lands," i. e. because many citizens as well as others were involved in heavy debts in every quarter of the Roman world. This was the natural consequence of wide-spread luxury.

7. *Rapinarum et victoriae*, &c. Sylla, after the final success of his arms, had assigned large tracts of land in Italy to his armed followers, and also the possessions of many of the proscribed. Ex travagant and dissolute living, however, soon scattered this ill-gotten wealth, and consequent poverty made them ripe for any new commotion in the state. "*Hi sunt homines*," observes Cicero, "*ex iis coloniis, quas Sulla constituit, coloni, qui se insperatis repentinisque pecuniis sumtuosius insolentiusque jactarunt: hi dum aedificant, tamquam beati, dum praediis, lecticis, familiis magnis, conviviiis apparatus delectantur, in tantum aes alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis exci tandus.*" (2, in *Cat.* 9.)

8. *Terris*. Pontus and Armenia. Pompey held this important command by virtue of the Manilian law, which was proposed by the tribune Manilius, and advocated by Cicero in a speech that is still extant.

9. *Consulatum petundi*. Ursinus proposes *petenti*, which is the reading of three manuscripts, on the ground that Catiline was already a candidate for the consulship. Amid the various opinions which have been advanced, we consider that of Planche the most correct. The period referred to in the text is the beginning of the year of Rome 690: not long previous to this, (A. U. C. 688,) Catiline, returning from the government of Africa, was accused of extortion, and prevented from suing for the consulship, in consequence of this charge pending at the time. He was acquitted A. U. C. 689, and might therefore entertain "the hope of standing candidate for the consulship" at the commencement of the ensuing year.

10. *Senatus nihil sane intentus*. "The senate without any distrust," or, "entirely unapprehensive of danger."

11. *Kalendas Junias*. The Roman Calendar agreed with our own, in the number of months, and of the days in each; but instead of reckoning in an uninterrupted series, from the first to the thirty-first, they had three points from which their days were counted.—
1. The *Calends* or *Kalends*, which were always the first day of the month. They received their name from the old verb *calare*, be-

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87 cause the priests, who had the charge of the Calendar, were required to *proclaim* the first day of the month publicly to the people, and to mention at the same time, the number of days between the Calends and the Nones. This last was done, because it behoved the people who lived in the country, to assemble in the city on the Nones of each month, in order to be informed by the *rex sacrorum* of the feasts and holidays, and to learn in general what they had to do, in regard to sacred matters, during that month.—2. The *Nones* were in the months of March, May, July, and October, on the seventh; in all other months on the fifth. They were so called because there were *nine* days, counting inclusively, between them and the Ides.—3. The *Ides* were on the fifteenth of March, May, July, and October, and on the thirteenth of the other months. They were so named from the old verb *iduate*, because they nearly *divided* the month. The Romans always counted forwards to the Calends, Nones, or Ides, never backwards from them. After the first day of the month, therefore, they began to reckon so many days before the Nones; after the Nones, so many days before the Ides; after the Ides, so many days before the Calends of the next month. It is to be observed that the Romans, in computing their time, always included the day *from* which, and also the day *to* which, they reckoned: thus they called the 1st January, *Calendae*; the 31st December, *pridie Calendas* or *Calendarum*; and the 30th, not *secundo*, but *tertio* (ante) *Calendas*.—The year of the city when the circumstances, mentioned in the text, took place, was A. U. C. 690, B. C. 64.

12. *L. Caesare*. For this and the other proper names mentioned in the present chapter, consult Historical Index.

13. *Coloniis et municipiis*. A colony was a portion of Roman citizens or Latin allies sent out by public authority, either to take possession of lands captured in war, and to found thereon a new city, or to occupy cities which had fallen under the Roman sway. The *municipia* were foreign towns, whose inhabitants obtained the rights of Roman citizens. Of these there were different kinds. Some possessed all the rights of Roman citizens, except such as could not be enjoyed without residing at Rome. Others enjoyed the right of serving in the Roman legion, but had not the right of voting and of obtaining civil offices. The appellation is derived from *munus* and *capio*.

14. *Domi nobiles*. *Domi* is here equivalent to *in civitatibus suis*.

15. *Nobiles*. In this expression, the author is thought to have included C. Julius Caesar, M. Antonius, and other ambitious and

aspiring men, who were afraid to commit themselves, though they secretly wished well to the conspiracy as an instrument for the promotion of their private views.

16. *Vivere copia*. "The means of living." *Vivere* for *vivenda*.

17. *M. Licinium Crassum*. Crassus had already borne the offices of praetor and consul, and was remarkable for the extent of his private wealth. Not long after the period of the conspiracy, he united with Pompey and Caesar in forming the first triumvirate. (A. U. C. 693.) He was slain in his expedition against the Parthians. (A. U. C. 700.)

1. *Antea*. An account is now given, by way of digression, of the previous conspiracy. It happened three years before that of Catiline.—*De qua*. Understand *conjuratiōne*, the verb *conjuravere* having preceded.

2. *L. Tullo, &c.* A. U. C. 688.

3. *Legibus ambitus interrogati*. The laws against bribery were very severe. If the successful candidates were convicted of that crime upon trial, they were deprived of the consulship, and their competitors who accused them were nominated in their place. They were also, besides being fined, declared incapable of bearing any office, or of coming into the senate, by the Calpurnian and other laws. Cicero made the punishment of bribery still more severe by the Tullian law, which he caused to be passed through the authority of the senate, by the additional penalty of a ten years' exile.

4. *Poenas dederant*. In these, and similar phrases, it should be observed, that the proper meaning of the term *poena* is not "punishment," but "atonement." Thus *dare poenas* is, "to give satisfaction," "to make atonement," or "to be punished:" and *sumere poenas* is, "to exact atonement," "to take satisfaction," or "to punish." Compare the corresponding Greek forms *δοῦναι δίκην* and *λαβεῖν δίκην*.

5. *Peculiarum repetundarum*. This latter word is simply the future participle passive of *repeto*, and not a defective noun as some make it. When in the genitive, it has *peculiarum* either expressed, as in this passage, or more commonly understood. When in the ablative, *pecuniis*. The action was so termed because by it the money wrongfully obtained from an individual was *demanded back*. Our English word *extortion*, though generally given as the translation of the term, is not, however, comprehensive enough, since the action *repetundarum*, was brought not merely for the recovery of what had been extorted from the individual who complained, but also for what had been obtained by the Roman governors under false pretences or by fraud. Catiline had been appointed a praetor,

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88 68 B. C., and obtained Africa for his province. For his cruel and rapacious administration of this government, he was accused, on its expiration, at Rome.

6. *Quod intra legitimos dies, &c.* "Because he was unable to declare himself a candidate within the days prescribed by law" The *legitimi dies* were not, as Cortius explains them, the 30 days previous to the *Comitia Centuriata*, but, according to Ernesti, only the 17 immediately preceding. (*Vid. Ernesti, Clav. Cic. voc. Trinundinum.*) Every candidate for the consulship was compelled by law to give in his name during these 17 days, and required at the same time to be free from all accusation. If any charge were pending against him, he could not sue for the office in question.—*Profiteri* has *se candidatum* understood.

7. *Cn. Piso*. A member of the Calpurnian house. Suetonius (*vit. Caes. 9.*) cites the account of two Roman writers, according to whom, Caesar was connected with Piso in this conspiracy, and, while the latter attempted an insurrection against the government abroad, the former was to have excited sedition against the administration at home.

8. *Autronius*. Most editions have *circiter nonas Decembres* after *Autronius*. These words are omitted, however, by Cortius, Teller, Kunhardt, and others.

9. *Capitolio*. The senate met always, of course, on the first of January, in the Capitol, for the inauguration of the new consuls, who entered upon their office on that day; and then usually there was a crowded house.

10. *Kalendis Januariis*. Consult note 11, page 87.

11. *L. Cottam et L. Torquatium*. These individuals had been chosen consuls in place of Autronius and Sylla, who were convicted of bribery, and consequently incapacitated from holding the office to which they had been elected.

12. *Ipsi*. "Of their own authority."

13 *Fascibus correptis*. "Having seized upon the consular power." The *fusces* were a bundle of rods, with an axe tied in the middle of them, which were carried before the kings, and afterwards before the consuls, as an emblem of their power. Valerius Poplicola had a law passed, which took away the *securis* or axe from the *fusces*, i. e. it took from the consuls the power of life and death, and only left them the right of scourging. This last, however, was, at a subsequent period, also taken from them by the Porcian and Sempronian laws. Whether the operation of these laws extended beyond the walls of the city, or whether the consul, when invested with military command, could scourge and behead, is a point not

very clearly ascertained. See on this subject, the notes to chapter 69, of the Jugurthine war. 88

14. *Hispanias*. By the two Spains are meant Hither and Farther Spain, or, as the Romans called them, *Citerior* and *Ulterior*. Consult Geographical Index.

15. *Ea re cognita*. Suetonius (*vit. Caes.* 9.) makes mention of a plot in which Caesar and Crassus were said to have been engaged at this time. Their plan was to make an attack on the senate at the beginning of the year, and, after they had slain whom they pleased of that body, for Crassus to assume the dictatorship and appoint Caesar his master of the horse. Crassus, either from repentance or fear, (*poenitentia vel metu*,) came not at the day appointed, and Caesar consequently did not give the signal which had been agreed upon, the dropping namely of his toga from his shoulders. The plot therefore failed. Suetonius makes no mention either of Catiline or Piso as connected with this conspiracy, although it is evident that he and Sallust refer to one and the same event. A subsequent plot between Caesar and Piso has already been alluded to in note 7.

16. *Quod ni, &c.* "And had not Catiline been too hasty in giving," &c. From the fondness of the Latin writers for the connexion by means of relatives, appears to have originated the use of *quod* before many conjunctions, merely as a copulative. (*Zumpt. L. G.* p. 404.)—*Pro curia*. "In front of the senate house."

17. *Consilium diremit*. "Caused the plot to fail."

18. *Quaestor pro praetore*. "As quaestor with praetorian power." To send out a quaestor with praetorian power was a very unusual proceeding, and, as in the present instance, only sanctioned by the exigencies of the state. The quaestors had charge of the public money, and obtained their name *a quaerendo*, because they got in the public revenues. The principal charge of the city quaestors was the care of the treasury, which was kept in the temple of Saturn. The office of the provincial quaestors was, to attend the consuls or praetors into their provinces; to take care that provisions and pay were furnished to the army; to exact the taxes and tribute of the empire; to take care of the money, and to sell the spoils taken in war, &c. The praetors were, strictly speaking, judicial officers; they were also sent out as governors of provinces, and of course, commanded armies when occasion required.

19. *Infestum inimicum*. "A bitter personal enemy." Some editors consider *inimicum* as superfluous, and reject it from the text.

20. *Cn. Pompeio*. Compare the termination of chapter 17, "*cujusvis opes voluisse*," &c.

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21. *Esse volebat.* Some editions have *abesse*. Compare Dio Cassius 36, 37:—Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ ὡς ὁ Πίσων ἰθρασύνετο, ἐφοβήθη τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, μὴ τι συνταράξῃ, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν, πρόφασιν, ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἀρχὴν τινα, ἔπεμψε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀδικήσας τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἐσφάγη.

22. *Quum plures.* The common text has *complures*.

23. *In provincia iter faciens.* "While on a march within his province." Cortius reads *in provinciam*, making *in* equivalent to *intra*.

24. *Sunt qui ita dicant.* Strict Latinity requires *dicant*, which we have given therefore in place of the common reading *dicunt*. It must be confessed, however, that several instances occur, even in the best writers, of the indicative being thus used with the relative. (*Vid. Scheller. praecept. styli. vo. 1, p. 166. Heusinger ad Cic. de Off. 1, 24.*) The subjunctive, however, on such occasions is certainly preferable, and in some cases essential to perspicuity, otherwise the subject may be mistaken for the predicate. For example, if we say, "*Sunt boni, qui dicunt*," to express, "They are good men who say," and also, "There are good men who say," the expression is evidently ambiguous. This ambiguity is removed by expressing the former sentiment by "*Sunt boni, qui dicunt*," in which case the relative clause is the subject, and the antecedent clause the predicate; and by expressing the latter sentiment by "*Sunt boni, qui dicant*," where the antecedent clause is the subject, and the relative clause the predicate. (*Vid. Crombie's Gymnasium, vol. 2, p. 21.*)

25. *Cn. Pompeii, &c.* We have here a perfect hexameter: *Cneii Pōmpeii vêtères fidōsquē cliēntēs.* (Compare *Muretus ad. Cic. 1, Cat. 1.*) Similar "*disjecta membra poetae*" occur in the best prose writers. We subjoin a few of the most striking.—

Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium, cuneoque

Facto, per medios vadit————— (*Livy, 22, 50.*)

—————*silvam*

Auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram. (*Tacit.*)

Post natos homines, ut, cum privatus obisset. (*Nepos.*)

Armeniaque amissa, ac rursus utraque recepta. (*Sueton.*)

Ex arce augurium capientibus officiebat. (*Val Max.*)

Aut prudentia major inest, aut non mediocris. (*Cic. de Off.*)

The term *clientes*, which occurs in the passage of Sallust to which this note refers, has no relation whatever to the Roman institution of patronage and clientship, but signifies here merely "retainers," or "adherents."

26. *Adgressos*. For *aggressos*. This is generally termed an archaism; but, according to Scheller, it is a question whether the ancients ever altered the form of the preposition when in composition. He considers it always more accurate to retain as far as possible the prepositions in an unaltered form, as *adfero*, *adtuli*, *adlatum*; *inretio*, *inmergo*, &c. (Scheller, *L. G.* vol. 1, p. 129.)

27. *Praeterea*. "In any other instance."—*In medio relinquemus*. Some editions have *relinquimus*. *In medio relinquere* is "to leave undetermined."

1. *In rem*. "Of advantage."—*Universos*. "All, at one and the same time." Some critics have defined *universi* as meaning, "all at one time," while *cuncti* denotes "all in one place." The present passage favours such a distinction, although instances are frequently met with where it is not observed, and where *universi* merely signifies "all together," or "considered as one aggregate." (*Quasi ad unum versi*.)

2. *Aedium*. "Of the house." The primitive meaning of *aedes*, in the singular, is "an apartment," or "room." Hence it denotes, in the same number, "a temple," i. e. an apartment or chamber for divine worship. In the plural it means "a house," i. e. a collection of apartments under one roof.

3. *Arbitris*. "Witnesses." Noltenius defines *arbiter* to be, according to its primitive import, "*Occulte adrepens, qui suis oculis videt, suisque auribus audit.*" The most probable opinion is, that it is derived from the obsolete verb *bitere*, "to go," being compounded of *ar* for *ad*, and *bitere*, in the same way as we have *arcesso* for *adcesso*. *Testis* means "a witness," chiefly in a cause or trial. "One who bears testimony." (*Crombie's Gymn.* vol. 1, p. 309.)

4. *Neque ego*, &c. The personal pronouns in Latin are seldom if ever expressed without implying emphasis in a greater or less degree. *Ego* is here equivalent to *ἐγώ*. "Nor, I assure you, would I, relying on men of cowardly spirits or fickle minds, grasp at uncertainties in place of what is certain."

5. *Tempestatibus*. "Occasions."

6. *Quia vobis*, &c. "Because I am well aware, that the same things are good or evil to you which are so to me."

7. *Nam idem velle*, &c. "For to have the same desires and the same aversions, this, in fine, is the surest bond of friendship." Literally, "to wish and not to wish the same thing, this, in fine, is firm friendship."

8. *Diversi*. "On different occasions."

9. *Concessit*. "Has come," or "has fallen." Compare *Sullust*.

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89 *Hist. frag. Lib. 3. Oratio Licinii ad plebem.* "Itaque omnes concessere jam in paucorum dominationem," &c.

10. *Tetrarchae.* "Tetrarchs." *Tetrarcha* originally signified one who ruled over the fourth part of a country or kingdom, (from *tétrarra* and *ἀρχή*.) Afterwards, however, the term merely came to denote a minor or inferior potentate, without any reference to the extent of territory governed. Thus, according to Strabo, Gallograecia in Asia Minor was governed at first by twelve tetrarchs, afterwards by three, and lastly by two, previous to its being made a kingdom.

11. *Vectigales.* Strictly speaking, the *Stipendiarii*, or *Tributarii*, were those who paid their taxes in money; and the *Vectigales* were those who gave a certain part of the produce of the soil to the republic. The words, however, as in the present instance, are sometimes confounded.

12. *Populi, nationes, &c.* *Gens* is the root or stock, containing many families, (*familiae*,) or even nations, (*nationes*.) It is the generic term in respect to *natio* and *familia*. Thus the Germans may be called *gens*, the Saxons *natio*; or, if we rise higher, the Europeans may be called *gens*, the Germans *natio*. *Gens* is even sometimes applied to the whole human race; as, "*Gens hominum est huic belluae adversa.*" (*Plin. H. N. 8, 25.*) *Populus* is more extensive than *natio*, but in general less so than *gens*, though instances are not unfrequent where *populus* and *gens* directly coincide. The term *populi* in the text may be rendered by "communities." (*Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 2, p. 256.)

13. *His obnoxii, &c.* "At the mercy of these men, to whom if the republic were in a sound and healthy state, we would prove a source of continual alarm."

14. *Repulsas.* "Repulses in suing for office." Some editions give *repulsis* as a participle. The term *repulsas* has nothing in it contrary to correct Latinity. Compare Livy, (39, 56,) "*post duas repulsas.*"

15. *Verum enim vero, &c.* "But, indeed, and I call gods and men to witness the truth of my assertion," &c.

16. *Viget aetas, animus valet.* "Our years are vigorous, our spirit is unbroken."

17. *Cetera res expedit.* "The rest will follow of course." The literal meaning is, "the remainder of the affair will extricate itself (from the dangers which at present surround it.)"

18. *In extruendo mari, &c.* "In building up a sea, and in leveling mountains." Alluding to the extravagance of the Roman nobility, in their fish-ponds, pleasure-grounds, &c.

1. *Illos binas*, &c. Referring to the erection of two houses in immediate connexion with one another, and communicating throughout. Compare the Septuagint version, (Is. 5, 8,) *οἱ συνᾶπτοντες οἰκίας πρὸς οἰκίαν*, and Tacitus, (*Annal.* 15, 39,) "*domo palatium et hortos continuare.*"

2. *Larem familiarem*. "A home of our own."

3. *Toreumata*. "Embossed plate." From *τόρευμα*, "*vas caelatum.*" The term has no reference whatever to engraving, but is confined to work adorned with bass-relief. "Allein da es vom Metall gebraucht wird, so kann es blos auf Formen und Geissen sich beziehen; und, da es nur *erhobne Arbeit* anzeigt, so lässt sich ohne nähern Grund auf kein *Stechen* und *Graben* deuten." (*Heyne, Sammlung antiquarischer Aufsätze.* Th. 2, 5, 129.)

4. *Nova diruunt*. "Though they pull down edifices but recently erected." Some prefer *vetera*, as a reading, in place of *nova*, but this weakens the sense. In support of the present lection, compare Suetonius, (*vit. Caes.* 46,) "*Munditiarum lautitiarumque studiosissimum multi prodiderunt: villam in Nemorensi a fundamentis inchoatam, magnoque sumtu absolutam, quia non tota ad animum ei responderat, totam diruisse, quamquam tenuem adhuc et obaeratum.*"

5. *Trahunt, vexant*. "Though they squander, though they lavish in the wildest extravagance." *Trahunt* is here equivalent to *distrahunt*, and *vexant* to *insano luxu disperdunt*.

6. *Summa lubidine*. "By the most lavish and capricious expenditure."

7. *Mala res*, &c. "Our present condition is a wretched one, our hope of the future worse."

8. *Quibus mala*, &c. "Unto whom all evils abounded, but who possessed neither property nor any hopes of lawfully acquiring it."

9. *Quieta movere*. "To disturb the tranquillity of the state."

10. *Quae conditio belli foret*. "What were to be the conditions of their engaging in the contest."

11. *Quid ubique*, &c. *Ubique* is used both here and elsewhere by Sallust in the sense of *et ubi*.

12. *Tabulas novas*. "An abolition of debts." The ordinary writing materials of the Romans were tablets covered with wax, paper, and parchment. Their stylus was broad at one end; so that when they wished to correct or erase any thing, they turned the stylus, and smoothed the wax with the broad end, after which the tablets might be written on anew. Hence when debts were discharged, the former marks were smoothed over, and the tablets were ready for a new score.

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- 90 13. *Proscriptionem*. Sylla first introduced the method of proscription. Upon his return to the city, after having overthrown the party of Marius, he wrote down the names of those whom he doomed to die, and ordered them to be fixed up in the public places of the city, with the promise of a certain reward (*duo talenta*) for the head of each person so proscribed. New lists (*tabulae proscriptionis*) were repeatedly exposed, as new victims occurred to his memory or were suggested to him. The land and fortunes of the slain were divided among the friends of Sylla. Catiline promised a repetition of these enormities to his followers.
14. *Bellum atque libido victorum*. "War and the license of conquerors."
15. *P. Sittium Nucerinum*. Consult Historical Index.
16. *C. Antonium*. Son of the celebrated orator, M. Antonius and brother of M. Antonius Creticus, the father of the triumvir Consult Historical Index.
17. *Omnibus necessitudinibus, &c.* "Beset by every species of want," i. e. in the most embarrassed circumstances.
18. *Cum eo se consulem*. We have restored the old reading. Cortius gives *eo consulem, &c.*, and makes *eo* an adverb. ("On this account," "therefore.") This, however, is forced. The meaning is, "that, in conjunction with him, (Antonius,) he (Catiline) will make a beginning of the enterprise." The reference is to their being colleagues in the consulship.
19. *Maledictis increpat*. "He attacks with revilings."—*Cupiditatis suae*. "Of his ruling propensity."
20. *Petitionem suam*. "His application for the consulship."
- 91 1. *Humani corporis sanguinem*. According to Dio Cassius, (37, 30,) a boy was slain by the conspirators, and, after a solemn oath had been taken over his entrails, Catiline and his accomplices partook of them as at a sacrifice, (*ἐσπλάγχθησαν αὐτὰ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων*.)
2. *Inde cum post execrationem, &c.* "That when, after having invoked a solemn curse upon their own heads in case they proved faithless, they had all slightly tasted thereof." Some editions place a comma after *inde*, but it is much more elegant to refer it to the contents of the cup.
3. *Atque eo, &c.* *Dictitare* does not refer to Catiline, but is used as the historical infinitive for *dictitabant*, and refers to those persons who propagated the report in question: "and they reported about that he had done it with this view, in order that," &c.
4. *Alius alii, &c.* "Being conscious, one to another, of so great a crime."
5. *Ciceronis invidiam*. "The odium against Cicero."

6. *Pro magnitudine*. "Considering its importance." The meaning of the whole passage is this; the proof, on which this accusation rests, is too slight, considering the heavy nature of the charge, for me to express any definite or decided opinion on the subject.

7. *Amoverant*. "Had expelled." Among their other duties, the censors had the inspection of public morals. A general review of the whole Roman people took place every *lustrum*, a period of five years. The manner of expelling from the senate was by passing over the name of the delinquent in calling the senatorial roll.

8. *Vanitas*. "Inconsiderateness," or "want of judgment."

9. *Prorsus, neque dicere, &c.* "In short, he did not at all care what he either said or did."

10. *Vetus consuetudo*. "An intimacy of long standing."—*Minus largiri poterat*. "He was less able to lavish presents upon her."

11. *Maria montesque, &c.* "To make her the most extravagant promises." A proverbial mode of expression. (Compare *Adagia Veterum*, p. 472, col. 2.) The verb *polliceri*, generally, perhaps, significant of express and certain engagements and those made by stronger affirmations, is employed only in a good sense, as exciting hope; whereas *promittere* holds forth either good or evil, awakening hope or fear. (*Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 2, p. 146.)

12. *Obnoxia*. "Obedient to his will."

13. *Insolentiae*. "Strange conduct."

14. *Sublato auctore*. "Having concealed the name of her informant." Understand *de narratione*. Compare Cicero, (*ad Att.* 2, 24,) "*Caepionem de oratione sua sustulit.*"

15. *M. Tullio Ciceroni*. Cicero obtained the quaestorship at *thirty-one*; the aedileship at *thirty-seven*; the praetorship at *forty*; the consulship at *forty-three*; and he informs us that his appointment to each of these offices was in the very year in which he was eligible by law.

16. *Pleraque nobilitas*. The feminine singular *p.eraque* is not usual among the Latin writers. Sallust has already used it in the 17th chapter of the History of this Conspiracy. Compare *Jugurtha*, c. 54 and 79. Aulus Gellius, (17, 21.) Apuleius, (*Apol. sub. fin.*, &c.)

17. *Credebant*. *Nobilitas*, as a collective noun, takes the plural verb.

18. *Homo novus*. Among the Romans, those who were the first of their family that had raised themselves to any curule office were called *Homines novi*, "new men," "upstarts," &c. Compare Appian, B. C. (2, 2), καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω (scil. καινός,) τοὺς ἀπ' ἐαυτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν προγόνων γνωρίμοις, and *Jugurtha*, note 5, page 3.

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- 91 19. *Postfuere*. "Lagged behind."
20. *Popularis*. "The accomplices." Understand *socios*.
- 92 1. *Sumtam mutuam*. "Borrowed." Hill derives the adjective *mutuus* from *mutare*, and makes it imply a change of the thing lent, and a return made by an equivalent. Whereas *commodare*, "to lend," supposes the subject restored as it was given. (*Synonyms*, p. 210.) There is some doubt, however, whether the etymology here assigned to *mutuus* be correct. Varro makes the Latin *mutuum* to be *μοῖτρον* among the Sicilian Greeks, which last is equivalent to *χάρις*, "a favour," "an act of kindness," &c. And thus we have in a fragment of Sophron, *μοῖτρον ἐντί μοι*. Consult Müller, *Etrusker*, vol. 1, p. 12.
2. *Manlium*. This Manlius had held a commission in the army of Sylla, under whom he had acquired considerable military experience, and accumulated great wealth, which he soon dissipated by his excessive extravagance. Plutarch, Dio Cassius, and Appian, write the name *Μάλλιος*; and hence it would seem that *Mallius*, which is the reading of a few manuscripts, is more correct than *Manlius*. The editions of Sallust, however, give the latter form, with very few exceptions.
3. *Princeps belli faciundi*. "The first to begin the war."
4. *Adscivisse*. Understand *sibi*, which is expressed in some editions.
5. *Quae, ubi aetas*, &c. "Who, when years had set bounds to their sources of gain, but not to their luxurious indulgences." *Neque* is here equivalent to *et non*.
6. *Servitia urbana*. "The city slaves." *Servitium*, in the singular, means "slavery," &c. In a few instances, however, it has the same signification as the plural. Compare *Cic. in Verr. 7, 4, a med. Id. de Harusp. resp. c. 12, circa med.*, &c.
7. *Sempronia*. A member of the illustrious house of the Sempronii, from which the two Gracchi and other distinguished men derived their descent.
8. *Virilis audaciae*. "Stamped with manly boldness."
9. *Viro*. She married Decimus Junius Brutus, who held the consulship with M. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus, A. U. C. 677.
10. *Psallere*. This verb, from the Greek *ψάλλω*, means either to play upon a musical instrument, or to accompany it at the same time with the voice.—The infinitives *psallere* and *saltare*, and like wise the accusative *multa alia*, depend on *docta*.
11. *Elegantius*. "With more elegance." "With more skill." This word seems used in a bad sense, referring to loose, indecent and theatrical gestures in dancing, which, at the same time, how

ever, were not ungraceful. In the earlier period of the Roman republic, both dancing and music were held in little repute. After the adoption of Grecian customs and habits, more regard was paid to them, and they met with less censure, especially music. In the corrupt ages of the empire, when public morals were at their lowest ebb, dancing of course came fully into vogue, and without any blame being attached to it. It may perhaps excite our surprise that the Romans should have condemned what we regard as so innocent an amusement; but we should bear in mind, that the dancing which the Romans censured can only be compared with the worst species of our opera-dancing, since they had also their religious dances, those of the *Salii*, in particular, which were sanctioned by the practice of ages. The Latin verb which we translate "to dance," properly signifies, to leap high and frequently; the corresponding Greek verb (*ὀρχέομαι*) has a similar meaning: Plato in his *Cratylus* explains it by *μετεωρίζω* and *πάλλω*: so Antiphanes in *Athenaeus*, p. 688, b., has the expression *καρδία ὀρχεῖται*, "the heart leaps," for *καρδία πηδῶ*.

12. *Instrumenta luxuriae*. "The instruments of vice."

13. *Creditum abjuraverat*. "Had foresworn a trust reposed in her."—*Praeceptis abierat*. "Had plunged headlong into ruin."

14. *Verum ingenium ejus, &c.* "Her native powers, however, were far from contemptible."

15. *Facetiae*. *Facetiae* denotes gracefulness in general, or that elegance of wit and humour, which indicates a correct and delicate taste.—The primary idea implied in *Lepos*, and *lepidus*, is sweetness or softness, opposed to what is harsh and rough, and the term is confined to the mode of expression: whereas *facetiae* is applicable to the sentiment as well as the diction or gesture, designating the character of the mind, as possessed of taste and judgment. (*Vid. Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 2, p. 39.) If, after these premises, we might venture to translate the passage in Sallust to which this note refers, it would be as follows: "In a word, she possessed a large share of refined wit, and much captivating sweetness of expression."

16. *Designatus*. Consult note 13, page 105.

17. *Dolus, aut astutiae*. "Dexterity or address." *Dolus* is here equivalent to what the civilians call *dolus bonus*, i. e. a stratagem put in operation against an enemy, in one's own defence. Thus Ulpian remarks: "*Veteres dolum etiam bonum dicebant, et pro sollertia, hoc nomen accipiebant: maxime si adversus hostem latro- nemve aliquis machinetur.*"

18. *Pollicendo per Fulviam* Some editions place a comma after *pollicendo*, and connect *per Fulviam* with *effecerat*, removing

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92 the point before the last mentioned word. The punctuation in our text is far preferable.

19. *Pactione provinciae*. The province of Macedonia had fallen to the lot of Cicero, but he generously yielded it to Antonius, who, being in indigent circumstances by reason of his dissipated life, was the more easily inclined to receive a rich province as the price of his adherence to the state. Antonius held the government of Macedonia for two years after the expiration of his consulship, and, on his return to Rome, was brought to trial and sentenced to perpetual banishment, for extortion, and for making war beyond the bounds of his province. (*Liv. epit.* 103.) Before his elevation to the consulship, the censors had expelled him from the senate. He appears to have been a man of profligate habits.

20. *Ne contra rempublicam, &c.* "Not to cherish sentiments hostile to the well-being of the state."

21. *Clientium*. The institution of patronage and clientship owed its origin to Romulus, according to the common account. That the patricians and plebeians might be connected together by the strictest bonds, the monarch ordained that every plebeian should choose from the patricians any one he pleased as his *patron*, or protector, whose *client* he was called. It was the part of the patron to advise and to defend his client, to assist him with his interest and substance in short, to do every thing for him that a parent uses to do for his children. The client was obliged to pay all kind of respect to his patron and to serve him with his life and fortune in any extremity. As regards the *origin*, however, of this relation between the two orders, it is more than probable that the common account is incorrect. The institution of patronage would seem to have sprung from a state of society in which a superior *caste* exercised sway over an inferior one: nor is this one of the least interesting objects of inquiry connected with the early history of Rome.

22. *Comitiorum*. "Of election." The comitia here referred to are the *Centuriata*.

23. *Consulibus*. The Bipont edition reads *consuli*, referring the term to Cicero alone. Cortius gives *consulibus*, supposing the *consules designati* to be also meant.—*Campo*. "In the *Campus Martius*."

93 1. *Aspera foedaque evenerant*. "Had eventuated in disappointment and disgrace."

2. *C. Julium*. Not a member of the Julian family, but probably some obscure individual. Had he belonged to that illustrious house he would have been mentioned by Sallust among the principal conspirators

3. *Quem ubique.* For *quem et ubi.*
4. *Obsidēre.* A verb of the *third* conjugation, from *obsido*,—*ēre* “to beset.”
5. *Cum telo esse.* “Carried a weapon about with him.” This phraseology is adopted from a law of the twelve tables, by which it was forbidden to wear any weapon in the city. Compare Cicero, (*pro Milone*, 4,) “*Quae (lex) non modo hominem occidi, sed esse cum telo hominis occidendi causa vetat.*” Upon any sudden provocation the Romans used the *graphium* or *stylus* as a weapon, which they carried in a case. Hence probably the origin of the word *stiletto* in Italian.

6. *Item alios jubere.* “He directed others to do the same,” i. e. *item esse cum telo.*

7. *Festinare.* “He was actively employed.”

8. *Intempesta nocte.* “In the dead of night.” *Intempesta nox* properly denotes that period of the night which is fit only for repose, or, to use the words of Macrobius, (*Sat.* 1, 3, extr.) “*quae non habet idoneum tempus rebus gerendis.*”

9. *M. Porcium Laecam.* This individual has already been mentioned in the 17th chapter. According to Cicero, (1 in *Cat.* 4,—*pro Sulla*, 18,) the meeting was held in the house of Laeca, on the night of the 6th November, (“*ea nocte, quae consecuta est posterum diem nonarum Novembris, me (Cicerone) consule.*”) Sallust evidently places the time of this meeting too early: he seems to have been under the impression that it was held about the close of October, since he only mentions the accusation of L. Paullus against Catiline (which occurred on the 22d October) in the 31st chapter. Cicero's account agrees with Sallust's as to this having been merely a partial meeting at the house of Laeca: “*convenisse eodem complures ejusdem amentiae scelerisque socios.*” Dio Cassius only states that Catiline directed his accomplices to assemble by night at a certain house, (*ἐς οἰκίαν τινὰ συλλεγῆναι.* 37, 32.)

10. *C. Cornelius, &c.* Cicero here differs from Sallust, and makes both Cornelius and Vargunteius to have belonged to the equestrian order. “*Reperti sunt duo equites Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent, et sese illa ipsa nocte paullo ante lucem me meo in lectulo interfecturos pollicerentur.*” (1 in *Cat.* 4.) The discrepancy, however, may easily be removed by supposing that Vargunteius, although a senator, was of equestrian extraction and rank. Plutarch calls the two individuals in question Marcius and Cethegus, (*vit. Cic.* 16, ed. *Hutten*, vol. 5, p. 236). The account given by Appian varies from that of Sallust in one or two particulars, and also, like that of Plutarch, in the names. Appian makes Lentulus

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93 and Cethegus to have been the intended assassins. (B. C. 2, 3.) The statement of Sallust is no doubt entitled to the most credit.

11. *Ea nocte paullo post, &c.* "*Paullo post intempestam noctem,*" observes Cortius, "*hoc est primo mane, illud enim tempus salutationum erat.*" It was the custom at Rome for the consuls to hold their levees early in the morning.

12. *Sicuti salutatum.* "As if for the purpose of paying their respects."

13. *Intellegit.* The old present: an archaism for *intelligit*.

14. *Latrones.* Governed by *sollicitare* understood.

15. *Sullanis colonis.* The soldiers of Sylla, settled as colonists on the lands of the Etrurians. Compare Cicero, (2, in *Cat.* 9,) "*Hi sunt homines ex iis coloniis quas Sulla constituit,*" &c.

16. *Ancipiti malo.* "By the double danger," i. e. both within and without the city.

94 17. *Privato consilio.* "By his own private vigilance," or, "by his single management."

1. *Rem ad senatum refert.* "He lays the matter before the senate." Dahl supposes this to have taken place on the 19th or 21st of October.

2. *Volgi rumoribus exagitatum.* "Noised abroad by reason of the popular rumours." Cortius prefers *exagitatum*, though he retains the common reading: *exagitatum* would refer to the senate being agitated and alarmed by the popular rumours, previous to Cicero's formal reference.

3. *In atroci negotio.* "In a dangerous emergency."

4. *Ea potestas, &c.* Cortius considers *ea* as an ablative, with *formula decreti*, or some other equivalent expression, understood. This interpretation appears to us rather forced: we would prefer rendering the passage as follows: "This is the highest authority which, in accordance with Roman usage, is bestowed upon any magistrate." The whole passage forms a "locus classicus" in relation to the meaning and limits of the famous decree to which it alludes. The decree was called *Ultimum* or *Extremum*. By it the republic was said to be entrusted to the consuls. For 120 years before Sylla, the creation of a dictator was disused; but in dangerous emergencies the consuls were armed with dictatorial power by a decree of this nature.

5. *Imperium atque iudicium, &c.* "To exercise the highest military and civil control." *Imperium*, as opposed to *Magistratus* or *Potestas*, denotes military power or authority.

6. *Nulli earum rerum, &c.* Some manuscripts give *nullius*.

Cortius, and others, however, prefer *nulli*. It is questioned whether *nulli* be the dative case, according to the common form of declining, or the genitive, according to the older mode of inflection. It is thought by many that the position of the words strongly favours the latter opinion. We take the liberty of dissenting from this. The common mode of explaining the passage we consider perfectly unexceptionable: "without an express order of the people, no consul has the right of interfering in these things."

7. *Recitavit*. "Read aloud."—*Legere*. "To read," "to peruse with the eyes without uttering any sound."—*Recitare*. "To read aloud that others may hear." Compare *Noltenius Lex. Antibarb.*, vol. 1, page 1146, seqq.

8. *Ante diem sextum Kalendas Novembris*. "On the sixth day before the Kalends of November," i. e. the 27th October. The Latin phrase is equivalent to *die sexto ante Kalendas*, or, according to the more usual form, *sexto Kalendas*. Ernesti and others make *diem* to be governed by *in* understood, which is expressed in many instances. Compare Cicero, *Phil.* 3, 8, "*in ante diem iv. Kal. Dec.*," &c., and 1, *in Cat.* 3, "*Dixi ego idem in senatu, caedem te optimatum contulisse in ante diem v. Kal. Novembres.*" Zumpt, in his larger grammar, thinks that these apparently anomalous phrases probably arose from a transposition of *ante*; and that having once written *ante die tertio Kalendas*, they would easily be led to change *die* into *diem*, as if it had been governed by *ante*. In his smaller grammar, (Bancroft's transl. p. 233,) he considers *ante diem* in the light of an unchangeable substantive, since prepositions which govern the accusative can be set before it. Compare the usage of *pridie*. "*Nos in Formiano esse volumus usque ad pridie Nonas Maias.*" (*Cic. ad Att.* 2, 11.)

9. *Fieri*. "Were being held."

10. *Q. Marcius Rex, Q. Metellus Creticus*. Consult Historical Index.

11. *Circumque loca*. *Circum* is here put for *circumjacentia*. Some editions read *circumque eà loca*.

12. *Ad urbem*. "Near the city," or "at the gates of the city." Generals who claimed a triumph could not enter the city until the senate had decided upon their application. If they violated this rule, their military power instantly ceased, and their right to a triumph was lost, since no citizen was allowed to hold any military power within the city-walls. It required a special law to be passed, giving them military authority within the city on the day of their triumph. The senate met their victorious commanders without the walls.

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13. *Calumnia paucorum*. "By the cabals of a few individuals." *Calumnia* appears to be used here in a sense which approaches very nearly its primitive one. If Priscian's derivation of the term from the old verb *calvo* "to thwart," "to deceive," be the true one, (*calutum* in the supine being the intermediate step,) the original meaning of *calumnia* will be, "unfair practices," "cavils," "cabals," &c.

14. *Sed praetores*. Understand *quoque missi*.

15. *Permissum*. "Full power was given." *Permittere* is "to permit," "to give leave," "to empower." In the treatise addressed to Herennius, *permissio* is defined to be, "*Rem tradere, et alicujus voluntati concedere*." *Mandatum*, on the other hand, corresponds very nearly to our English word "commission."

16. *Pro tempore, &c.* "Proportioned to the exigency and the danger."

17. *Sestertia centum*. "One hundred thousand sestertii." One thousand *sestertii* made a *sestertium*, which is the name of a sum, not of a coin. The common mode of reckoning among the Romans was by *sestertii* or *nummi*. The *sestertius*, "sesterce," was a silver coin worth originally two asses and a half, and marked by the letters L. L. S. for *libra, libra, semis*, (two pounds and a half of copper,) sometimes abbreviated by contracting L. L. into H, thus H. S. unless H be an abbreviation or corruption from I. I. or two marks of unity, which is far more probable. The oldest Roman money was of brass; and an *as*, as a coin, was originally a pound of copper. But after silver began to be coined, (some years before the first Punic war,) the *as* was made to weigh less, at first $\frac{1}{6}$, then $\frac{1}{2}$, then $\frac{1}{4}$, of the original weight, so that the coin, which at first had weighed a pound, at last weighed but half an *uncia*. Of silver coins the *denarius* was originally equal to 10 asses, and the *sestertius*, as above mentioned, to two asses and a half. Hence the name *sestertius*, which is shortened from *semistertius*; i. e. the first an *as*, the second an *as*, the third a half *as*. (Vid. Schweighaeuser ad Herodot. 1, 50.—Matthiae, G. G. vol. 1, page 176. Blomfield's transl. and Remarks of editor.) After the reduction of the *as*, however, to $\frac{1}{2}$ of a pound, the *denarius* became equal to 16 asses, and the *sestertius*, or quarter of a *denarius*, was worth now 4 asses. A *denarius* weighed about 73 Paris grains, but under the first emperors it was gradually diminished to 63; so that in the times of the republic 84 made a pound; but under Domitian, it took from 96 to 100. As the silver used in that coin was but little debased by alloy, we may assume that a *denarius* was equal to a very little more than 15 cents of our money; a *sestertius* therefore was equal

to $3\frac{3}{4}$ cents, and 1000 *sestertii*, or a *sestertium*, to $\$37\frac{5}{100}$. Page. 94
 (*Zumpt's L. G.* p. 235. *Bancroft's translation.*)

18. *Gladiatoriae familiae*. "Troops of gladiators." Gladiators were kept and maintained in schools (*in ludis*) by persons called *lanistae*, who purchased and trained them. The whole number under one *lanista* was called *familia*. Gladiators were at first composed of captives and slaves, or of condemned malefactors. But afterwards, in the days of the emperors, even free-born citizens, induced by hire or inclination, fought on the *arena*, some too of noble birth.

19. *Minores magistratus*. The *higher* magistrates were the consuls, praetors, and censors: the *inferior* magistrates were the aediles, tribunes, quaestors, &c. (*Vid. Aul. Gell.* 13, 15.)

20. *Lascivia*. This term is commonly rendered "wantonness," a meaning which cannot apply here with any peculiar meaning or definite force. It appears to us that "devotion to public amusements" will suit the context better. Dureau de Lamalle translates the word in question by "licence dissolue."

21. *Diuturna quies*. From the time of Sylla down to this period, that is, for nearly twenty years, there had been an intermission of civil discord.

1. *Adflictare sese*. "Were plunged in the deepest affliction." 95
 The verb *adflictare* is the frequentative of *adfligere*, which properly denotes *ad terram prosternere*, being compounded of *ad*, and *fligere*, "to dash or strike against."

2. *Rogitare*. "Were making continual inquiries about the conspiracy."

3. *Tamen etsi, &c.* "Although precautionary measures were in agitation against him."

4. *Lege Plautia*. The Plautian, or Plotian, Law was passed A. U. C. 665, having been proposed by M. Plautius Sylvanus, tribune of the commons. It ordained that all who should plot against the senate, offer any violence to the magistrates, appear with a weapon in public, seize upon any of the higher places of the city with seditious views, or beset, with an armed force, the abode of any citizen, should be punished with exile. This law was subsequently put in force against those of the conspirators who had not been capitally dealt with.

5 *Postremo*. Sallust here resumes the strict order of the narrative, which had been interrupted by the digression in chapter 23. *Interea Manlius, &c.*

6. *Jurgio*. "By an accusation originating in private animosity." *Jurgium* is used in this same sense by Cicero, (*pro Coel.* 13.)

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95 “*Omnia sunt alia non crimina, sed maledicta jurgii petulantis magis, quam publicae quaestionis.*”

7. *In senatum venit.* This took place on the sixth day before the ides of November, (the 8th of the month, according to our mode of reckoning,) and the meeting of the senate was held in the temple of Jupiter Stator, where Cicero had convened that body. The attempt on the consul's life (*vid.* chap. 28,) was made the day previous. Cicero informs us that Catiline was shunned by all the assembled senators. (*Cic. in Cat.* 2, 6.)

8. *Praesentiam ejus timeñs.* Catiline's presence in the senate, on this occasion, was probably feared by Cicero for two reasons: first, lest, with the aid of those members who were implicated in the conspiracy, he might break forth into some act of violence; and, secondly, lest the very circumstance of his openly appearing in that assembly, might lead many to believe that he was an innocent and calumniated man.

9. *Orationem habuit, &c.* “Delivered an oration, brilliant in itself and beneficial in its results to the republic.” The speech, to which allusion is here made, was the first oration against Catiline. So splendid a burst of extemporaneous eloquence deserves far higher encomiums than the cold and formal praise bestowed by the historian. This oration of Cicero proved of service to the state on two accounts: it rendered the conspiracy formed against the republic so clear, that no one could doubt its existence, and it compelled Catiline to retire from the city.

10. *Quam postea scriptam edidit.* “Which he afterwards committed to writing and published.” Elegant Latinity for *quam postea scripsit et edidit.* “In point of effect,” observes Mr. Dunlop, “this oration must have been perfectly electric. The disclosure to the criminal himself of his most secret purposes—their flagitious nature, threatening the life of every one present—the whole course of his villanies and treasons blazoned forth with the fire of incensed eloquence—and the adjuration to him, by flying from Rome, to free his country from such a pestilence, were all wonderfully calculated to excite astonishment, admiration, and horror.” (*Dunlop's Roman Literature*, vol. 2, p. 299. Lond. ed.)

11. *Adsedit.* “Took his seat.”—*Adsidère.* “To sit down,” “to take one's seat.”—*Adsidere.* “To keep one's seat,” “to be sitting by the side of.” The former is compounded of *ad*, and *sidère* “to settle,” or “be fixed.”

12. *Ut omnia bona in spe haberet.* “As to entertain hopes of enjoying all preferments.” Beuzée renders it, “l'autorisaient à prétendre à tout ce qu'il y avoit de mieux.”

13. *Cujus ipsius atque majorum, &c.* "At whose own hands and those of his ancestors, very many kindnesses had been received by the Roman commons."

14. *Inquilinus civis.* "An adventitious citizen." *Inquilinus civis* properly denoted one who was not born at Rome, but who possessed the rights of citizenship, having no house of his own, but occupying a hired lodging. Cicero, who was born at Arpinum, is here sneeringly termed an adventitious citizen, lodging in the city. Compare Appian, (*Bell. civ. 2.*) ἐς μὲν ἀγνωσίαν γένους, ΚΑΙΝΟΝ ὀνομάζων· ἐς δὲ ξενίαν τῆς πόλεως, ἸΓΚΟΥΛΙΑΙΝΟΝ, ᾧ ῥήματι καλοῦσιν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις οἰκίαις. Plutarch (*Vit. Cic.*) states, that, on the occasion alluded to in the text, Catiline attempted to address the house in defence of his conduct, before Cicero rose up; but that when he began to speak, the senators interrupted him in such a manner that he could not be heard. He is silent respecting any reply having been made by him to the oration of the consul. It would appear from this, but more especially from a remark of Cicero, in his speech for Muraena, (chapter 25,) that the narrative of Sallust is here erroneous. According to Cicero, Catiline uttered a threat similar to that mentioned in the text, a few days before, when replying to Cato, who menaced him in the presence of the senate with a public trial. Cicero, moreover, (2 *Cat. 6.*) in giving an account to the people, on the following day, of what had passed in the senate when he openly charged Catiline with his guilt, states expressly that the latter, in spite of his boldness, did not dare to make any reply to his speech. We find the same remark also in the *Orator*, 37, 129. Florus and Valerius Maximus copy the error of Sallust.

15. *Parricidam.* Catiline is here styled "a parricide," because plotting the destruction of his country, the common parent of all. Compare the language of Cicero, (21. *Cat. 7.*) "*Te patria odit ac metuit, et jamdiu te nihil judicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare.*"

16. *Incendium meum, &c.* "I will extinguish with their ruin the conflagration which threatens me." A metaphor taken from the demolition of an edifice for the purpose of stopping a conflagration. The edifice in this case was his native country.

17. *Insidiae consuli.* Some understand *factae*, but the ellipsis is unnecessary, as the dative depends at once upon the preceding noun. So, "*Semen satui,*" (*Cato. R. R. 5.*) "*Causa rebus creandis,*" (*Auson. Ephem.*) "*Rebus humanis praeses,*" (*Senec. ad. Polyb. 31.*) Compare also our author's own expression in this same chapter, "*insidias consuli maturent.*"

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95 18 *Optimum factum credens*. "Believing it his most advisable course." Some editions have *factu*.

19. *Legiones scriberentur*. Alluding to the forces which the praetors Pompeius Rufus and Metellus Celer had been authorized to raise. (Chapter 30.)

20. *Nocte intempesta*. The night here alluded to was that which intervened between the 8th and 9th days of November. For an explanation of the phrase, *vid.* note 8, page 93.

21. *Cum paucis*. According to Plutarch, (*Vit. Cic.*) Catiline marched out with three hundred men well armed, and with the fasces and other ensigns of authority, as if he had been a lawful magistrate. Appian states that he assumed on his route proconsular dignity: 'Ο μὲν δὴ ῥάβδους τε καὶ πελέκειας, ὡς τις ἀνθύπατος, κοῦφως μάλᾳ ἀπέσχε πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ. (*Appian. Bell. Civ.* 2, 3.) Dio Cassius makes him, after reaching Faesulae, to have taken the title and badges of consul. Καὶ πρὸς τὰς Φαισούλας ἐλθὼν, τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀντικρὺς ἀνείλετο, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὴν σκευὴν τῶν ὑπάτων λαβῶν, κ. τ. λ. (*Dio. Cass* 37, 33.)

22. *Prope diem*. "Shortly." The more usual orthography is *propediem*, as one word. The accusative, according to the writers on ellipsis, depends on *ad* understood. (*Palairer's Latin Ellipses*, page 12.) The adverb *prope* is also not unfrequently joined to a dative. Thus *Virg. Georg.* 1, 355, "*propius stabulis armenta tenerent.*" *Nep. Hann.* 8, "*propius Tiberi,*" &c.

96 1. *Ex suo numero*. The common text has *legatos* after these words; but it is more elegantly understood.

2. *Cum mandatis*. "With a message." Beauzée renders it, "avec une sorte de manifeste." But Cortius more correctly makes the communication to have been a verbal one.

3. *Homini*. "To any individual." Some editions, in place of *homini*, have *aliis*.

4. *Plerique patriae, &c.* The student will observe the double construction in this passage, by which *expertes* is first joined with a genitive and immediately after with ablatives. This change of case is not unfrequent in Sallust. Thus, "*Poenam sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundaereipublicae fore.*" (*Cat.* chap. 46.) "*Ubi videt neque per vim, neque insidiis opprimi posse.*" (*Jug.* chap. 7.) "*Plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos accire.*" (*Jug.* chap. 84.) Compare Plautus, (*Asin.* 3, 2, 31.) "*Ut meque, teque, maxime, atque ingenio nostro decuit.*"

5. *Lege uti*. "To avail himself of the benefit of the law." The law here alluded to is commonly called the Papirian, not because proposed by a magistrate of that name, as some imagine, but on

account of its having been occasioned by the conduct of a usurer named Lucius Papirius. It was passed A. U. C. 428, and ordained that no person should be held in fetters or stocks, except convicted of a crime, and in order to punishment; but that, for money due, the goods of the debtor, not his person, should be answerable. (*Liv.* 8, 28.) Livy remarks of this law, that it broke one of the strongest bonds of credit. "*Victum eo die, ob impotentem injuriam unius, ingens vinculum fidei.*" On this account, as may well be supposed, it was unfavourably received by the rich, and had to be re-enacted forty years afterwards, at the time of the secession to the Janiculum.

6. *Liberum corpus habere.* The cruelty and oppression, which marked the conduct of the rich towards their unfortunate debtors occasioned most, if not all, of the disturbances that interfered with the earlier growth of the Roman state.

7. *Praetoris.* To the praetors belonged the general administration of public justice. The city praetor (*praetor urbanus*) is here alluded to: he took cognizance of all litigations between citizens. The *praetor peregrinus* dispensed justice to foreigners at Rome, or to foreigners and citizens when involved in controversy.

8. *Majores vestrum.* Almost all the manuscripts have *vestri* for *vestrum*; but, according to Aulus Gellius, (20, 6,) the oldest copies in his time exhibited *vestrum*. Correct Latinity requires this latter form in the present case. *Nostris* and *vestris* are used when the genitive denotes the object; as *amor nostri, cura nostri, misereere nostri, &c.*, but *nostrum* and *vestrum* must be employed when the genitive indicates the subject; as *frequentia vestrum, contentio vestrum, &c.* (*Vid. Zumpt. L. G. p. 241.*)

9. *Inopiae opitulati sunt.* Alluding to the laws passed at various times for diminishing the rate of interest.

10. *Argentum aere solutum est.* "Silver was paid with brass." The allusion is to the Valerian Law, *de quadrante*, proposed by L. Valerius Flaccus, when consul, A. U. C. 667. By the provisions of this law, the fourth part only of the debt was paid, namely, an *as* for a *sestertius*, and a *sestertius* for a *denarius*; or 25 for 100, and 250 for 1000. The *sestertius* was originally equal to two *asses* and a half; and the *denarius* to ten; when, however, the weight of the *as* was diminished to one ounce, a *denarius* passed for sixteen *asses*, and a *sestertius* for four, which proportion continued when the *as* was reduced to half an ounce. Velleius Paterculus (2, 23,) speaks of the Valerian law above mentioned, in terms of merited reprobation. "*Valerius Flaccus, turpissimae legis auctor, qua creditoribus quadrantem solvi jusserat.*" Montesquieu, on the other hand, praises this law. (*L'Esprit des Loix, 22, 22.*) The error,

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96 into which he fell, of mistaking *quadrans*, in the text of Paterculus as equivalent to *usuræ trientes*, after being noticed and corrected by many of the learned, was finally removed from his work.

11. *Secessit*. Three secessions of the people are recorded in Roman history. The first took place A. U. C. 260, on account of the severity of creditors, and was made to the sacred mount. (*Liv.* 2, 32.) The second was occasioned by the conduct of Appius Claudius, the decemvir, and was made first to the Aventine and afterwards to the sacred mount. (*Liv.* 3, 50.) It happened A. U. C. 305. The third was produced by the same cause as the first, and was made to the Janiculum, A. U. C. 466. (*Liv. epit. lib.* 11.)

12. *Nemo bonus*. "No man of spirit."

13. *Amittit*. "Parts with." The student will observe that *perdit* would change entirely the spirit of the passage. *Amittere* is simply "to lose the possession of a thing which one has once had." *Perdere*, on the other hand, is "to lose," "destroy," or "throw away uselessly or hurtfully." Thus, in the treatise addressed to Herennius, (4, 44,) we have the following: "*Quod mihi bene videtur Decius intellexisse, qui se devovisse dicitur, et pro legionibus in hostes intulisse medios; unde amisit vitam, at non perdidit.*" (*Vid. Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 1, p. 98.)

14. *Quoniam modo*, &c. "In what way we may perish, after having most effectually avenged our blood;" i. e. how we may sell our lives as dearly as possible.

15. *Marcus*. The verb *respondit* is elegantly understood. Thus, *Phaedrus*, 1, 25, 8, "*At ille, facerem mehercule, nisi esse scirem carnis te cupidum meae.*" (*Vid. Palaiet's Latin Ellipses*, p. 254.)

16. *Optimo cuique*. "To each most eminent person." *Optimo cuique* is here equivalent to *optimatibus singulis*. From a comparison of various passages in Cicero, it would appear that *optimates*, in that writer, denotes "persons distinguished by rank or political merit," and sometimes the former only. *Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 2, p. 107.

17. *Non quo*, &c. "Not that he was conscious to himself," &c. This use of *non quo* for *non quod* has been very much disputed. H. Stephens (*Schediasm.* 2, 7,) and Laurentius Valla (*Eleg.* 2, 37,) particularly oppose it. Tursellinus, on the other hand, successfully defends its correctness, both from the language of manuscripts and the usage of the best writers. (*Turs. de Part.* p. 494, ed. Lips. 1769, and p. 240, ed. Bailey Lond. 1828.) It is, however, not to be denied, as Zumpt well observes, that it is safer in general to say *non quod*, *non eo quod*, *non ideo quod*, *non quoniam*, &c. (*Zumpt. L. G.* p. 335.)

18. *Ex sua contentione.* "From any private quarrel of his."

19. *Earum exemplum.* "A copy of it." Of course we must regard the letter as genuine, and not the production of the historian.

1. *Q. Catulo S.* The letter *S* is abbreviated from *Salutem*, which is governed by *dicit* understood. The whole expression in the text will be equivalent to "L. Catiline greets Q. Catulus," or, "wishes him health." As regards the epistolary correspondence of the Romans, the following remarks may not be misplaced. If either of the parties was invested with an office, civil or military, it was usual to express it thus: "*P. Serv. Rullus. Trib. pl. x vir Pompeio Consuli.*" When the person addressed was an intimate friend, they sometimes added the epithets "*Humanissimus*," "*Optimus*," "*Suavissimus*," and very frequently "*Suus*," as "*Praetores Syracusani Marcello suo.*" The "Praeloquium" was sometimes conceived in the following terms: "*Si vales, gaudeo, ego valeo*," and frequently written in the initials only, *S. V. G. E. V.* or *S. V. B. E. E. V.* that is, "*Si vales, bene est, ego valeo.*" The letter frequently ended with the word "*Vale*," sometimes "*Ave*," or "*Salve*," to which, in some instances, was added the expression of endearment, "*Mi anime.*" The place where the letter was written was subjoined, unless previously communicated. The date always expressed the day, frequently the year, and sometimes the hour. They used no signature, or subscription, unless when writing to emperors. There was very rarely an inscription on the outside, the letter being delivered to a letter-carrier, (*Tabellarius*), who was made acquainted with the person for whom it was intended. The letter was tied round with a string, the knot of which was sealed. The seal was, generally, a head of the letter-writer, or of some of his ancestors, impressed on wax or chalk. Hence the phrases for "to open a letter," are "*vinculum solvere*," "*incidere linum*," "*epistolam solvere.*" It was usual also for the bearer of the letter, before it was opened, to request the person to examine the seal, that he might be sure there was no imposture. *Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 1, p. 283.

2. *Egregia tua fides, &c.* "Your distinguished integrity, known to me by experience, has given a pleasing confidence to my present recommendation," i. e. has inspired me with a pleasing confidence in recommending my concerns to your care.

3. *Quamobrem defensionem, &c.* *Defensio* is here opposed to *satisfactio*, and signifies a formal defence in the presence of one's enemies, while *satisfactio* denotes a general explanation, such as may satisfy a friend. The whole passage may hence be rendered as follows: "Wherefore, as regards the novel step which I have

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97 taken, I have resolved not to prepare a formal defence of it against my enemies, but, without any consciousness of misconduct, have determined to lay before you such an explanation as may remove the doubts of a friend." The phrase "*ex nulla conscientia DE CULPA*," Burnouf considers a remnant of earlier Latinity, when the preposition, as in our modern tongues, was used to identify individual cases, *de culpa* being here equivalent to *culpae*. We doubt the correctness of this explanation. The preposition appears to be here used with the ablative for the purpose of expressing the slightest possible relation between *conscientia* and *culpa* in the mind of the writer.

4. *Quam*. Referring to *satisfactionem*.

5. *Me dius fidius*, &c. "Which, upon my honour as a man, you will find to be true." As regards the expression *dius fidius*, Festus makes it the same as *Δίος filius*, "the son of Jove," i. e. Hercules. He states, at the same time, two other explanations; one, which makes it equivalent to *divi fides*, and the other to *diei fides*. All these etymologies are decidedly erroneous. A passage in Plautus, (*Asin.* 1, 1, 8,) furnishes a safer guide. It is as follows: "*Per deum fidium quaeris; jurato mihi video necesse esse eloqui, quidquid roges.*" From this passage we may fairly infer, that, in the phrase under consideration, *dius* is the same as *deus* or *divus*, and *fidius* an adjective formed from *fides*. Hence *dius fidius*, "the god of honour," or "good faith," will be the same as the Ζεύς πίστιος of the Greeks; and, if we follow the authority of Varro, (*L. L.* 4, 10,) identical with the Sabine Sancus, and Roman Hercules: so that *me dius fidius* is nothing more than *me deus fidei* (i. e. Hercules) *adjuvet*, or, in other words, *mehercule*.

6. *Fructu laboris*. Alluding to the consulship, which he had sought ineffectually.

7. *Statum dignitatis*. "That station in the republic to which I was fairly entitled." Compare ch. 18, "*Post paullo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere,*" &c.

8. *Meis nominibus*. "Of my own contracting."—*Alienis nominibus*. "Contracted by others, and for which I had become surety." Among the Romans, it was a customary formality, in borrowing money, to write down the sum and subscribe the person's name in the banker's books. Hence *nomen* is put for a debt, for the cause of a debt, for an article of account, &c.

9. *Non dignos homines*, &c. "Unworthy men graced with honour;" i. e. raised to high preferment.

10. *Falsa suspicione alienatum*. "Alienated from public favour through groundless suspicion."

11. *Hoc nomine, &c.* "On this account I have pursued a course sufficiently honourable, considering my calamitous situation, and one which leads me to entertain the hope of preserving what consideration there is left me."

12. *Eam ab injuria defendas, &c.* "Defend her from injury being intreated so to do by the love you bear to your own offspring."

13. *Haveto.* An archaism for *Aveto*. Catullus uses this form (101, 10,) "*Have atque Vale.*" Compare *Quintilian*, 1, 6, 21, ed. Spalding. Whiter's etymology of the word is extremely ingenious: "*Have* or *Ave* is nothing but *Habe*, have, possess—riches, honours, health."

14. *In agro Arretino.* The common text has *Reatino*. As *Reate*, however, was a town of the Sabines, and as Catiline was proceeding along the Aurelian way, under the pretence of retiring to Massilia, but in reality to join Manlius, it is far preferable to adopt *Arretino* as the lection, *Arretium* (now *Arezzo*) being an ancient city of Etruria.

15. *Sine fraude.* "With impunity," or "with the assurance of safety." Compare the words of Ulpian, (*leg.* 131, *de V. S.*) "*Aliud fraus est, aliud poena. Fraus enim sine poena esse potest: poena sine fraude esse non potest. Poena est noxae vindicta; fraus et ipsa noxa dicitur, et quasi poenae quaedam praeparatio.*"

16. *Praeter condemnatis.* In this clause, *condemnatis* depends on *liceret*, and *praeter* is used adverbially for *praeterquam*. The instances, however, of such a usage are not of very frequent occurrence. We have one in Justin, (13, 5,) "*Alexander epistolas in Graeciam scripserat, quibus omnium civitatum exules, praeter coedis damnati, restituebantur.*" (*Vid. Graev. ad loc.*) Another example is found in Suetonius, though not so conclusive as the first: "*reliquerit eum nullo, praeter auguralis sacerdotii, honore impertitum.*" (*Claud.* 4.—vol. 2, page 10. ed. *Crus.*)

17. *Duobis senati decretis.* "Notwithstanding two decrees of the senate." Though two decrees of the senate had been made. There is here an ellipsis of *factis*. The first of these ordinances is mentioned in chapter 30.

1. *Tinta vis morbi, uti tabes.* "So violent a malady, like some corroding poison," &c. The distemper or malady, here alluded to, is the desire of a charge, which influenced, at that period, the minds of so large a number, and produced a disaffection to the state.

2. *Aliena.* "Alienated from the public welfare."—*Omnino.* "In general."—*Id adeo.* "This indeed."

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98 3. *Quis opes nullae sunt.* "They, who have no resources of their own, look with an evil eye on the higher class of citizens, elevate to office those who are of the same stamp with themselves." *Quis* is put for *quibus*. By *bonos* are here meant, not the good and virtuous merely, but, generally speaking, the better class of citizens who are always more or less averse to violent changes in the state, as well from principle, as from the danger which might result to their private affairs. By *malos*, on the other hand, are meant the needy and unprincipled. Compare Plautus, (*Captiv.* 3, 4, 51,) "*Est miserorum ut malevolentes sint atque invadeant bonis.*"

4. *Turba.* "By public disturbance."—*Sine cura.* "Without any apprehension for themselves."—*Habetur.* "Is kept," or "exists." The idea expressed in the text, when paraphrased, will be, "since poverty does not easily suffer loss."

5. *Plebes.* To be construed as the nominative absolute. Some editions read *a vero*, instead of *ea vero*, removing at the same time the comma after *plebes*, which of course alters the construction. This emendation, however, is far inferior to the reading in our text. From a view of the context it will appear, that Sallust first speaks of the people in general, the people of the whole empire, (*cuncta plebes omnino.*) He then particularizes the people of the capital, and remarks, that, with regard to them, there were other and more special reasons, the operation of which led them to favour the designs of Catiline.

6. *Primum omnium.* Opposed, not to *item* and *postremo*, in the same sentence, but to *Deinde*, at the commencement of the next.

7. *Per dedecora.* "By disgraceful excesses."

8. *Sicuti in sentinam.* "As into some impure receptacle. *Sentina* is properly the bottom of a ship, where the bilge-water collects. It is applied also by Cicero to the rabble, &c.

9. *Regio victu atque cultu.* "With the luxury and pomp of kings."

10. *Privatis atque publicis largitionibus.* The private largesses were bestowed either by the candidates for public favour, or by those who had already enjoyed it: the public have reference to the corn distributed among the lower orders at the expense of the state: five bushels monthly to each man. Compare Sallust, (*Hist. frag.* ed. Cort. p. 974.) "*Qua tamen quinque modis libertatem omnium aestumavere,*" &c., and also Suetonius, (*Aug.* 40, vol. 1, p. 274, ed. Crus.)

11. *Reipublicae juxta*, &c. "Showed no more regard to the public interest than to their own;" i. e. were equally neglectful of their own and the public good. For this adverbial use of *juxta*.

compare chapter 61. “*Ita cuncti suae atque hostium vitae juxta pepercerant.*” 98

12. *Jus libertatis imminutum erat.* Alluding to a law enacted by Sylla, when dictator, (*Lex. Cornelia*, A. U. C. 673,) which declared the children of proscribed persons incapable of holding any public office. Compare Velleius Paterculus, (2, 28,) “*exclusique paternis opibus liberi,*” and Plutarch, (*vit Syll.*) ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀδικώτατον ἔδοξε, τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἠτίμως καὶ υἱοὺς καὶ υἰωσὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντων ἐδήμυσε. To the same effect are the words of Aemilius Lepidus, as given by Sallust, (*Hist. frag. lib.* 1, p. 936, ed. *Cort.*) About twenty years after this event, a powerful effort was made by the individuals who were suffering under the operation of this law, to have it repealed. Cicero was at that time consul, and by his strenuous exertions defeated the application. Of the oration delivered by him on this occasion, (*De proscriptorum liberis,*) a solitary fragment is preserved by Quintilian, (11, 1,) “*Quid enim crudelius quam homines honestis parentibus ac majoribus natos a republica submoveri? Sed ita legibus Syllae continetur status civitatis, ut, his solutis, stare ipsa non possit.*” (*Cic. Op.* ed. Olivet. vol. 6, p. 479.) Cicero himself alludes to his conduct in this affair, in his oration against Piso, (chap. 2.) He allowed the claim to be perfectly reasonable, but argued against it on the ground of state-policy. Julius Caesar, however, subsequently abrogated this unjust ordinance. Thus Suetonius, (*Jul.* 41,) remarks, “*Admisit ad honores et proscriptorum liberos;*” and Plutarch, (*Vit. Caes.*) ἀρεθεις δὲ δικτάτωρ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, φυγάδας τε καθήγαγε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα δυστυχησάντων τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιτίμους ἐποίησε. Compare *Dio Cass.* 41, 18, *Sigon. ad Cic. l. c. Crus. ad Suet. l. c.*

13. *Aliarum atque senati,* &c. “Of a different party from that of the senate.”

14. *Id adeo malum,* &c. “With such violence had that evil, after many years of cessation, returned upon the state.” *Adeo* appears to have, in this passage, the force of *in tantum*. (Compare *Tursellin. de part. s. v.*) Dureau de Lamalle gives it the same meaning: “Tant ces funestes rivalités, long-temps assoupies, s'étaient réveillées avec plus de fureur que jamais!”

15. *Tribunicia potestas restituta.* The tribunes of the commons were originally created A. U. C. 260, at the time of the secession to the sacred mount, for the purpose of protecting the rights of the people. Under the sanction, however, of the law which made their persons sacred, they subsequently carried their power to the most extravagant height. Sylla abridged, and in a manner extinguished, that power, by enacting, that whoever had been tribune should not

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98 afterwards enjoy any other magistracy; that there should be no appeal to the tribunes; that they should not be allowed to assemble the people and make harangues to them, nor propose laws, but should only retain the right of intercession. In the consulship of Cotta, however, (A. U. C. 679,) they again obtained the right of enjoying other offices; and in that of Pompey and Crassus, A. U. C. 683, all their former powers. Pompey's conduct in this affair is very justly condemned by Cicero, since the tribunes now became mere tools in the hands of the ambitious and powerful.

16. *Summam potestatem nacti*. These words have very much the appearance of an interpolation. They are not necessary to the sense, since by *summam potestatem* is meant the tribunician power, which has already been mentioned in the preceding clause.

99 1. *Senati specie, &c.* "Under the pretence of supporting the authority of the senate, but in reality for their own advancement."

2. *Honestis nominibus*. "Under fair pretexs."

3. *Neque modestia neque modus*. "Neither moderation nor limit."

4. *Maritimum*. The maritime war against the Cilicians, supported by Mithridates, called also the piratical war. The Cilician pirates, covered every sea with their fleets, and extended their depredations even to the coast of Italy and the mouth of the Tiber. Pompey was sent against them, by virtue of the Gabinian law, A. U. C. 687, and brought the war to a conclusion within the space of forty days. Compare *Vell. Paterc.* 2, 31 et 32: *Florus*, 3, 6: *Cic pro Lege Manil: Plut. Vit. Pomp.*

5. *Mithridaticum*. The war with Mithridates, king of Pontus one of the ablest monarchs with whom the Romans ever had to contend. His character is briefly but ably drawn by Velleius Paterculus, (2, 18, 1,) "*Vir neque silendus, neque dicendus sine cura, bello acerrimus, virtute eximius, aliquando fortuna, semper animo maximus, consiliis dux, miles manu, odio in Romanos Hannibal.*" Lucullus carried on the war against him for nearly seven years, at the expiration of which period he was recalled by the senate, and Pompey, who had just ended the piratical war, was, by the Manilian Law, sent against Mithridates.

6. *Plebis opes imminutac*. The authority of the people was weakened by the high powers delegated to a single individual, Pompey.

7. *Innoxii*. The adjective is here used passively, "unhurt," or, less literally, "free from all danger of attack." Compare *Lucan*, (9, 894.)

8. *Ceteros judiciis terrere*. "They alarmed the rest by the rigour of their judicial investigations."

9. *Placidius*. "More peaceably." The meaning of the clause is, that those who filled offices of magistracy, especially the tribuneship, might be less disposed to stir up commotions among the people, through dread of prosecution by the nobility, after the expiration of their offices.

10. *Ubi primum*, &c. Gruter suggests *novandi*, which Cortius acknowledges would make an easier construction, though it would be less in accordance with the style of Sallust, than the present reading *novandis*. Some editions adopt Gruter's suggestion of *novandi*, and place a comma after *primum*, and another after *rebus*. We have given the reading of Cortius, which may be rendered as follows: "As soon as the hope was presented to their view of effecting some change in the adverse condition of their affairs."

11. *Vetus certamen*. "The old controversy," i. e. between the patricians and plebeians.—*Eorum*. Referring to the plebeians.

12. *Aequa manu*, &c. "Had left the field on equal terms with the forces of the republic."

13. *Exsanguibus*. "Completely exhausted." Compare Cicero, (*pro Sext.* 10,) "*Hominiibus enervatis atque exsanguibus consularatus datus est.*"

14. *Extra conjurationem*. "Unconnected with the conspiracy."

15. *A. Fulvius*. As Valerius Maximus, (5, 8, 5,) in mentioning this same circumstance, calls the name of the father A. Fulvius, Cortius thinks it probable that Sallust wrote *A. Fulvii senatoris filius*. Dio Cassius (37, 36) incorrectly makes the son himself a senator: Ἀῶλον δὲ Φουλβιον, ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ πατὴρ ἀπέσφαξεν. (*Vid. Reimar. ad loc.*)

16. *Patres necari jussit*. Fathers, among the Romans, had the power of life and death over their children. Hence a father is called a domestic judge or magistrate, by Seneca; and a censor of his son, by Suetonius, (*Vit. Claud.* 16.) Valerius Maximus, (l. c.) in relating this affair of the punishment of Fulvius, adds, that the father told the son he had begotten him, not for Catiline against his country, but for his country against Catiline. "*Non se Catilinae illum adversus patriam, sed patriae, adversus Catilinam, genuisse.*"

17. *Negotiatus*. Understand *erat*. "Had traded." For the difference between the Roman *negotiatores* and *mercatores*, consult note 7, page 44.

18. *Principibus*. "Leading men."—*Noverat*. *Noscere* is "to know," or "to be acquainted with any thing as an object of perception;" "to have an idea" or "notion of it, as apprehended by the mind" *Scire* is "to know any thing as a matter of fact, or any truth as an object of conviction." The following examples will

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99 explain this difference more fully: "*Hominem novi, et dominus qui nunc est scio.*" (Plaut. *Rud.* 4, 3, 26,) "I am acquainted with the man, and I know who his master is." The latter clause, however, does not imply any personal knowledge of the master. He might know him only by name. "*Non norunt, scio.*" (Plaut. *Cas Prol.*) "They are not acquainted with the play," not having seen it performed—"this circumstance I know." (Crombie's *Gymnasium*, vol. 1, p. 82.)

19. *Percunctatus*. *Percunctari* (or *percontari*) means "to sift to the bottom by search or inquiry," "to pry," and has, according to Dumesnil, a relation very often to public news. It is derived probably from *per* and *contus*, (quasi *per contum exquirere*,) and expresses a sifting and inquisitive manner of asking. *Percunctari*, moreover, answers to the Greek *πυθάνεσθαι*, and always requires a detailed reply.

100 1. *Videt*. This verb is here used instead of *audit*. Compare Cicero, (*pro Arch.* 8,) "*Quoties ego hunc Archiam vidi . . . dicere ex tempore.*"

2. *Si modo*, &c. "Provided only you are inclined to act the part of men."

3. *Quin*. In the sense of *quod non*, which is the reading of some editions.

4. *Ab Roma aberat*. This is one of the examples which Priscian adduces, for the purpose of showing, that the preposition is often more especially by historians, added to the ablative of names of places.

5. *Quo major auctoritas*, &c. "That what he should say might have greater weight."

6. *Innozios*. "Innocent persons;" i. e. individuals unconnected with the conspiracy. The adjective is here used in what the grammarians call an active sense. Compare note 7, page 99.—*Quo legatis animus amplior esset*. "That the ambassadors might be inspired with more courage to act."

7. *Majores opes*. "More powerful resources;" those namely of the republic. Dureau de Lamalle renders the phrase by "*une grande masse de puissance.*"

8. *Patrocinio*. Individual noblemen, or particular families of illustrious rank, were sometimes patrons of whole states. These patrons were generally those who had reduced them under the Roman power, or had, at some time or other, been appointed governors over them: and the rights of patronage were transmitted by them to their descendants. In the present instance, Q. Fabius Sanga derived his right of patronage from his ancestor Q. Fabius Maximus, who

finally reduced the Allobroges, and hence was surnamed *Allobrogicus*.

9. *Consilio cognito*. "Having learned the plot."—*Studium conjuratiōnis*, &c. "To feign a strong desire for the success of the conspiracy."

10. *Bene polliceantur*. "To promise fair." *Bene* is here equivalent to *bona quaeque*.

11. *Gallia citeriore*. Hither or Cisalpine Gaul, lying south of the Alps, and forming the northern division of Italy. The term *citerior* is applied in reference to Rome.

12. *Cuncta simul agere*. "Put all their schemes in operation at one and the same moment." Cortius wishes to exclude *cuncta simul* from the text, in opposition to all the manuscripts.

13. *Festinando, agitando omnia*. "By their precipitate movements, by their throwing all things into confusion."

1. *C. Murena*. Brother of Licinius Murena, consul elect. The common reading *in citeriore Gallia* has been amended by Cortius, and *in ulterioriore Gallia* substituted. There can be no doubt what, ever as to the correctness of this alteration. Celer was in hither Gaul, and Murena, as appears plainly from Cicero, (*pro Murena*, 41,) was in Transalpine or farther Gaul.

2. *Legatus*. A proconsul or propraetor chose a *legatus* to accompany him to his province, and assist him in the discharge of his public duties. Thus Cicero, for example, when he went as proconsul into Cilicia, A. U. C. 702, chose for his *legatus* his brother Quintus. In the absence of the governor of the province, the *legatus* exercised full control over it, and had equal authority and jurisdiction. Sometimes the governor remained at home, and merely sent out the *legatus* to the province; and at other times the senate, without naming any proconsul or propraetor, merely sent out a *legatus*. This last was the case with C. Murena.

3. *Videbantur*. Understand *illae*, referring to *copiae*.

4. *Constituerant*. The verb is put in the plural, as if *Lentulus cum ceteris* were a double nominative.

5. *Actionibus*. "The proceedings," "the acts." Alluding to Cicero's having driven Catiline from the city, and excited, as they maintained, the most groundless suspicions against many innocent individuals. Compare Appian, (*B. C.* 2, 3,) Δεύκιον δὲ Βησιτιαν, τὸν δῆμαρχον, ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ κήρυξι συναΐγειν, καὶ κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὡς αἰεὶ δευλοῦ καὶ πολεμοποιοῦ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ διαταράττοντος. Plutarch informs us, (*Vit. Cic.* 23. vol. 5, page 336. ed. Hutten,) that, after the conspiracy had been completely crushed, the tribunes, Metellus and Bestia, having entered upon their office

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101 a few days before that of Cicero expired, would not suffer him to address the people. They placed their own benches on the rostra, and only gave him permission to take the oath upon laying down his office, after which he was immediately to descend. Accordingly, when Cicero went up, it was expected that he would take the customary oath; but, silence being made, instead of the usual form, he adopted one that was new and singular. The purport of it was, that "He had saved his country, and preserved the empire:" (ἢ μὴν σεσωκέναι τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ διατετηρηκέναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.) and all the people joined in it.

6. *Invidiam*. "The blame."—*Optumo consuli*. Some have regarded this expression on the part of the historian as extremely honourable, considering the private feud which existed between him and Cicero. We should be inclined to put a different construction upon it. Nothing appears to us more frigid than this language of Sallust respecting one who had been the preserver of his country. And that it would sound so in fact to a Roman ear, may be clearly inferred from a passage in one of the letters of Cicero to Atticus, (12, 21,) in which he speaks of Brutus having applied this same expression to him. "*Hic autem se etiam tribuere multum mihi putat, quod scripserit optimum consulem. Quis enim jejunius dixit inimicus?*"

7. *Proxima nocte*. Plutarch states, that one of the nights of the Saturnalia had been fixed for the perpetration of the horrid deeds mentioned in the text. The testimony of Cicero is to the same effect, (3, in *Cat.* 4.) The celebration of the Saturnalia commenced on the 17th day of December, so that Bestia was to have delivered his intended harangue a few days after he had entered upon his office, which, in the case of the tribunes, was the 10th of the same month. On the 5th of December, however, the conspirators were put to death.

8. *Duodecim simul opportuna, &c.* Plutarch's statement differs from that of Sallust. He informs us that the conspirators had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and selected the same number of men, to each of whom was allotted his quarter to be set on fire. As this was to be done by them all at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general. Others were to intercept the water, and kill all that went to seek it.

9. *Obsideret*. "Should beset." A verb of the third conjugation, *obsido, ẽre*.

10. *Alius autem alium*. Understand *adgrederetur*. "That one should attack one, another attack another:" i. e. that each should single out his victim.

11. *Fili familiarum*. To these Cicero is thought to allude, (2, in *Cat.* 3,) "*Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire, qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura,*" &c.

12. *Parata*. Plutarch states, that Caius Sulpicius, one of the praetors, who had been sent to Cethegus's house, found there a large quantity of javelins, swords, poniards, and other arms, all newly furnished.

13. *Dies prolatando*. "By putting off the day of execution."

14. *Conveniunt*. "Obtain an interview with." The following examples, with reference to the construction of *convenio*, may not be misplaced. *Convenire in urbem*. "To come into the city and assemble." *Convenire in urbe*. "To assemble in the city, having been there before." *Convenire aliquem*. "To speak to any one," or "to have an interview with him." *Convenit hoc mihi*. "This suits me," or, "is convenient to me." *Convenit mihi cum illo*. "I agree with him."

15. *Jusjurandum*. "An oath:" i. e. a written promise in the language and form of an oath, that the conspirators would afford relief to the Allobroges, if the latter joined in the plot and it should prove successful.

16. *Signatum*. "With their respective seals affixed."

17. *Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant*. Compare Cicero, (3, in *Cat.* 5,) "*Tabulas proferrı jussimus, quae a quoque dicebantur datae Primum ostendimus Cethego signum; cognovit.*"

18. *Crotoniensem*. "A native of Crotona." Consult Geographical Index.

19. *Fac cogites, &c.* "See that you reflect in how desperate a situation you are."

1. *Tuae rationes*. "Your present circumstances."

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2. *Etiam ab infimis*. From what follows (*quo consilio servitia repudiet*) it is evident that by *infimi*, "persons of the lowest condition," are meant the slaves. As regards the language of this letter, it may not be amiss to state that Cicero gives it somewhat differently. (3, in *Cat.* 5.) It is more than probable, however, that the orator merely stated the purport of it from memory, while Sallust had access to the original among the archives of the state: for the words of the historian (*quarum exemplum infra scriptum*) plainly show that we have here a copy of the original document.

3. *Mandata verbis dat*. "He gives him a verbal message."

4. *Mulvio*. Now *Ponte Molle*, one of the bridges over the Tiber. It was built by M. Aemilius Scaurus, from a corruption of whose *nomen*, (Aemilius,) the appellation Mulvius is thought to have ori-

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102 ginated. At this bridge commenced the *Via Flaminia* which led from Rome to Ariminum.

5. *Comitatus*. "The retinue."

6. *Cetera, uti facto, &c.* "He authorises them to execute the rest of the affair in such a way as the occasion may require."

7. *Homines militares*. Understand *praetores*. "The praetors, men of military experience."

8. *Praesidiis collocatis*. Compare Cicero, (3, in *Cat. 2.*) "*Illi autem . . . cum advesperasceret, occulte ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt, atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi sine cujusquam suspicione, multos fortes viros eduxerunt, et ego ex praefectura Reatina complures delectos adolescentes, quorum opera in republica assidue utor, praesidio cum gladiis miseram.*"

9. *Cito cognito consilio*. The Bipont edition omits *cito*, and Gruter all three words. They are retained, however, and on good grounds, by Cortius, Burnouf, Planche, &c. Gruter thinks, that, as the Gauls informed the consul of the night when they were to set out, they must of course have known that they would be arrested. This may all very well be, and yet the presence of *cito* in the text, as well as of *cognito consilio*, is perfectly proper. The Gauls in an instant understood the nature of the affair, being previously convinced that an arrest would take place. Had Sallust, moreover, only written *cognito consilio*, the inquiry would naturally be made by the reader, whether the consul's plan was then for the first time discovered by them, or whether they had surmised what it would be, long before it was carried into execution.

10. *Multa*. "Earnestly."

11. *Quibus rebus confectis, &c.* The night of the arrest was that of the 2d December.

12. *Sibi oneri*. "A source of odium against himself." This apprehension was fully verified by the result. The preserver of his country was driven into exile by the faction of Clodius. Compare Cic. de Orat. 1, 1, "*Et hoc tempus omne post consulatum objecimus iis fluctibus qui, per nos a communi peste depulsi, in nosmet ipsos redundarunt.*"

13. *Perdundae rei publicae*. "A cause of ruin to the republic" Compare note 11, page 82.

14. *Concordiae*. The temple here meant stood on that side of the Capitoline hill which faced the Forum. It was erected by Camillus, in accordance with a vow, on account of the re-establishment of harmony between the senate and people. L. Opimius embellished it after the death of Caius Gracchus, and meetings of

the senate were frequently held within its walls. Some few columns still remain.

15. *Magnaue frequentia, &c.* "And in a very full meeting of that order," or "in a very full house."

16. *Volturcium cum legatis introducit.* Cicero states, (3, in *Cat.* 4,) that he first introduced Volturcius without the Gauls, and afterwards brought in the Gauls themselves.

17. *Scrinium cum litteris.* "The box containing the letters." It will be recollected that the box contained the letter of Lentulus to Catiline, and also the written oath of the conspirators.

1. *Qua, aut qua de caussa, &c.* "What design he had in view, or why he entertained such a design." Equivalent to "*Quid consilii, aut qua de caussa id consilii habuisset?*" 103

2. *Alia.* "Things other than the truth."—*Fide publica.* "On the public faith being pledged for his safety."

3. *Audire.* Compare Cicero, (3, in *Cat.* 4,) who fully confirms the account here given by Sallust.

4. *Libris Sibyllinis.* A certain woman, named Amalthaea, from a foreign country, offered for sale to Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome, nine books of the Sibylline, or prophetic oracles, but at an exorbitant price; which Tarquin refusing, she burnt three of them, still demanding the same price for the remaining six. Being ridiculed by the king, she burnt three more, without abating her price for the remaining three. Tarquin, surprised at her strange conduct, consulted the augurs, who, regretting the loss of the books which had been burnt, advised the king to pay her demand, on delivery of the three remaining books. Two persons at first, then ten afterwards fifteen, were appointed to take charge of these books hence called *Quindecimviri*. These books were supposed to contain the fate of the republic, and in time of public danger or calamity were consulted by order of the senate. They of course became a very useful engine of state; but were burnt in the Marsic war, A. U. C. 690. Ambassadors were sent every where to collect the oracles of the Sibyls, of whom there were several; the chief of them was the Sibyl of Cumae. From the verses collected in this search, the *Quindecimviri* compiled new books, which, by order of Augustus, were deposited in two gilt cases under the base of Apollo's statue, in his temple on the Palatine hill. For more information relative to the Sibyls, *vid.* Lempriere's Classical Dictionary.

5. *Tribus Corneliiis.* "To three of the Cornelian house." The *gens Cornelia* was among the most illustrious at Rome. It had a patrician and plebeian branch. The *familiae* included under it were the Maluginenses, Scipiones, Sullae, Lentuli, Cinnae, Rufini, &c.

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6. *Antea*. Understand *fuisse*, or else *regnum habuisse*.

7. *Urbis potiri*. The verb *potiri*, which elsewhere governs an ablative, is often, as in the present instance, used with a genitive. This government, however, admits of a very easy explanation, if we consider that *potiri* is in fact equivalent to *potens esse* or *potentem esse*. In Plautus we even find the active of this verb. (*Amph.* 1, 1, 23,) “*Qui fuerim liber, eum nunc potivit pater servitutis;*” i. e. “has put in slavery,” “has made partaker of slavery;” thence *potiri* is used passively; e. g. “*potitus est hostium,*” (*ibid.* *Capt.* 1, 2, 41,) “he is mastered by the enemy,” “is in the enemy’s power.”

8. *Incenso Capitolio*. The Capitol was thrice destroyed by fire. First, during the troubles occasioned by the contest between Sylla and Marius, A. U. C. 670, after which it was rebuilt by Sylla, and dedicated by Catulus. It is to this burning that the text refers. It was a second time destroyed, A. D. 70, by the soldiers of Vitellius. The emperor Vespasian rebuilt it, and at his death it was burnt a third time. Domitian restored it with greater magnificence than ever.

9. *Haruspices*. The haruspices were those who examined the victims and their entrails after they were sacrificed, and from these derived omens of futurity. They pretended to divine also from the flame, smoke, and other circumstances attending the sacrifice. Donatus (*in Ter. Phorm.* 4, 4, 28) derives the name from *haruga*, “a victim,” observing, “*nam haruga dicitur hostia, ab hara in qua concluditur et servatur: hara autem est, in qua pecora includuntur.*” Compare Cicero, (3 *in Cat.* 8,) in relation to what is stated in the text. “*Quo quidem tempore, cum haruspices ex tota Etruria convenissent, caedes atque incendia, et legum interitum, et bellum civile ac domesticum, et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi dii immortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent.*” The orator adds, that games were in consequence celebrated for ten days, and every other formality observed for appeasing the wrath of the gods.

10. *Abdicatus*. Others read *abdicato magistratu*: both forms are in accordance with the idiom of the language, only the former, which is that adopted by Curtius, shows more plainly that his office was taken from Lentulus, not voluntarily resigned by him.

11. *Liberis custodiis*. “In free custody,” equivalent to our phrase, of “being held to bail.” This was done either when the accused were persons of rank, or when they were many in number, and were separated so as to prevent any communication with one another.

12. *Aedilis*. The aediles were of two kinds, plebeian and

curule. Two plebeian aediles were first created, A. U. C. 260, in the *Comitia Curiata*, at the same time with the tribunes of the commons, to be, as it were, their assistants, and to determine certain minor causes, which the tribunes committed to them. They were afterwards created, as the other inferior magistrates, at the *Comitia Tributa*. Two curule aediles were created from the patricians, A. U. C. 387, to perform certain public games. They were first chosen alternately from the patricians and plebeians, but afterwards promiscuously from both. They wore the *toga praetexta*, had the right of images, and a more honourable place of giving their opinion in the senate. They also used the *sella curulis*, whence their name of curule aediles. As a counterbalance for all this, however, the persons of the plebeian aediles were sacred, like those of the tribunes. The general office of the aediles was to take care of the city, (hence their name *a cura aedium*,) to regulate the markets, inspect the weights and measures, &c.

13. *C. Caesari*. The famous Julius Caesar, who was at this time praetor elect. It was excellent policy to entrust some of the conspirators to the care of Caesar and Crassus, who were suspected of being themselves concerned in the plot. By pretending to regard them as good and faithful citizens, the senate drove them to the necessity of assuming that character at least.

14. *Cn. Terentio*. He was praetor the year following.

15. *Ciceronem ad coelum tollere*. Cicero, on leaving the senate, although it was towards the close of the day, delivered before the assembled people the oration which has come down to us as the third against Catiline. In this he gave an account of the arrest of the Allobroges, and the transactions in the senate. The people then perceived the full extent of the danger from which they had just been rescued by the energy and vigilance of their consul, and gave him the full meed of applause which he so richly deserved

16. *Detrimeto*. Understand *fore sibi*.

17. *Incendium vero crudele, &c.* "But they thought the burning of the city a cruel measure, exceeding all bounds," &c.

18. *Quippe cui omnes copiae, &c.* "Since all their property consisted of articles in daily use, and of clothing for their persons."

1. *Qui Catilinae nunciaret*. "To tell Catiline." *Qui* is here 104 used for *ut ille*, and consequently takes the subjunctive mood.

2. *Ne Lentulus, &c.* Literally, "that Lentulus, Cethegus, and others connected with the conspiracy, being arrested, should not alarm him;" i. e. "not to be alarmed at the arrest of Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the conspirators."

3. *Animos reficeret* "Might reanimate the courage."

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104 4. *Alii, rem incredibilem rati* "Some, because they thought the thing incredible."

5. *Quia tali tempore, &c.* "Because, at such a crisis, a man of so much power seemed proper to be soothed rather than irritated."

6. *Obnoxii*. "Under obligations to." Cortius correctly remarks, that *plerique*, in this clause, denotes a third class of persons, distinct from those to whom *alii* and *pars* respectively refer.—The great wealth of Crassus, and the numerous loans which it enabled him to make, had given him the most extensive private influence of any individual of the day.

7. *Uti referatur*. Understand *ad se*. "That they should be consulted," or "that their opinion be taken."

8. *Vinculis*. "Prison." *Vinculum*, in the singular, any bond or tie; in the plural, very frequently a prison, confinement, &c.

9. *Potestatem*. Understand *indicandi*. "Permission to go on with his testimony." The refusal, on the part of the senate, to listen to his farther statements, was a virtual revoking of the pledge of impunity which they had previously granted him.

10. *Mentitus esset*. The pronoun *Qui* is uniformly joined to the subjunctive mood, when the relative clause does not express any sentiment of the author, but refers it to the person or persons of whom he is speaking. *Mentitus esset* here implies the senate's affirmation, that Tarquinius had told a falsehood, and not the historian's. The whole doctrine of the use of the relative with the subjunctive, will be found clearly and ably developed in *Crombie's Gymnasium*, vol. 2, p. 1, *et seqq.*

11. *Quo facilius, &c.* "In order that, Crassus being named as an accomplice, his power might the more easily protect the rest, by his being made to share the danger with them."

12. *Immissum*. "Instigated."

13. *More suo*. Plutarch relates, that when Pompey, Caesar, and Cicero refused to speak at the bar, Crassus often rose and finished the argument in favour of the defendant; and that this promptness of his to assist any unfortunate citizen, gained him great popularity. He farther informs us, that there was not a Roman, however mean and insignificant, whom he did not salute, or whose salutation he did not return by name. (*Vit. Crass.* 3, ed. *Hutten* vol. 3, p. 405.)

14. *Praedicantem*. "Openly declaring."—*Impositam*. "Had been offered." Plutarch informs us, that Crassus, after this affair, conceived a mortal hatred towards Cicero, and would have shown it by some act of violence, had not his son Publius prevented him.

Publius was a man of letters, and particularly fond of eloquence, and hence his strong attachment to Cicero." (*Vit. Crass.* 13, ed. *Hutten*, vol. 3, p. 421.)

15. *Pretio*. "By the offer of a bribe."

16. *Nominaretur*. "Should be named as an accomplice." Suetonius (*Vit. Caes.* 17) informs us, that Caesar was named as an accomplice the year after, by Curius in the senate, and by L. Vettius before Novius Nigrus the quaestor, (or, perhaps, public commissioner, if the true reading be *quaesitorem*, and not *quaestorem*, in the text of Suetonius.) Both accusations were dismissed.

17. *Obpugnatus*, &c. "Having been prosecuted by him in an action for extortion."

18. *Transpadani*. The term *Transpadanus* is here used with reference to Rome: *cujusdam Transpadani*, "of a certain individual who dwelt beyond the Po," or, "north of the Po."

19. *Ex petitione pontificatus*. "Ever since the time of his application for the high-priesthood." Plutarch, in his life of Caesar, informs us, that when Metellus, the chief pontiff, died, the office was solicited by Isauricus and Catulus, two of the most illustrious men in the city, and of the greatest interest in the senate. Caesar, nevertheless, did not shrink from the contest, but presented himself to the people as a candidate. The pretensions and prospects of the competitors seemed nearly equal; and Catulus, who, on account of his superior dignity, was most uneasy about the event, sent privately to Caesar, and offered him large sums, on condition that he would desist from his high pursuit. But he answered, "He would rather borrow still larger sums, to enable him to stand the struggle." (*πλείω προσδανεισόμενος ἔφη διαγωνιέσθαι.*) When the day of election came, Caesar's mother attending him to the door with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her and said, "My dear mother, you will see me this day either chief pontiff, or an exile." (*ὦ μητέρα, τήμερον ἢ ἀρχιερέα τὸν εἶδόν, ἢ φυγάδα ὄψει.*) There never was any thing, adds Plutarch, more strongly contested; the suffrages, however, gave it to Caesar. (*Vit. Caes.* 7, ed. *Hutten*. vol. 4, p. 365.)

20. *Adolescentulo*. "A mere youth when compared with himself." As Caesar was at this time thirty-seven years of age, it is evident the term *adolescentulus* is merely applied to him comparatively, in reference to the advanced age of Catulus.

21. *Res autem*, &c. "The opportunity moreover appeared a favourable one."

22. *Publice maximis muneribus*. "By the very splendid shows which he publicly exhibited." As aedile, Caesar not only exhibited three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators, but in the other diver-

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104 sions also of the theatre, in the processions and public entertainments, he far outshone the most ambitious that had gone before him. Suetonius even states, that the number of gladiators just mentioned was less than he had originally intended, owing to the envy and opposition of his enemies. Caesar is said by Plutarch to have been thirteen hundred talents in debt before he obtained any public employment. This would amount in sterling money to £251,875. When he set out for Spain, after his praetorship, he is reported to have said that he was one hundred million of sesterces (£807,291 : 13 : 4) worse than nothing. (ὅτι δέοιτο διαρχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων.) Appian, B. C. 2, 8, where we must understand δραχμῶν, i. e. *denariorum*, and render the amount into Latin by *Millies H. S.* and not with Candidus, whom Adam follows, by *Bis Millies et quingenties*. (Compare Gronov. *de Sestertis*, &c., lib. 3, cap. 16, p. 245. Schweighacuser *ad Appian. l. c.*) When Caesar first entered Rome, in the beginning of the civil war, he took out of the treasury, according to Pliny, (H. N. 33, 3,) £1,095,979, and brought into it, at the end of the civil war, above £4,843,750 (*“amplius sexies millies.”* Vell. Pat. 2, 56.) He is said to have purchased the friendship of Curio, at the beginning of the civil war, by a bribe of £484,373, and that of the consul, L. Paulus, the colleague of Marcellus, A. U. C. 704, by about £279,500.

105 1. *Concordiae*. Understand *aedem*. Compare Terence, (*Adelph.* 4, 2, 43,) “*Ubi ad Dianae veneris.*”

2. *Animi nobilitate*. “By a generous impulse,” or “by patriotic feelings.” Some editions have *animi mobilitate*, but this does not harmonize with what immediately follows: “*quo studium suum,*” &c.

3. *Caesari*. Plutarch gives a more detailed account of this same affair: “As Caesar was going out of the senate,” observes this biographer, “several of the young men who guarded Cicero’s person ran up to the former with their drawn swords, but Curio (we are told) covered him with his gown, and so carried him off; and Cicero himself, when the young men looked at him for a nod of consent, refused it, either out of fear of the people, or because he thought such an assassination unlawful and unjust. If this was true,” continues Plutarch, “I know not why Cicero did not mention it in the history of his consulship. He was subsequently blamed, however, for not having availed himself of so good an opportunity as he then had, and for having been influenced by his fears of the people, who were indeed strongly attached to Caesar, for, a few days afterwards, when Caesar entered the senate, and endeavoured to clear himself from the suspicions entertained of him, his defence was received with indignation and loud reproaches; and they sat longer than

usual, the people beset the house, and with violent outcries demanded Caesar, absolutely insisting on his being dismissed in safety." (*Vit. Caes.* 8, ed. *Hutten.* vol. 4, p. 367.) Suetonius (*Vit. Caes.* 14) informs us, that some of the knights threatened Caesar as he sat in the senate-house. It is probable that he and Sallust allude to different meetings.

4. *Militarentur.* The frequentative appears to be used in this passage, not so much for the sake of better sound, as in order to express the idea of a frequent brandishing of the sword, though it cannot be well conveyed in an English translation.

5. *Liberti.* The Romans used the term *libertus* when they spoke of the master; as, *libertus Lentuli*; but *libertinus*, in relation to free-born citizens, as, *libertinus homo*, i. e. non *ingenuus*.

6. *Vicis.* "The streets." *Vicus*, properly speaking, refers to the appearance presented by the buildings in a street; a row of houses resembling, as it were, a single and extensive edifice. (*oikos*, and, with the digamma, *Forikos*, whence *vicus*.) The term is used here, however, in the sense of *via*.

7. *Eripiendum.* Understand *e custodia*. Cicero (4, *in Cat.* 8) states, that none were found who would engage in such an attempt. Appian, however, informs us, that on the nones of December, while the senate were deliberating about the punishment of the conspirators, the slaves and freedmen of Lentulus and Cethegus, and a large body of working people, assailed the habitations of the praetors in the rear, and endeavoured to rescue the prisoners. Cicero, upon learning this, immediately left the senate, and planted guards in suitable quarters of the city, after which he returned and expedited the debate. (*Appian, B. C.* 2, 5.)

8. *Duces multitudinum.* "The leaders of the mob." The want of trades and manufactures, which the Romans considered as employments unworthy of freemen, left the great body of the inhabitants of Rome in a state of poverty and idleness, and ready for any desperate enterprise, to which they might be stimulated by artful demagogues.

9. *Familiam.* *Familia* here denotes the "slaves" belonging to a family. This is the original signification of the word. It comes from *famulus*, "a servant," and this last from the old Oscan term *famul*, of the same import.

10. *Refert, &c.* Literally, "Refers it to them, what it may please them to be done to those," &c.; i. e. "Consults their pleasure with respect to those," &c.

11. *Sed eos, paullo ante, &c.* "Now a crowded house had, a few days previous, declared them to have acted as enemies to

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105 their country." This form of words, (*contra rempublicam fecisse*), was always used against those who had been guilty of any treasonable or seditious conduct, and in cases where capital punishment most commonly ensued. Compare Cicero, *pro Milone*, 5 et 6.

12. *Tum D. Junius Silanus*, &c. *Tum* refers to the present meeting of the senate, not to the previous one.—Decimus Junius Silanus had, as his colleague in the consulship, during the following year, L. Licinius Murena. He married Cato's half-sister, Servilia. *Vid.* Plutarch, *Vit. Cat. min.* c. 21.

13. *Consul designatus*. "Consul elect." After A. U. C. 598, the consuls were chosen about the end of July or the beginning of August, and entered on their office on the first day of January. During the interval they were styled *Consules designati*, and were always asked their opinions first in the senate. This interval was made so long, that they might have time to become acquainted with what pertained to their office; and that inquiry might be made whether they had gained their election by bribery.

14. *Pedibus in sententiam*, &c. "That he would embrace the opinion expressed by Tiberius Nero." The history of this whole affair appears to have been as follows: Silanus gave his opinion at first in favour of the severest punishment, (*τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐσχάτη κολάσει μετέναι. Appian, B. C. 2, 5.*) Many senators followed in the debate, and advocated the same course, (*πολλοὶ συνετίθεντο. Appian, ubi supra.*) When it came, however, to the turn of Tiberius Claudius Nero (grandfather of the future emperor) to deliver his sentiments, he recommended that the conspirators should be detained in custody until Catiline was overcome, and that then the whole affair should be carefully investigated. Caesar, who was at this time praetor elect, spoke after Nero, and declared himself against capital punishment. The greater part of the senate, after he had finished, came over to his opinion, whereupon Cicero delivered his fourth Catilinarian oration, in which he took a view of the whole debate, and recommended prompt and vigorous measures. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful, and a large majority of the senators, and among them Cicero's own brother, Quintus, were disposed to side with Caesar, probably from the fear lest severer measures might prove injurious afterwards to Cicero himself. At last, Lutatius Catulus, Caesar's inveterate foe, and Cato, who was then tribune of the commons elect, interposed their efforts. The eloquence of the latter proved triumphant, and the course he recommended was almost unanimously adopted. (The authorities to be consulted on this subject are as follows: *Plutarch, Vit. Cic.* c. 20 et 21,—*id. Vit. Caes.* c. 7 et 8,—*id. Vit. Cat. min.* c. 22.—*Sueton Caes.* 14

Appian, B. C. 2, 5, seqq.) As regards the phrase, *pedibus in sententiam ire*, which is given in the text, we may remark, that a decree of the senate was commonly made by a separation of the senators to different parts of the house. He who presided said, "Let those who are of such an opinion pass over to that side," pointing to a certain quarter, "and those who think differently, to this." Hence *ire pedibus in sententiam alicujus* means, "to agree to any one's opinion," since he who had first proposed the opinion, or who had been the principal speaker in favour of it, passed over first, and the rest followed.

15. *Sed Caesar.* The speech which Sallust here assigns to Caesar, and which, from the term *hujusmodi*, as used by the historian, must be regarded as Caesar's merely in its general and leading features, is a perfect masterpiece of its kind: cool, argumentative, specious, and breathing apparently a spirit of patriotism, which was calculated to carry with it the opinions and feelings of a large majority of his hearers. It required all the bold and fervid eloquence of Cato to counteract its pernicious tendency.

16. *Ab odio, amicitia, &c.* This construction of *vacuus* with the preposition, is not unusual in the best writers, such as Cicero, Tacitus, &c. Compare, in the 14th chapter of this same narrative, *a culpa vacuus*.

17. *Lubidini simul et usus paruit.* "Has obeyed at the same time the dictates of passion and of interest."

18. *Ubi intenderis ingenium, &c.* Understand *in verum* after *ingenium*. The passage may be paraphrased as follows: "When you apply the mind to the discovery of truth, unbiased by the influence of any of these feelings, it succeeds in the search: if passion hold possession, it rules, and reason becomes useless."

1. *Bello Macedonico.* Brought to a conclusion by Paulus Aemilius, after the famous battle of Pydna, A. U. C. 586. "*Qui finis fuit,*" observes Livy, (45, 9,) "*incltyi per Europae plerumque, atque Asiam omnem, regni.*" Perses was led by the conqueror in triumph at Rome. There are three forms of this last proper name, *Perses-is*, abl. *Perse*: *Perseus-i*, abl. *Perseo*: and *Perses-æ*, abl. *Persa*. Compare Aulus Gellius, 7, 3.

2. *Rhodiorum civitas.* Consult Geographical Index.

3. *Infida advorsa.* There were no actual hostilities between the Rhodians and Romans, but the former, to use the language of Velleius Paterculus, (1, 9,) "*fidelissimi antea Romanis, tum dubia fide speculati fortunam, promiores regis partibus fuisse visi sunt.*"

4. *Impunitos dimisere.* "Allowed them to escape unpunished." The Romans did not indeed make war upon them, which, according

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106 to the spirit of the passage, would have been the punishment they deserved, but merely took from them the portions of Lycia and Caria which they had previously bestowed. Aulus Gellius (7, 3) supplies us with some fragments of a very beautiful oration which Cato the elder delivered in their behalf.

5. *Per inducias*. "During the season of truce."

6. *Per occasionem*. "When opportunity offered."—*Talia fecere*. "Retaliated;" i. e. *talia fecere qualia illa fecerant*.

7. *In illis*. "In their case."

8. *Nē plus valeat apud vos, &c.* "In order that the crime of Publius Lentulus, and the rest, may not have more weight with you, than a regard for your own dignity, and that you may not listen more to the dictates of resentment than to what your own character demands."

9. *Novum consilium*. "The novel measure which has been proposed," viz. of putting citizens to death in violation of the laws. Cicero, however, (4, *in Cat.* 4,) says that Silanus had reminded the senate "*hoc genus poenae saepe in improbos cives in republica esse usurpatum.*"

10. *Omnium ingenia exsuperat*. "Transcends the imaginations of all."—*Iis*. "Those forms of punishment." Understand *poenis*. Caesar, here, with admirable art, seeks to deduce an argument, in favour of a mild infliction of punishment, from the very enormity of the crime itself.

11. *Composite atque magnifice*. "In studied and glowing language."—*Casum reipublicae*. "The unhappy condition of the state."

12. *Quo illa oratio pertinuit, &c.* "What was the object of that strain of oratory? Was it to embitter you against the conspiracy? A mere speech, no doubt, will inflame him, whom so great and so atrocious a crime has not moved!" *Scilicet* is here used ironically. The object of Caesar is to do away the effect calculated to be produced by any fervid displays of eloquence. And he endeavours to accomplish this by showing that such eloquence is entirely superfluous, as the crime speaks for itself, and cannot be aggravated by any powers of description. The true course for the senate to pursue is, according to him, to guard against any undue severity of punishment, both because it may expose them to the animadversion of posterity, and may furnish those coming after them with a dangerous precedent. Hence he artfully urges the propriety of lenient measures.

13. *Aliis alia licentia*. "All men have not the same freedom of action." Literally, "there is one kind of freedom in action allowed to one class of men, another to a different class."

14. *Qui demissi in obscuro*, &c. Understand *loco*; "who pass their lives sunk in obscurity." 106

15. *Ita in maxuma fortuna*, &c. "Thus, in the highest elevation there is the least freedom of action. In such a situation, it becomes us neither to show favour nor hatred, but, least of all, resentment; what in others is called hastiness of temper, is, in those invested with power, styled haughtiness and cruelty."

1. *Studio reipublicae*. "From an ardent zeal for the republic." 107
—*Eos mores*, &c. "Such I know to be the principles, such the moderation of the may." *Eos* and *eam* are here respectively used for *toles* and *talem*.

2. *Injuria*. "The nature of the crime," i. e. the enormity of the crime committed against the state.

3. *Praesenti diligentia*. Used for *praesentia et diligentia*. "By the promptitude and diligence." Some manuscripts have *praesertim diligentia*.

4. *Tanta praesidia*. These words appear to contain a secret censure of Cicero, as if it were at all necessary to have such powerful guards under arms in the very heart of the city.

5. *Ultra*. "After this;" i. e. beyond the grave. The doctrine advocated by Caesar in the text, and which corresponded so intimately with his life and actions, was one unhappily but too prevalent in the ancient world. Cicero makes mention of this opinion of Caesar with regard to the soul, in his fourth oration against Catiline; and Cato also alludes to it in the following speech.

6. *Lex Porcia*. The Porcian Law, proposed by P. Porcius Laeca, a tribune of the commons, A. U. C. 454, ordained that no one should bind, scourge, or kill a Roman citizen, but that, in capital cases, the alternative of exile should be granted.

7. *Qui convenit*. "How is it consistent in you to observe that law," &c. *Qui* is here the old form of the ablative for *quo*.

8. *At enim quis reprehendet*, &c. The particles *At enim* are equivalent here to *ἀλλὰ γάρ*. "But, some one may say, what need is there of all this discussion, for who will blame," &c.

9. *Tempus, dies*, &c. We have here the answer to the preceding question. At some future "time," argues Caesar, we may see cause to condemn what we are now doing, when critical "conjunctures" arise through the "caprice" of "fortune."—*Cujus lubido*, &c. "Whose caprice sways the destinies of nations."

10. *In alios*. Literally, "against others." The true meaning of the whole passage, however, appears to be as follows: "But do you, Conscript Fathers, reflect, what influence upon others that which you are now determining may have:" i. e. "what

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107 effect upon others the example you are now setting may produce."

11. *Bonis*. Understand *exemplis*. Some editions insert *initis* after *bonis*.

12. *Ab dignis et idoneis*, &c. "From proper and fit subjects of punishment." Understand *poena* after *dignis*. As regards the use of *idoneus* in this passage, compare Cicero, (*pro Cluentio*, 47,) "*Per hominum idoneorum ignominiam:*" and Terence, (*Andr.* 4, 4.) "*Adeone vobis videmur esse idonei in quibus sic illudatis?*" In each of these passages it is taken, to adopt the language of grammarians, "*in malam partem.*"

13. *Devictis Atheniensibus*. Alluding to the termination of the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenians were compelled to demolish the fortifications of their city, together with the long walls, and submit to the rule of the thirty tyrants.

14. *Ea*. Understand *negotia*. Some editions have *eo*.

108 1. *Lubidinosè*. "At their pleasure." Xenophon says that the thirty tyrants put to death, in the space of eight months, as many as had been slain during ten years of the Peloponnesian war.

2. *Damasippum*. Damasippus was praetor during the consulship of Papirius Carbo and the younger Marius, A. U. C. 671. As a follower of the Marian party, he indulged in many cruel excesses against the opposite faction, and also against such as were suspected by him of favouring it.

3. *Atque ego haec non in Marco Tullio*, &c. "I do not, it is true, apprehend such things as these in Marcus Tullius, nor in the present complexion of the times; but, in a great state, there are many and various characters. At some other time, under some other consul, to whose hands, likewise, an army may have been entrusted, some false suggestion may be credited for truth; and when, by virtue of the precedent you are now establishing, that consul shall have drawn the sword of punishment, who shall set limits to his power, or who restrain him in its exercise?"

4. *Insignia*. The *trabea*, a white robe adorned with purple stripes; the ivory sceptre or staff; the *sella curulis*; the twelve lictors for each consul, &c.

5. *Imitari, quam invidere*, &c. "They preferred to imitate rather than to envy what was good in the institutions of other nations." Understand *institutis* after *bonis*. One of Cortius's manuscripts has *imitari bonos, quam invidere bonis*, &c., a reading of little value.

6. *Animadvertēbant in civis*. The verb *animadvertere* sometimes, as in the present instance, denotes "to punish" by authority,

and then refers to the vigilance of the magistrate in marking offences committed. In this case there is often an application of the preposition *in* before the name or designation of the culprits, intimating more strongly the steady attention directed towards the conduct found to be reprehensible. *Hill's Synonyms*, p. 89.

7. *Hanc ego caussam*, &c. The train of reasoning which is here ascribed by the historian to Caesar, would appear to be as follows: Our forefathers, though they wanted neither sagacity in devising plans for their own advantage, nor boldness in carrying those plans into operation, yet never disdained to imitate, in the institutions of other nations, what they conceived to be of utility to themselves. Among other things, they borrowed the custom of inflicting capital punishment on condemned citizens. As, however, they had adopted this from the Greeks at a period when it promised to be productive of salutary effects, so they changed it for a different course when positive evil was found to result. This was their latest alteration, and it being such, we, their descendants, should be guided in this instance by their wisdom, and pursue without any deviation the path they have marked out for us, the more especially, as we acknowledge our inferiority to them in political foresight, and in the principles of sound government.

8. *Profecto virtus*, &c. "Surely there was greater energy and wisdom in those, who reared from trifling resources so mighty an empire," &c.

9. *Bene parta*. "Happily obtained from them;" i. e. "obtained, in an auspicious hour, from our fathers."

1. *Censeo*. This, as has been already observed in the Notes on the Jugurthine War, was the usual and formal word applied to the expression of his opinion on the part of a senator. *Sed ita censeo* must therefore be rendered, "But my opinion is this." 109

2. *Publicandas eorum pecunias*. "That their property should be confiscated."

3. *Per municipia*. "Throughout the free towns."

4. *Ne quis*, &c. "And that no one, for the time to come, consult the senate in relation to their case, or treat, respecting them, with the people."

5. *Ceteri verbo*, &c. "The rest gave merely a verbal assent, one to one of the speakers, another to another, in support of different opinions."—*Alii*, i. e. *Silano, Neroni, Caesari*. When the senators gave merely a verbal assent to the opinion of any speaker, they retained their seats and exclaimed *assentior*, adding the name of the individual with whom they agreed; as, *assentior Silano*, *assentior Neroni*; *assentior Caesari*.

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109 6. *Longe mihi alia, &c.* "When I reflect, Conscript Fathers, on the dangerous posture of our present affairs, my opinion is far different from what it is when I merely revolve in mind the sentiments of some of the speakers of this day." After *et* understand *alia*. The exordium of this speech is an evident imitation of the beginning of the third Olynthiac. Οὐχὶ ταῦτα παρίσταται μοι γινώσκειν, ὧ ἄ: ὄρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τε εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψω, καὶ ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὗς ἀκούω· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσασθαι Φίλιππον δοῶ γιγνομένους, (*"Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum," &c.*) τὰ δὲ πράγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα, ὥστε ὅπως μὴ πεισόμεθα αὐτοῖ πρότερον κακῶς σκέψασθαι δέον. (*"Res autem monet, cavere ab illis magis," &c.*) Demosth. Olynth.³ 3, init.

7. *Illi mihi disseruisse videntur, &c.* "They seem to me to have been arguing about the kind of punishment to be inflicted upon those, who," &c.

8. *Aris atque focus suis.* "Their religion and their homes." *Ara* refers here to the altar in the middle of the house, (*impluvium*,) where the Penates were worshipped, and *focus* denotes the hearth in the hall, (*atrium*,) around which were ranged the little images of the Lares. In such expressions as the present, care must be taken not to confound *arae* with the altars in public temples. Compare, on this head, the remark of Ernesti, (*Clav. Cic. s. v. Ara.*) "*Arae et foci quum junguntur, cave putes, aras de templis, focus de aedibus privatis intelligi, ut vulgaris opinio fert, in illo proverbio, pro aris et focus pugnare; quem errorem etiam erravit cl. Dukerus ad Flor. 3, 13, quum eum locus ille docere meliora posset, quem frustra tentat. Sed utrumque dicitur de privatis aedibus in quibus ara erat Deorum. Penatium patriorum, in impluvio, focus autem in atrio, isque Larium erat. Dom. 40. Unius cujusque vestrum, sedes, aras, focus, &c. ibid. 41, hic arae, hic foci, hic dii penates*" The "vulgaris opinio," however, is adopted by Cortius.

9. *Quam quid in illis, &c.* Cato's argument is this. The public safety demands that we rid ourselves of them at once, (*cavere ab illis*,) and not waste valuable time in deliberating on the kind of punishment which their case may seem to demand. We should hold no terms with these guilty wretches: they have placed themselves, by their misdeeds, without the pale of the law, and the only thing to be done is to deprive them for ever of the means of injuring the state.

10. *Cetera.* Understand *maleficia*, which is expressed in some editions.

11. *Persequare.* "You may punish." Caesar, by the artful oration which the historian has assigned to him, had endeavoured

to draw off the attention of the senate from the true point of the debate. Cato here brings back the question in its strongest and plainest colours. 109

12. *Judicia*. "The aid of public justice."

13. *Tabulas*. Understand *pictas*. "Your paintings."

14. *Amplexamini*. From *amplexor*. "To be fondly attached to any thing," &c.

15. *Capessite rempublicam* "Take upon you the defence of your country."

16. *Non agitur de vectigalibus, &c.* "The question is not now respecting the revenues of our empire, nor of wrongs inflicted on our allies: our freedom, our very existence is at stake."

17. *Qui mihi atque animo meo, &c.* Cortius considers *mihi atque animo meo* equivalent simply to *meo animo*. The meaning of the clause will then be:—"I, who never extended to my own self indulgence for any fault, was not easily induced to pardon the misdeeds of others, for the sake of gratifying their ruling propensities."—*Condonabam*, strictly speaking, refers to the custom or habit of pardoning, as expressed by the imperfect tense. Plutarch's biography of Cato will furnish an ample commentary on the words of the text. The stern and unbending character of this remarkable man, while it renders him a conspicuous object amid the general corruption of the age, must necessarily have exposed him to the hatred and the virulence of his contemporaries.

18. *Opulentia neglegentiam tolerabat*. "Its resources saved it from the consequences of your neglect."

19. *Sed, cujus haec cunque, &c.* "But whether these things of what kind soever they may be, are to remain our own, or together with ourselves, are to become the prey of our enemies."

20. *Hic mihi quisquam, &c.* "Does any one here make mention unto me of clemency and compassion?" i. e. does any one tell me here, that the course to be pursued by us should be a mild and a merciful one?

1. *Eo respublica in extremo sita*. "In so critical a situation has the republic been placed." 110

2. *In furibus aerarii*. "In the case of the pilferers of our treasury." *In furibus* is the reading of all the manuscripts.

3. *Ne illis sanguinem, &c.* "Let them only not lavish upon these men our blood." *Ne* is here put for *ne modo*.

4. *Bene et composita*. "In fair and studied language." Cato here refutes Caesar's remarks, on the eternal sleep of the grave, rather by oratorical irony than philosophic disputation. The latter

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110 would have been altogether out of place in so bold and animated an harangue.

5. *Habere*. "Inhabit." Used in the sense of *habitare*. Compare Cicero, *Tusc.* 1, 30.

6. *Videlicet timens*. "Fearing, to be sure." Strong irony is expressed by both of these terms, but especially by the latter, since Caesar was more than suspected of being implicated in the conspiracy.

7. *Multitudine conducta*. "By a hired mob." With *conducta* understand *pretio* or *mercede*; and compare note 8, page 105.

8. *Quare vanum equidem, &c.* "Wherefore this advice is idle indeed, if he actually apprehends danger from them: while on the other hand, if, amid the great alarm which pervades all classes, he alone feels none, on that very account it concerns me to fear the more for myself, and you for yourselves." The expression *magis refert, mihi, &c.* is equivalent to *magis refert me mihi, vosque vobis timere*. Cato here alludes in pointed terms to Caesar's supposed connexion with the conspiracy.

9. *Quanto vos attentius ea agetis*. "The more vigorously ye shall act on the present occasion.

10. *Armis*. "By arms alone." Understand *tantum* or *modo*.

11. *Quae nobis nulla sunt*. "None of which we have." Which have no existence for us.

12. *Animus in consulendo liber, &c.* "A mind unfettered in deliberation; neither swayed by a consciousness of guilt, nor biased by any ruling propensity."

13. *Publice egestatem, &c.* "As a people, poverty; in private, opulence." The resources of the state are plundered by the powerful, (*fures aerarii*), who lavish in private their ill-gotten wealth.

14. *Virtutis praemia*. "The recompenses of merit."

111 1. *Vacuum rempublicam*. "The unprotected republic." After *vacuum* understand *defensoribus*, or else *consilio et defensione*. as Dahl supplies the ellipsis.

2. *Supra caput est*. A figurative expression, analogous to the English phrases, "is at our very doors," or, "has the sword at our throats."

3. *Adprehensis hostibus*. The dative, not the ablative. Compare Cicero, *Acad.* 4, 115, "*Diodoro quid faciam Stoico?*" and *Pro Caecin.* 30, "*Quid huic tu homini facias?*" The common editions of Sallust have *deprehensis*, but the reading we have given is more significant. *Deprehendere* is to come upon one unawares, but *apprehendere* is to seize, to lay hands upon.

4 *Misereamini censeo*. Uttered ironically. "My advice is that you take pity on them." **111**

5. *Ne, ista vobis, &c.* "Yes, that clemency and compassion, should they take up arms, will change into misery for you." *Ne* is an archaism for *nae*, from the Greek *vai*. *Ista* denotes strong contempt. With *vertet* understand *se*.

6. *Scilicet res aspera est, &c.* "The crisis is undoubtedly a dangerous one, but you fear it not: nay, indeed, you do fear it very greatly, but," &c. After *immo vero maxime*, understand *eam timetis*. The idea intended to be conveyed is this: You will acknowledge, very probably, that the present posture of our affairs is a dangerous one, but you will assert, at the same time, that it fills you with no alarm. Your assertion is a false one; for the condition of the state does inspire you with apprehensions, and those, too, of the strongest kind, but you are too spiritless, too slothful, to act the part that becomes you.

7. *Supplicis muliebribus*. "Womanish supplications."

8. *Prospera*. Some editions have *prospere*, which is inferior in point of elegance. *Prospera* is used adverbially here by a Helenism.

9. *Bello Gallico*. This is an historical error on the part of Sallust. The occurrence mentioned in the text took place in a war with the Latins. Compare Florus, 1, 14, and Livy, 8, 7.

10. *Poenas dedit*. "Atoned with his life for his intemperate valour."

11. *Vos de crudelissimis, &c.* An instance of the argument *a fortiori*. The premises are *Apud majores nostros, &c.* If a father put to death his own son for merely disobeying a military order, though that very act of disobedience enabled the latter to destroy one of the enemies of his country, should their country hesitate to inflict the most signal punishment upon those, who, with a cruel and parricidal spirit, have attempted to plunge the steel into her own bosom?

12. *Videlicet vita cetera, &c.* "No doubt the rest of their lives stands in direct opposition to this crime. Well then, spare the rank of Lentulus," &c. Strong irony.

13. *Nisi iterum, &c.* "Unless this be the second time that he has made war upon his country." The irony of *adolescentiae* is extremely severe. Some commentators suppose, that the allusion in the text is to his having taken part with Marius in the contest between him and Sylla. It is more probable, however, that the orator is made to refer to the conspiracy of Piso, mentioned in chapter 18 of this work.

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111 14. *Si quidquam umquam pensi*, &c. "If they had ever exercised the least reflection;" i. e. if they had not always been rash and inconsiderate in their actions. The irony is still continued: It was not from any hostile intent that they harboured these designs against their country. Oh! no; but from mere want of reflection. Their conduct has always been marked by inconsiderateness and haste.

15. *Neque parari*, &c. Cato here hints that some of the senators were implicated, and betrayed the deliberations of the senate to the conspirators.

112 1. *Manifestis*. "Palpably guilty."
2. *Virtutem animi*. "His firmness of soul."

3. *Sicuti ille censuerat*. The decree of the senate is said to have been made in accordance with the opinion of Cato, not because he was the only one who spoke in favour of capital punishment, but because he advocated that measure with the most ability and zeal. Thus Cicero (*Ep. ad. Att.* 12, 21) remarks, "*Cur ergo in sententiam Catonis? Quia verbis luculentioribus et pluribus rem eandem comprehenderat.*"

4. *Sed mihi multa legenti*, &c. On the score of historical fidelity, Sallust is highly censurable for the silence which he preserves respecting the public honours that were paid to Cicero on this occasion. "It is in the conclusion of the business," observes Mr. Dunlop, "that the historian withholds from Cicero his due share of applause, and contrives to eclipse him by always interposing the character of Cato; though it could not be unknown to any witness of those transactions, that Cato himself, and other senators, publicly hailed the consul as the Father of his country, and that a thanksgiving to the gods was decreed in his name, for having preserved the city from conflagration and the citizens from massacre. This omission, which may have originated partly in enmity, and partly in disgust at the ill-disguised vanity of the consul, has in all times been regarded as the chief defect, and even stain, in the history of the Catilinarian conspiracy." *Dunlop's Roman Literature*, vol. 2, p. 154, Lond. ed.

5. *Quae res maxime*, &c. "What circumstance in particular had supported the weight of such important concerns."

6. *Agitanti*. "Reflecting."

7. *Veluti effoeta parente*. "The parent being, as it were, exhausted." Cortius reads *effoeta parentum*, and considers it equivalent to *effoeta parens inter parentes*, "a parent whose strength has departed." We have followed the Bipont text, with which that of Burnouf agrees

8. *Genus*. "Birth." M. Porcius Cato, called, after his death, **112** Uticensis, from the city of Utica, near Carthage, where he ended his existence, was the great grandson of M. Porcius Cato, the censor. The Porcian *gens* was plebeian; the Julian, patrician; illustrious achievements, however, and public honours, had raised the former to a full equality with the latter.

9. *Actas*. At the time of this conspiracy, Cato was thirty-three years of age, Caesar about thirty-seven.

10. *Gloria*. Understand *par*.

11. *Alia alii*. "One kind of glory to the one, another to the other." The student will observe the use of *alia alii* in place of *altera alteri*, which last would be too limited in signification for the spirit of the passage. Compare Livy, 1, 21, "*Ita duo deinceps reges, unus alia via, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt.*"

12. *Huic severitas*. "To the latter the rigid practice of virtue had imparted additional dignity."

13. *Ignoscendo*. "By forgiving." *Ignosco* properly means to take no notice of a fault, (*non nosse*.) Thus Cicero, (*Ep. ad Brut.* 15, *a med.*) "*Sed scelcris poenam praetermittere (id enim est quod vocatur ignoscere) in hoc bello perniciosum puto.*"

1. *Illius facilitas, hujus constantia, &c.* "The yielding temper **113** of the former, the firmness of the latter, were subjects of continual praise."

2. *In animum induxerat*. "Had formed the resolve."

3. *At Catoni studium modestiae, &c.* "But Cato's only study was moderation, honour, but most of all, the rigid practice of virtue"

4. *Factione*. "In party spirit."

5. *Abstinentia*. "In purity of heart."

6. *Esse quam videri, &c.* The idea, here expressed, appears to be borrowed from Aeschylus, (*Sept. contra Theb.* 589, ed. Blomf.) Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει. Compare Choricus, ap. Villoison, (*Anecd. Graec.* vol. 2, p. 22,) ἐβούλετο γὰρ οὐ δοκεῖν, ἀλλ' εἶναι χρηστή.—"The parallel drawn between Cato and Caesar," observes Mr. Dunlop, "is one of the most celebrated passages in the history of the conspiracy. Of both these famed opponents we are presented with favourable likenesses. Their defects are thrown into the shade: and the bright qualities of each different species, by which they were distinguished, are contrasted for the purpose of showing the various qualities by which men arrive at eminence." *Dunlop's Roman Literature*, vol. 2, p. 160, *Lond.* ed. Steele has given an imitation of this passage of Sallust, in the *Christian Hero*, p. 4. Compare *Velleius Paterculus*, 2, 35.

7. *Triumviros*. Understand *capitalcs*. These were magistrates

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113 who had charge of the prison, and of the execution of condemned criminals. They judged also concerning slaves, and persons of the lowest rank. They were likewise called *Tresviri* or *Treviri*. From Valerius Maximus, (5, 4, 7,) it appears that they acted commonly by deputies.

8. *Locus*—*quod*, &c. The relative here agrees in gender with the following noun. Some grammarians term this the Greek construction. It is the usual practice of Cicero; but other authors give the relative the gender of the preceding noun: Cicero himself adopts this latter custom when the word explained is a foreign one: as “*cohibere motus animi quos Graeci πάθη vocant*.” still, however, he has also the following: “*consensus quam συμπάθειαν Graeci vocant*.” *Zumpt. L. G.* p. 238.

9. *Tullianum*. The prison at Rome was originally built by Ancus Martius, and afterwards enlarged by Servius Tullius; whence that part of it which was under ground, and built by him, received the name of *Tullianum*. Thus Varro (L. L. 4) observes, “*In hoc pars quae sub terra Tullianum, ideo quod additum a Tullio rege*.” The full expression is *Tullianum robur*, from its walls having been originally of oak; but in the days of Sallust they were of stone. This dungeon now serves as a subterranean chapel to a small church built on the spot, called *San Pietro in carcere*, in commemoration of St. Peter, who is supposed to have been confined there. Its only entrance, when a dungeon, was through a hole in the arched roof; now, however, there is a door in the side-wall. “Notwithstanding the change,” observes Eustace, “it has still a most appalling appearance.” *Eusto-e Class. Tour*, vol. 1, p. 365, note. *Lond. ed.*

10. *Escenderis*. An archaism for *ascenderis*. Some editions have *descenderis*, but erroneously, for *escenderis* refers to the elevation on which the prison stood. Compare *Descrizione di Roma Antica*, p. 151, where the different opinions are stated relative to the situation of the *Tullianum*.

11. *Camera*, &c. “A vaulted roof secured by stone arches.”

12. *Incultu*. “From want of care,” or “of cleanliness.”

13. *Quibus praeceptum erant*. Understand *lictores*. Compare note 7, page 113.

14. *Laqueo gulam fregere*. “Strangled him.” It was the Roman custom to put to death criminals of rank in prison; to inflict public punishment on others.

15. *Ex omni copia*. “Out of the entire force.”

16. *Duas legiones instituit*. “Formed two legions.” Catiline formed, if the expression may be allowed, the skeletons of two legions. He had not, at first, a sufficient number of men to form the

regular complement of each legion; still, however, he divided what men he had into twenty cohorts, ten for a legion, and these cohorts he subdivided into maniples and centuries. The cohorts, maniples, and centuries, all wanted at first their regular complement of men, and only obtained it gradually as fresh troops arrived at the camp.

17. *Numero hominum.* "With the regular number of men." The legion, as has already been remarked in the Notes to the Jugurthine War, contained different numbers of men at different times from 3000 to 6000. In the time of Polybius it was 4200. The subject is well discussed by Lipsius, *De Militia Romana, dial. 4*. Each legion was divided into ten cohorts, each cohort into three maniples, and each maniple into two centuries. So that there were thirty maniples and sixty centuries in a legion, and if there always had been 100 men in each century, as its name imports, the legion would have consisted of 6000 men.

18. *Sparos.* "Darts." The form of this weapon is not clearly ascertained. Servius (*ad Aen. 11, 682*) describes it as follows: "*Telum rusticum in modum pedis* (read, with R. Stephens, *pedi recurvum*." Festus observes, "*Spara parvissimi generis jacula, ab eo quod spargantur dicta,*" and Nonius, (c. 18, n. 12,) "*Spari tela sunt non bellica.*"

1. *Praeacutas sudes* "Stakes pointed at the end."

2. *In Galliam versus.* "In the direction of Gaul," or, "towards Gaul."

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3. *Sese habiturum.* "That he himself would soon have one." Understand *occasionem pugnandi*. Some editions have *magnas copias habiturum*.

4. *Cujus.* "Of which class of persons." Understand *generis*, or *servitii*. Singular relatives are sometimes referred to collective antecedents in the plural. Compare Priscian, 17, 20, vol. 2, p. 81, ed. Krehl. "*Cujus enim singulare ad rem retulit* (Sallustius) *id est cuius rei servitorum.*" Consult also the excursus of Cortius on this passage of Sallust.

5. *Alienum suis rationibus.* "Inconsistent with his views." Catiline, however, had intended originally to have employed the services of the slaves. Compare chapters 24 and 46 of this same history.

6. *In agrum Pistoriensem.* "Into the territory of Pistoria" Consult Geographical Index.

7. *Galliam.* Cisalpine Gaul, of course, is meant.

8. *Ex difficultate rerum, &c.* "Suspecting, from the difficulties which encompassed him, that Catiline was meditating those very

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114 plans of which we have made mention above ;” 1 e. was meditating an escape into Gaul.

9. *Sub ipsis radicibus*. “At the very foot.”—*In Galliam properanti*. Some have inclosed these words within brackets as savouring of a gloss.

10. *Utpote qui*, &c. “Inasmuch as he.”

11. *Expeditus*. Some editions place a comma after *acquiroribus*, and another after *expeditus*, which then may signify “unencumbered by baggage.” We have given, however, the reading of Cortius, which may be rendered as follows: “encountering fewer obstacles to his progress along a more level country:” fewer obstacles, namely, than Catiline did in his passage across the mountains. Others prefer placing a comma after *acquiroribus*, and reading *expeditos in fugam sequeretur*. They make *expeditos in fugam* equivaleat to *sine impedimentis fugientes*.

12. *Montibus atque copiis*. The forces of Antonius, in Etruria, pressed Catiline in the rear, while Metellus stood ready in Gaul, at the foot of the Apennines, to intercept the enemy as they fled. Compare the words of Catiline in the following chapter: “*Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia, obstant.*”

13. *Praesidii*. “Relief,” or “succour.”

14. *Moribus*. “By habit.”—*Patere*. “To display itself.” *Timor animi*. For the simple *timor*.—*Auribus obfcit*. “Obstructs the avenues of hearing.”

115 1. *Caussam consilii*. “The grounds of this my final resolve.”

2. *Quantam cladem*. “What disastrous consequences.”—*Quoque modo*. “And in what way.”

3. *Unus ab urbe*, &c. “One on the side of the city, the other on that of Gaul.”

4. *Si maxime animus ferat*. “Even if inclination most strongly prompt us to the step.” However much we may be inclined so to do

5. *Illis supervacaneum est*, &c. Equivalent to *illis nec necessitatis nec utilitatis est pro potentia paucorum pugnare*. “They lie under no obligation to fight in defence of the power of a few.” No necessity urges them to throw away their lives in support of an odious aristocracy; and, therefore, you will find them the easier to be subdued.

6. *Viris*. “To those who had the feelings of men.”

7. *Relinquere*. Understand *haec*. “To abandon this career on which you have entered.”—*Pace bellum mutavit*. “Has exchanged war for peace.”

8. *Quis*. For *quibus*.

9. *Ea vero dementia est*. “This indeed is folly.” *Dementia*,

strictly speaking, denotes the absence of judgment, in particular cases, whereas *amentia* implies the total want of reason. Page. 115

10. *Qui maxume timent.* The antecedent *illis* is elegantly understood.

11. *Inulti animam amittatis.* "That ye part not with life un-avenged." Supply *ne*.

1. *Instructos ordines.* "His troops as they were drawn up." 116

2. *Pedes.* "On foot." The nominative singular.

3. *Pro loco atque copiis.* "In accordance with the nature of the ground, and the extent of his forces."

4. *Nam, uti planities, &c.* "For, as the plain was situate between mountains on the left, and as there was on the right a craggy rock." If we read *rupe*, as some editions have it, *existente* is understood: if *rupes*, it is the nominative to *erat* understood. The meaning, however, is the same in either case.

5. *Reliqua signa, &c.* "The rest of his forces he stations in closer order, as a body of reserve." *Signa*, which properly denotes the standards, is here put by metonymy for the troops themselves. Each century, or at least each maniple, had its proper standard and standard-bearer.

6. *Ab his centuriones, &c.* We have given *lectos* with Cortius and others. Some editions have *electos*, which may be construed as a substantive. The *electi*, according to Vegetius, (2, 6,) composed the first cohort, which took its post by the eagle, and was regarded as the head of the legion, (*caput legionis*) The Bipont edition reads *electos*.

7. *Evocatos.* The *evocati*, as has already been remarked in the notes to Jugurtha, were veterans who had served out their time, but had been prevailed upon to follow the standard of a commander whom they approved. They were exempted from the drudgery of military service.

8. *Faesulanum quendam.* "A certain inhabitant of Faesulae." Plutarch calls him *Furius*.—*Curare.* "To take command." *Curare* appears to be the proper word on such occasions. Compare Jug 57, "*Legatis imperat ubi quisque curaret.*"

9. *Libertis et colonis.* By the *liberti* are meant his own freedmen: for if freedmen in general had been meant, Sallust would have used *libertinis* instead of *libertis*. By *coloni* are meant Sylla's veterans, who had been settled in the military colonies.

10. *Propter aquilam, &c.* Each Roman legion had for its chief standard an eagle of gold or silver, with expanded wings, on the top of a spear, sometimes holding a thunderbolt in its claws, with the figure of a small chapel above it. Consult *Rasche. Lex Rei*

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116 *Numm.* vol. 1, p. 995. Probably the same eagle is meant in the text of which Cicero speaks, (1, in *Cat.* 9,) "*cui domi (Catilinae) sacrarium scelerum constitutum fuit.*"

11. *Bello Cimbrico.* Consult Geographical Index, under the article *Cimbra*.

12. *Pedibus aeger.* Dio Cassius informs us that Antonius feigned illness on the day of battle, fearful of encountering the reproaches of Catiline in case the latter should meet him in the fight. Catiline, according to the same authority, preferred coming to an engagement with the forces of Antonius rather than with those of Metellus, although the former commander had the larger army of the two, because he hoped that Antonius would purposely mismanage matters during the fight. *Dio. Cass.* 37, 39, vol. 1, p. 136, ed. Reimar.

13. *Tumulti.* A war in Italy, or against the Gauls, was called *tumultus*, a much stronger term than *bellum*.

14. *Ipsē.* Some commentators condemn the use of *ipse* in this, and *ille* in the preceding clause, with reference to the same person. The explanation, however, is an easy one: *Antonius exercitum Petreio permittit. Ille Petreius, &c.*, ("that officer;") and again, *Petreius suum cuique cohorti locum assignat. Ipse equo circumiens*, ("riding around in person.")

15. *Inermos.* *Inermus* and *inermis* are indiscriminately used.

16. *Cernere.* Used here for *decernere*: the simple verb for the compound.—*Homo militaris.* Used, κατ' ἐξοχήν, for "*homo rei militaris peritissimus*," "a man of great military experience."

17. *Tribunus.* "Tribune." The military tribunes of the Romans nearly corresponded to the colonels of modern times. There were six in each legion, who commanded under the consul.

18. *Praefectus.* "Prefect." When the term *praefectus* stands alone, as in the present instance, it denotes a commander of the allies. The *praefecti* among the allies, were of the same rank with the *tribuni* among the Roman forces. The officers of the allies were for the most part Romans, chosen by the consul or senate.

19. *Tuba.* The Romans used only wind-instruments of music in the army. The *tuba* was straight, like our trumpet; the *lituus*, or clarion, was bent a little at the end, like the augur's staff, (*lituus*) whence the name. The *tuba* was used as a signal for the foot, the *lituus* for the horse. Compare Lipsius, *de Militia Romana*, dial. 10.

20. *Ferentariis.* The light-armed troops, beside other appellations, were styled *ferentarii*, because they carried what they threw

21. *Pila omittunt*. "They throw aside their javelins."—*Veterani* Belonging to the Roman army.—*Illi*. Referring to the followers of Catiline. 116

22. *Interea Catilina, &c.* The student will observe the animated air which the succession of infinitives imparts to this sentence, until the mind of the reader is allowed to repose itself on the finite form at its close, *exsequebatur*.

1. *Cohortem praetoriam*. Among the Romans, the general 117 was usually attended by a select band, called *cohors Praetoria*. It was first instituted by Scipio Africanus, according to Festus, but something similar was used long before that time, as appears from Livy, 2, 20. This differs essentially from the praetorian cohort in the history of the empire.

2. *In primis*. "Among the first," not, as some render it, "among the foremost." The expression must be referred to *cadunt*, not to *pugnantes*. It would have been very scanty praise to have said of them, that they fell fighting "among the foremost," or "in the foremost ranks;" for how could they, as commanders, have done otherwise? Besides, if such had been the meaning of the historian, he would have preferred to express it by *inter primos*.

3. *Paullo diversius*. "In a somewhat more scattered manner."

4. *Civis ingenuus*. "Free citizen." *Ingenuus*, among the Romans, denoted a person born of parents who had always been free."

5. *Ita*. "So little."

6. *Laetitia, moeror, &c.* *Laetitia* properly denotes a transport of joy, or joy expressed strongly by the actions of the individual. *Gaudium*, on the contrary, indicates the calm and rational emotion of joy. So *moeror* denotes sorrow accompanied by tears, *luctus* more of internal grief.

We have now reached the close of this eventful narrative, and have traced the progress of a conspiracy which, though arrested in its earlier stages, yet proved one of those violent shocks that hastened the fall of the Roman state. It may not be amiss, before concluding, to mention a few particulars which are passed over in silence by the historian. From Dio Cassius, *Lib.* 37, c. 40 and 41, we learn, that Antonius, after the battle, sent the head of Catiline to Rome, in order to quiet all apprehension on the part of the inhabitants; and that he himself was honoured with the title of *Imperator*, although he had taken no active part in the fight, and although the number of slain (3000) was less than

that for which this title was usually awarded, (5000.) A public thanksgiving was also decreed, and the garb of mourning, which the citizens had assumed when the conspiracy broke out, was again laid aside. The accomplices of Catiline, who had either not been present in the battle, or had escaped from the field, spread themselves over Italy, but were in part taken and executed. One of the number, Lucius Vettius, turned informer against the rest : but he accused so many as to excite the suspicion of the senate, who ordered him, not to commit to writing the names of those against whom he informed, but to mention them at once by word of mouth. This confused and alarmed him, and but few were subsequently accused. The names of those whom he had implicated having been concealed from the people at large, great confusion and alarm consequently prevailed. To quiet this general feeling of insecurity, the senate resolved to publish the names in question, which was accordingly done. Some of the accused stood trial and were condemned ; others abandoned their sureties and fled.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.



GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

A.

ABORIGĪNES. A name given by the Roman writers to the primitive race of the Latins. According to Cato, they dwelt originally about mount *Vetino*, in Italy; and the lake of *Celano*, (Fucinus,) as far as Carseoli, and towards Reate; but were driven onward by the Sabines, who came from Aquila. (*Dion. Hal.* 2, 49.) On leaving this vicinity, they came down the Anio, and expelled the Siculi from the neighbourhood of Tibur, Antemnæ, Crustumarium, and Aricia. Sallust represents them as a savage race, living in hordes, without any civilization, and ignorant of agriculture. This, however, does not agree with the traces of their towns in the Apennines. The Aborigines revered Janus and Saturn; the latter of whom, according to some authorities, taught them husbandry, and induced them to choose settled habitations. From this ancient race, blended with a remnant of the Siculi, came the later Latin nation. (Compare *Niebuhr, Rom. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 62. *Cambridge Transl.*) p. 82

ÆGYPTUS. An extensive country of Africa, consisting of the long and narrow valley which follows the course of the Nile, from Syene (*Assooan*) to *Cairo*, together with the Delta, or triangular region, spreading from this point, to the Mediterranean sea. Sallust and Pomponius Mela (1, 8) consider it as a part of Asia, making Africa end at the Catabathmus. Other ancient writers give the Nile as forming the dividing line between Asia and Africa; and, of course, make Egypt belong half to the former continent and half to the latter. p. 14.

ÆTHIÖPES. A race, according to Sallust, occupying the central parts of Africa, from east to west. The early Greeks meant by *Æthiopes* all races of a dark complexion (*αἶθω, uro*, and *ἄψ, vultus*), and called their country *Æthiopia*, wherever situated. Hence, Homer speaks of the Eastern and Western *Æthiopians*, meaning by the former the Arabians, Indi, &c., and by the latter the natives of central Africa. *Æthiopia*, according to the more definite account of Herodotus, includes the countries above Egypt, the present Nubia and Abyssinia; and it is in somewhat the same sense that the term is now employed, when we speak of *Æthiopia* as the parent of Egyptian civilization. p. 14.

AFRICA. Called by the Greeks *Libya*; and commonly regarded by the ancients as forming the third division of the world. Some, however, of the geographers of antiquity considered the world as composed of four parts, *Europe, Asia, Africa, and Egypt*; and others again of only two,

Europe and Asia, including Africa in Europe. In general, Africa was reckoned a third part. The name was first applied by the Romans to the immediate territories of Carthage. Hence, we find, on the coast of the Mediterranean, Africa Propria, corresponding to the modern country of *Tunis*. On the east, Africa is bounded by the isthmus of *Suez*, and the *Sinus Arabicus*, or *Red sea*; on the north by the *Mediterranean*, called by the Romans *Mare Nostrum*; on the west by the *Atlantic*; and on the south by the *Indian ocean*. It is extremely doubtful whether the ancients were acquainted with the circumnavigation of Africa. Herodotus informs us, that it was accomplished by Phœnician mariners, sent out by the orders of Necho, king of Egypt. p. 12, 13, 14.

AFRICUM MARE. Another name for that part of the Mediterranean which washes the shores of Africa. Mela (1, 14) calls it *Libycum Mare*. According to other authorities, however, the *Libycum Pelagus* was between Africa and the coast of Crete. p. 13.

ALLOBRŒGES. A people of Gaul, between the *Isara*, or *Iser*, and the *Rhodanus*, or *Rhone*, in the country answering to *Dauphiné*, *Piedmont*, and *Savoy*. Their chief city was *Vienna*, now *Vienne*, on the left bank of the *Rhodanus*, thirteen miles below *Lugdunum*, or *Lyons*. They were finally reduced beneath the Roman sway by *Fabius Maximus*, who hence was honoured with the surname of *Allobrogicus*. Their name is said to mean "Highlanders," from *Al*, "high," and *Broga*, "land." (*Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. ii., p. 163, seqq.—*Adeung, Mithridates*, vol. ii., p. 50.) p. 99, 100, 101

APULIA. A country of *Magna Graecia*, lying along the coast of the *Hadriatic*. The name *Apulia* was unknown to the Greeks, who gave the country the appellation of *Iapygia*. It must be remarked, however, that the term *Iapygia* was confined at first to that peninsula, to which the name *Messapia* was sometimes applied; but we find, at a later period, that *Polybius* gives to *Iapygia* the same extension which the Roman geographers and historians assign to *Apulia*. The modern name of *Apulia* is *Puglia*. The country now supports more sheep than men. (*Cramer's Ancient Italy*, vol. ii., p. 264, seqq.) p. 93, 94, 100.

ARMENIA. The inhabitants of *Armenia*, a region of *Asia*, which was divided into *Armenia Major* and *Minor*. The first of these answers to the modern *Turcomania*, and is still sometimes called *Armenia*, lying south of *mount Caucasus*, and comprehending the Turkish pachalics of *Erze-Roum*, *Kars*, and *Van*, and also the Persian province *Iran*, or *Erivan*. It was separated from *Armenia Minor* by the river *Euphrates*. *Armenia Minor* was, properly speaking, a part of *Cappadocia*. It is now called *Aladulia*, or *Pegian*. *Armenia Major* is a rough, mountainous country, which has *Caucasus* for its northern boundary, and in the centre is traversed by branches of *mount Taurus*, to which belongs *mount Ararat*. Here the rivers *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, and *Cyrus*, or *Kur*, take their rise. The climate is rather cold than warm; the soil in general moderately fertile, and better fitted for grazing than for agriculture. The mountains are rich in iron and in copper. p. 13.

ARPINUM. A small town of *Latium*, southeast of *Rome*, still known by the name of *Arpino*. It was famous for having been the birth-place of *Marius*, and *Cicero*. It originally belonged to the *Volsci*, but was taken by the *Sannites*, from whom it was again wrested by the *Romans*. p. 43.

ARRETĪNUS AGER. The territory of Arretium, a city of Etruria, north of Cortona, and near the Arnus, or *Arno*. Its modern name is *Arezzo*. Arretium was a place of considerable celebrity, and generally considered as one of the principal states of Etruria. It was much celebrated for its terra cotta vases. (*Plin. H. N.* 35, 12.) p. 97.

ASIA. One of the divisions of the ancient world. (*Vid.* Africa.) The name of Asia was applied by Homer, Herodotus, and Euripides, to a district of Lydia, watered by the Cayster. As their geographical knowledge of the continent increased, the Greeks extended the term gradually to the whole of Asia Minor, and eventually to the other extensive countries of the East. When the Roman writers refer to Asia specially, they mean the Roman province in Asia Minor. . p. 13, 85.

B.

BALEĀRES. A name anciently given to the islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*. The word is derived from the Greek βάλλειν, "to throw," or "strike," from the expertness of the inhabitants in the use of the sling. The Romans obtained some of their best slingers from these islands. In Majorca is Palma, which still retains its ancient name. In Minorca is Portus Magonis, now *Port Mahon*. p. 72.

BRUTTI. A people of Magna Graecia, below Lucania. They were a pastoral race, and, according to some of the ancient writers, were called Bruttii by the Romans, from their cowardice in submitting to Hannibal during the second Punic war. A much better etymology, however, is given by Strabo, who informs us, that they were called Bruttii from the circumstance of their being revolted slaves; Βρυττίους γὰρ καλοῦσι ἀποστάτας, says Strabo, speaking of the Lucanians. This appellation the insurgents are supposed to have accepted as a term of defiance. The Bruttii flocked eagerly to the victorious standard of Hannibal, and subsequently enabled that commander to maintain his ground in this quarter of Italy, when all hope of final success seemed to be extinguished. Hence they were reduced by the Romans to the most abject state of dependance, after the departure of the Carthaginian general and the victory at Zama. They were pronounced incapable of being employed in a military capacity, and their services were confined to the menial offices of couriers and letter-carriers. (*Cramer's Ancient Italy*, vol. ii. p. 386.) p. 100

C.

CAMERTEM. A native of Camerinum. This place was a Roman colony, on the borders of Picenum, but lying in Umbria. It was probably not the same with the Camerte of Strabo, as some suppose. (*Cramer's Ancient Italy*, vol. i., p. 274.) Barbié du Bocage is of opinion, that Camerinum was founded by the inhabitants of Camerte, after the latter city had been destroyed by Sylla for favouring the party of Marius. (Consult the French *Strabo*, vol. ii., p. 60.) p. 93.

CAMPANIA. A very fertile district of Italy, below Latium, of which Capua was the chief city. The natural advantages of Campania, its genial climate, and fertile soil, so rich in various productions, are ■ favourite theme with the Latin writers.

CAPSA. A city of Africa, in the district of Byzacium, north of the Palus Tritonis, and surrounded by vast deserts. Here Jugurtha kept his treasures. It was surprised and burnt by Marius. As, however, a place which affords fresh water in the midst of a desert is too important a site to remain long unoccupied, we find the city subsequently rebuilt, and the inhabitants mentioned by Pliny (*H. N.* 5. 4) under the name of Capsitani. Ptolemy speaks of Capsa as a city in his days, occupied most probably by Romans, and forming a kind of frontier place. The origin which Sallust ascribes to Capsa, its having been founded, namely, by the Lybian Hercules, assimilates it to the cities of Egypt, and points to a sacerdotal colony. Even its other name, Hecatompilos, reminds us of Egyptian Thebes and its hundred gates. (*Mannert, Geogr.*, vol. x., part 2, p. 346. p. 60, 62, 66.

CAPŪA. The capital of Campania in Italy, a rich and flourishing city until ruined by the Romans. Capua was originally called Vulturinus, which name was changed by the Tyrrheni, after they became masters of the place, to Capua. This latter appellation was derived from their leader Capys, who, according to Festus, was so called from his feet being deformed and turned inward. Capua opened its gates to Hannibal after the battle of Cannae, and the luxury of the city proved highly injurious to the martial spirit of his troops. After the retreat of the Carthaginian general, this place surrendered at discretion to the Romans, who butchered the senators, condemned the nobles to perpetual imprisonment, and sold the inhabitants as slaves. Although colonies were afterwards sent to inhabit this city, it never regained its former magnificence. Genseric, the Vandal, in a later age, put the people to the sword, and burnt the city. Narses, in the reign of Justinian, perceiving the advantages of its situation, rebuilt Capua about the middle of the sixth century. It was destroyed, however, by the Saracens, A. D. 341. Modern Capua occupies the site, not of the ancient city, but of Casilinum, on the Vulturinus, 19 stadia distant; the inhabitants having been transferred to the latter place by the bishop Landulpus and the Lombard count Lando. The village of *St. Maria* marks the true site of the ancient place. (*Mannert, Geogr.* vol. ix, part 1, p. 771.) p. 94.

CARTHĀGO. A celebrated commercial city of Africa, the rival, for a long period, of the Roman power. It was founded by a colony from Tyre, according to the common account, B. C. 878. Some, however, suppose that the city was more than once founded, and rebuilt or enlarged, and in this way they seek to remove the difficulty occasioned by the conflicting accounts respecting the foundation of this city, by referring them to different epochs. (*Heyne, Excurs. I. ad Aen.* 4.) In this point of view, the third founding of Carthage will be assigned to Dido. The Greeks called Carthage Καρχηδών, and the inhabitants Καρχηδόνιοι. The name of the city in Punic was *Carthada*, or *Cartha-Hadath*, i. e. the "New City," in contra-distinction, perhaps, to the old or parent city of Tyre; unless, perhaps, the term refer rather to the renovation of an earlier city by the arrival of a new colony, which will agree with the theory of the several foundings of Carthage. Carthage was situated on a peninsula, in the recess of a spacious bay, formed by the promontory Hermaeum (cape *Bon*) on the east, and that of Apollo (cape *Zibb*) on the west. The river Bagradas flows into the bay between the remains of Utica and the peninsula; and, being an inundating

river, has doubtless caused many changes in the bay. The circumference of the site of Carthage was twenty-three miles, and when it was set on fire by the Romans, at the close of the third Punic war, it burnt incessantly for seventeen days. It is unnecessary here to enter very fully into the history of this powerful city. The wars waged between it and the Romans were denominated the Punic, and were three in number. The first Punic war continued twenty-three years, and was terminated by the defeat of the Carthaginians off the *Aegades Insulæ*. The second lasted about seventeen years, during nearly sixteen of which Hannibal was in Italy. It was ended by the battle of Zama. The third was nothing more than the capture and destruction of Carthage. Julius Caesar planted a small colony on the ruins of Carthage. Augustus sent 3,000 men thither, and built a city at a small distance from the spot on which the ancient place had stood, thus avoiding the ill effects of the imprecations, which had been pronounced by the Romans, according to custom, at the time of its destruction, against those who should rebuild it. This later Carthage was taken by Genseric, A. D. 439, and it was for more than a century the seat of the Vandal power in Africa. It was at last destroyed by the Saracens, during the Caliphate of Abdel Melek, towards the end of the seventh century, and few traces of it now remain. p. 14, 29, 52, 84

CATABATHMOS. A sloping tract of land, whence its name, (*Karabathmos*, "a descent,") separating Cyrenaica from Egypt, according to Pliny. Sallust makes it the boundary between Egypt and Africa. (*Vid. Aegyptus*.) It was commonly called *Catabathmus Magnus*, to distinguish it from a similar declivity of less extent farther to the east, along the same coast, but within the territory of Egypt. The modern name of the *Catabathmus Magnus* is *Akabet-ossolom*. p. 13, 14.

CIMBRI. A Celtic nation, supposed to have been descended from the Asiatic Cimmerians, and occupying what was called *Chersonesus Cimbrica*, now *Jutland*, forming part of the kingdom of Denmark. About 113 B. C., the Cimbri, leaving their territories, which were both narrow and barren, and being joined by the Teutones, or rather by several German nations, under this general name, moved through the intervening countries, entered and overran Gaul, and defeated four Roman armies in succession. Marius, at last, in his second consulship, was chosen to carry on the war. He met the Teutones at *Aquæ Sextiæ*, in Gaul, and, after a bloody engagement, left 20,000 of the enemy dead on the field of battle, and took 90,000 prisoners. The Cimbri, who had formed another army, had already penetrated into Italy, where they were met at the river *Atthesis* by Marius and his colleague *Catulus*, a year after. An engagement ensued, and, if we believe the ancient accounts, 140,000 were slain. Those who escaped the sword of Marius settled in that part of the Alps called *Sette Commune*, where their descendants still retain the Celtic language, and a traditional account of their origin. They keep themselves quite separate from the surrounding states, by which means they have preserved the language of their ancestors, in a great degree, uncorrupted. The late king of Denmark visited these Alpine Cimbrians, and readily conversed with them, when both parties speaking their native languages, understood each other.

CIRTA. A city of Numidia, about forty-eight miles from the sea, on a branch of the river *Ampsagas*. It was intended as the royal residence,

and being, in fact, the only city originally in that part of the country, and erected by Carthaginian workmen, it hence took the Punic name of Cartha, or, "the city." It was the residence of Syphax, Masinissa, and the other rulers of the land. At a later period, Julius Caesar gave it to a certain Sittius, who aided him with his followers against Scipio and Juba. The place now changed its name to *Sittianorum Colonia*. In the time of the emperor Constantine, having suffered much on account of its fidelity to that prince, the latter repaired and embellished it, and gave it the name of *Constantina*. This name remains with a slight variation to the present day, and the small city, built upon the ruins of the ancient capital is still called *Cosantina*. p. 16.

CRETA. A large island in the Mediterranean, now *Candia*, said to have had, in early times, a hundred cities. Q. Metellus received the surname of Creticus, from his having brought the war in this island to a close.

CROTŌNA, or Croto, now *Cotrone*, a powerful city of Magna Graecia, in the territory of the Bruttii, on the coast of the Sinus Tarentinus. It was distinguished for its attachment to the doctrines of the Pythagorean sect, and the consequent purity and morality of its inhabitants. Luxury, and the love of pleasure, however, came in at last, and destroyed all the good effects which had emanated from the school of Pythagoras. Until this change took place, the Crotoniats were remarkable for their hardihood and vigour, and had conquered and destroyed the wealthy and effeminate city of Sybaris. As a proof, indeed, of the robust frames of its inhabitants, and their skill in athletic exercises, it was commonly said, that the last wrestler of Crotona was the first of the other Greeks. When, however, the change took place in their own morals, they degenerated to such a degree, that, being engaged in hostilities with the Locrians, an army of 130,000 Crotoniats was routed by 10,000 of the enemy on the banks of the Sagra. After this, it gradually declined in importance, until the inhabitants, unable to hold out against Hannibal, retired to Locri, when the Romans established a colony in it. Pliny merely calls it an *Oppidum*. p. 101.

CYRĒNE. A city of Africa, the capital of Cyrenaica, near the coast of the Mediterranean. It was founded by Battus, who led thither a colony of Dorians from the island of Thera. In the immediate neighbourhood of the settlement was a copious spring of excellent water, which the new comers are said to have called the fountain of Apollo, and to have converted the native appellation for the same into the Greek *Κύρη*, from which arose the name Cyrene, (*Κυρήνη*, *Doricè*, *Κυράνα*.) Cyrene became, in process of time, a powerful city, under an independent line of princes, until Ptolemy Apion, the last monarch, bequeathed the capital, together with all the territory of Cyrenaica to the Roman people. The silphium, a species of laserpitium, or assafoetida, formed a great article of trade in Cyrenaica. The capital stood a little inland, and had Apollonia, now *Marza Susa*, for its port. The modern name of Cyrene is *Curin*. p. 14.

D.

DURIŪS. A river of Spain, now the *Douro*, rising in the chain of Mons Idubeda, and near the sources of which stood the ancient city of

Numantia, It empties into the Atlantic, after a course of nearly 300 miles, but is navigable only seventy miles from its mouth, on account of its rapid current. At the mouth of the Durius stood Portus Calles, now *Oporto*, from a corruption of which arose, the modern name of *Portugal*. The classical appellation for Portugal, however, is *Lusitania*.

E.

ETRURĪA. A district of Italy, lying north and west of the Tiber. The origin of the Etrurian nation is unknown, although many, without any very strong reasons for the opinion, regard them as having been a Celtic race. Their civilization came in with the Tyrrheni, who appear to have been identical with the Pelasgi. The statement of Herodotus, that the Tyrrheni, or Etrurians, were of Lydian origin, appears to refer merely to a Pelasgic emigration. The Etrurians excelled in the knowledge of augury, and in the worship of the gods. In these respects the Romans seem to have done little more than adopt the ceremonies and institutions of their neighbours, who were for a long period their determined and powerful enemies. After long continued war and much carnage, the Romans obtained a complete victory over them, and compelled them to submit to such conditions as they chose to dictate. The Etrurians were divided into twelve states, of which each adopted that form of government which seemed most agreeable, though the leading feature in all was aristocratic. The want of a common bond of union contributed very materially to their final subjugation by the Romans. Etruria corresponds, in a great measure, to the present *Grand Duchy of Tuscany*. p. 93

F.

FAESŪLAE. Now *Fiesoli*, a town of Italy, in Etruria, southeast of Pistoria. Here Catiline raised the standard of rebellion. In modern times, it is rather a village than a town. The Goths, when they entered Italy, under the consulate of Stilico and Aurelian, A. D. 400, were defeated in the vicinity of this place. p. 92

G.

GAETŪLI. The inhabitants of Gaetulia, in Africa. Gaetulia lay to the south of Numidia, and answers in some degree to the modern *Bedelgerid*. The Gaetuli, like the Numidians, excelled in horsemanship and, like them, rode barebacked. p. 13

GALLĪA. An extensive country of Europe, lying between the Rhine, the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees, and the ocean. It was more extensive, therefore, to the north and east than modern *France*. The name Galli, given to the inhabitants by the Roman writers, is the Celtic term *Gael*, Latinised. The Greeks called them *Κέλται*, and their country *Κελτική* and *Γαλατία*.

GALLIA CITERIOR. Called also Gallia Cisalpina, a name given by the Romans to that part of Italy which lay between the Alps and the rivers Rubicon and Macra. It was occupied by various Gallic tribes, which

had poured over the Alps into this extensive tract of country. Livy assigns to these migrations the date of 600 B. C. ; but in all probability they were much earlier.

GALLIA CISPADANA. Gaul south of the Padus, or *Po* ; or, in other words, that part of northern Italy which lay between the *Po* and the rivers Rubicon and Macra. The remaining portion between the *Po* and the Alps, was called Gallia Transpadana.

GALLIA TOGATA. Commonly regarded as only another name for Gallia Cisalpina, but applying in strictness merely to Gallia Cispadana. The name has reference to the country's being occupied by individuals who enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship, or, in other words, the privilege of wearing the toga. These inhabitants appear to have been settled here in colonies after the Gauls were driven out. (Compare *Mannert, Geogr.*, vol. x., part 1, p. 133.)

GALLIA TRANSALPINA. Gaul beyond the Alps, or Gaul Proper

H.

HADRUMĒTUM. The capital of Byzacium, a district of Africa Propria. The place, according to Sallust, was of Phœnician origin, and owed its prosperity, in a great measure, to the fertility of the surrounding country ; since, although situate near the coast, it does not appear to have had any harbour. It suffered severely in Caesar's wars, but was afterwards restored and enlarged by a colony being sent hither in the time of the emperors, especially Trajan. The place was destroyed by the Saracens. Its site has been made a matter of much discussion at the present day D'Anville places it near the modern *Susa*, in the territory of Tunis Shaw makes it the same with *Hamamet*. (*Mannert, Geogr.*, vol. x part 2, p. 244.) p. 14

HIPPO. A city of Numidia, in the western part, on a bay near the promontory of Hippo. It was called Hippo Regius, not only to distinguish it from Hippo Zarytus, a town on the coast to the west of Utica, but also from its having been one of the royal cities of the Numidian monarchs. The place was of Phœnician origin. St. Augustine was bishop here. Near the ancient site is a town named *Bona*. p. 14.

HISPANIA. An extensive country, forming a kind of peninsula, in the southwestern part of Europe. It was divided into *Hispania Citerior* and *Uterior*. *Hispania Citerior* was also called *Tarraconensis*, from *Tarraco* (now *Tarragona*) its capital, and extended from the foot of the Pyrenees to the mouth of the *Durius* (now *Douro*) on the Atlantic shore, comprehending all the north of Spain, together with the south, as far as a line drawn below *Carthago Nova*, (now *Carthagena*,) and continued in an oblique direction to the river *Durius*, passing by *Salamanca* (now *Salamanca*). *Hispania Uterior* was divided into two provinces, *Baetica*, in the south of Spain, between the *Anas* (now *Guadiana*) and *Citerior* ; and, above it *Lusitania*, corresponding, in a great measure, to modern *Portugal*. *Baetica* answers to modern *Andalusia*. p. 4.

I.

ITALIA. Of this well-known region, it will be sufficient here to give merely the main divisions. The peninsula of Italy was anciently divided

into *Gallia Cisalpina*, in the north, from the Alps to the rivers Rubicon, on the upper, and Macra, on the lower coast; *Italia Propria*, in the centre, and *Magna Græcia*, in the south. The last of these took its name from the Greek colonies settled there, and comprehended the provinces of Campania, Apulia, Lucania, Messapia, and Bruttium. All between Magna Græcia and the rivers Rubicon and Macra, was Italia Propria, and under the immediate jurisdiction of the senate and people.

L.

LARES. A town of Africa Propria, west of Zama Regia, and south of Sicca Venerea. Its site is supposed to be marked at the present day by the modern *Larbus*. (*Bischoff und Möller, Worterb. der Geogr.*, p. 682.) p. 61.

LATIUM. A country of Italy, lying south of Etruria, from which it was separated by the river Tiber. In it stood Rome, Alba, Lavinium, Tusculum, Arpinum, Praeneste, &c. The name of Latium was at first given to that portion of Italy only, which extends from the mouth of the Tiber to the promontory of Circeii; but subsequently this latter boundary was removed to the river Liris, whence arose the distinction of Latium Antiquum and Novum. At a still later period, the southern boundary of Latium was extended from the Liris to the mouth of the river Vultur-nus and the Massic hills. p. 47

LEPTIS. There were two cities of this name in Africa. 1. The first, called for distinction sake *Leptis Magna*, was situate towards the greater Syrtis, at the southeast extremity of the district of Tripolis. It was founded by the Phœnicians, and ranked next to Carthage and Utica, among their maritime cities. Under the Romans, it was signalized, as Sallust informs us, by its fidelity and obedience. It was destroyed by the Vandals, rebuilt by the emperor Justinian, and finally demolished by the Saracens. *Lebida* now marks the ancient site. 2. The other city of Leptis, called also *Leptis Parva*, was situate in Africa Propria, in the district of Byzacium, or Emporiae, about eighteen miles below Hadrumetum, on the coast. It is now *Lempta*. This city paid a talent a day to the Carthaginians as tribute, which will serve to give us some idea of its commercial prosperity, and the productiveness of the surrounding district. The Phœnicians, according to Sallust, were its founders. p. 14, 51

LIBYA. The name given by the Greek writers and the Roman poets to what was otherwise called Africa. In a more restricted sense, the name has been applied to that part of Africa which contained the two countries of Cyrenaica and Marmarica, together with a very extensive region inland, and which was generally styled Libya Interior. p. 13

LIGURES. The natives of Liguria. This country formed part of Cisalpine Gaul, and lay along the shores of the Sinus Ligusticus, or gulf of *Genoa*, between the Varus on the west, and the Macra on the east. The Ligures appear to have been a numerous and powerful people, extending at an early period along the shores of the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Rhodanus to that of the Arnus, reaching also into the interior of Gaul, and the valleys of the maritime Alps. In the days of the Roman dominion, however, their limits were contracted as first above

stated. The Ligurians were a bold and hardy mountaineer-race, and they were not conquered by the Romans until after many years of warfare. The possession of their country was important, as affording the easiest communication with Gaul and Spain over the maritime Alps. p. 27

M.

MACEDONĪA. A country of Europe, lying to the west of Thrace, and north and northeast of Thessaly. It was reduced under the Roman sway by Paulus Aemilius, who defeated and took prisoner its last monarch Perses, in the memorable battle of Pydna. Before the time of Philip, father of Alexander, all the country beyond the river Strymon, and even the Macedonian peninsula, from Amphipolis to Thessalonica, belonged to Thrace, and Paeonia likewise on the north. But, when enlarged by conquest, the limits of Macedonia were from the river Nessus in Thrace to the Ionian sea, including Paeonia, and Illyria beyond lake Lychnitis. As a Roman province, however, Macedonia did not include Epirus. p. 25.

MASSILIĀ. A celebrated colony of the Phocceans, on the Mediterranean coast of Gaul, now *Marsilles*. It became at an early period a powerful and flourishing city, and was famed for its extensive commerce. The most prosperous period in its history would seem to have been the interval from the fall of Carthage, with which city it had frequent collisions, to the commencement of the contest between Caesar and Pompey. This city was always the firm ally of Rome. It suffered severely in the civil wars from its attachment to the party of Pompey, being compelled to sustain a severe siege, in which its fleet was destroyed, and, after surrendering, to pay a heavy exaction. Massilia became afterwards, in the days of Augustus, famous as a seat of science, and the rival of Athens. p. 96.

MAURETANĪA. A country of Africa, lying to the west of Numidia, and answering now to the modern *Fez* and *Morocco*. It was, properly speaking, in the time of Bocchus, bounded by the river Mulucha, now *Malva*, on the east, and corresponded nearly to the modern *Fez*; but, in the time of the emperor Claudius, the western part of Numidia was added to this province, under the name of Mauretania Caesariensis, the ancient kingdom of Mauretania being now called, for distinction sake, Mauretania Tingitana, from its principal city Tingis, or *Old Tangier*, on the west of the straits. p. 12.

MEDI. The people of Media, in Upper Asia. Their country lay to the east of Assyria, and was separated from Armenia on the north by the river Araxes. The capital was Ecbatana, now *Hammadan*. When first mentioned in history, the Medes were a brave people. Like other states, wealth and power rendered them indolent and luxurious, and they fell beneath the arms of Cyrus. p. 13.

MULŪCHA. A river of Africa, separating Mauretania from Numidia, in the time of Bocchus. It is now the *Malva*. p. 15

MOTHUL. A river of Numidia, supposed to have been a branch of the Bagradas. p. 33

N.

NUMANTIA. A town of Spain, near the sources of the river Durins, celebrated for the brave resistance which it made against the Romans for the space of fourteen years. It was built upon an eminence of no great height, between two branches of the Durius, and surrounded by a very thick wood on three sides. One path alone led down into the plain, and this was defended by ditches and palisades. The great length of time it withstood the Romans may be easily accounted for by its difficult situation, and the circumstance of its circuit being so large, that within it were even pastures for cattle. The place was at last reduced by Scipio Africanus Minor, the conqueror of Carthage. The Numantines had withstood an army of 40,000 men with less than one fourth of that number, and had not only hitherto held out, but frequently gained very considerable advantages over the enemy, and obliged them to accede to dishonourable treaties. The remains of Numantia may be still seen near *Puente de Don Garray*. p. 5.

NUMIDIA. A country of Africa, east of Mauretania, and corresponding, in a great measure, to the modern *Algiers*. It was originally divided into two petty kingdoms, that of the Massyli to the east, and of the Massaesyli to the west, the line of separation between them being marked by the Tretum Promontorium, and a part of the river Ampsagas. Syphax was monarch of the Massaesyli, and Massinissa of the Massyli. The territory of Syphax was bestowed upon Massinissa by the Romans, after the close of the second Punic war, and he was allowed to enjoy the possession of this until the day of his death. After the termination of the Jugurthine contest, the Romans appear to have taken no part of the kingdom of Numidia to themselves, but to have distributed it among the different surviving branches of the royal line. In the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey, Juba, the great grandson of Massinissa had the misfortune to espouse the side of the latter. After the victory of Thapsus, therefore, Caesar declared the whole kingdom of Numidia to be a Roman territory; and Sallust, the historian, was sent thither as its governor. The western district around Cirta was at the same time bestowed upon Sittius in recompense for his services. Augustus bestowed upon Juba, son of the first Juba, his father's former kingdom, with some important additions, under the general name of Mauretania. And finally, the change introduced by the emperor Claudius, divided the whole country from the Ampsagas to the Atlantic into Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana. (*Vid.* Mauretania.)

P.

PELIGNI. An Italian tribe belonging to the Sabine race, situate to the east and northeast of the Marsi. Their chief town was Corfinium, which was selected by the allies in the social war as the seat of their new empire. The country of the Peligni was small in extent, and noted for the coldness of its climate. p. 72.

PERSAE. The natives of Persia. In its utmost extent, the kingdom of Persia comprehended all the countries between the Indus and Aegean sea, and between the range of Caucasus and the Indian ocean, the pen-

insula of Arabia alone excepted. In its more limited acceptation, the name Persia, or rather Persis, denoted a particular province of this vast empire, bounded on the east by Carmania, on the north by Media, on the west by Susiana, and on the south by the Persian gulf. This is sometimes called the royal province of Persia. It was the seat of the race before they commenced their conquests. . . . p. 13.

PHILÆNON ARÆ. Altars erected by the Carthaginians in memory of the brothers Phileni. They stood in the innermost bend of the Syrtis Major, and not, as Sallust erroneously states, (*Jug.* 19,) to the west of both the Syrtis. The story of the Phileni, as given by the historian, wears, to many, a very doubtful appearance, from the circumstance of Cyrene's being so much nearer to the point in question than Carthage. If the distance between these two cities be divided into eight equal parts, the Phileni will be found to have travelled six, and the deputies from Cyrene only two, of these parts. The truth, however, appears to be, that the territory in dispute between the two powers, lay between Hesperis on the Cyrenean side, and Leptis Magna on the Carthaginian, and that the deputies started actually from these two points, not from Carthage and Cyrene. (*Mannert. Geogr.*, vol. x., part 2, p. 116.) p. 14, 52.

PHOENICES. The people of Phœnicia. Their country extended along the coast of Syria, from the river Eleutherus to mount Carmel, a distance of about thirty-five geographical miles. The breadth was very limited, the ranges of Libanus and Antilibanus forming the utmost barrier to the east. The Phœnicians were a branch of that widely-extended race, known by the common appellation of Aramean, or Semitic. They were remarkable for their extensive commercial connexions, and their numerous colonies. They were famed also for their early civilization, and their successful cultivation of manufactures and the arts. . . . p. 14.

PICĒNUM. A district of Italy, along the Adriatic, south and south-east of Umbria. The inhabitants were of Sabine origin. Their country was considered as one of the most fertile parts of Italy, and the produce of its fruit-trees was particularly esteemed. . . . p. 93.

PISTORIĀ. A town of Etruria, about twenty Italian miles northwest of Florentia, on the *Stella*, which falls into the *Ombrone*, a northern branch of the *Arnus*, or *Arno*. Pliny (*H. N.* 3, 5) calls it Pistorium; but Ptolemy and others give it the appellation of Pistoria. The modern name is *Pistoia*. This place is memorable from having witnessed in its vicinity the close of Catiline's desperate career. The spot on which the action was fought is too imperfectly marked by the concise narrative of Sallust to be now recognised. We may conjecture, however, that it was to the north of *Pistoia*, and near the modern road from that place to Modena. (*Cramer's Ancient Italy*, vol. i., p. 177.) . . . p. 114.

R.

REĀTE. An old Sabine town, on the river Velinus, a branch of the Nar. Its modern name is *Rieti*. Reate was only a *praefectura* in Cicero's time. In the days of Suetonius, however, it was a *municipium*. It was famed for its breed of mules. The valley of the Velinus, in which this city was situated was so delightful, as to merit the appellation of *Tempe*

RHEGIUM. One of the most celebrated and flourishing cities of Magna Graecia, at the extremity of Italy, in the territory of the Bruttii. It is supposed to have been founded nearly 700 years B. C., by a party of Zancleans from Sicily, together with some Chalcidians, from Euboea, and Messenians from the Peloponnesus. Its name is supposed to allude to the great catastrophe by which Sicily was broken off in early days from Italy ('Ρηγιον α βήγγυμι, *frango*.) Some, however, consider the name of the place as of Oscan origin. The modern appellation is *Reggio*. p. 20.

RHODI. The people of the island of Rhodes. This celebrated island lay to the southwest of the coast of Caria, and about forty-three miles distant from the main land. Rhodes sided with the Roman power, and became a valuable auxiliary to their rising greatness. In return for the important services thus rendered, it received from its new friends the territories of Lycia and Caria; but suspicion and distrust eventually arose, the Rhodians were deprived of their possessions in Asia, and, at last, in the reign of Vespasian, of their freedom. Rhodes was famed for its Colossus, or statue of the sun, the work of Chares, who spent twelve years in the execution. An earthquake threw it down after it had stood erect for sixty-six years. It remained in ruins for 894 years, until A. D. 672, when the Saracens sold it to a Jewish merchant of Edessa, who loaded 900 camels with the brass. p. 106.

ROMA. Of this celebrated city, it will be sufficient here to remark, that it stood on the southern bank of the Tiber, below the junction of that river and the Anio, and about fifteen miles from the sea. It was divided into twenty-four regions or wards, had seven great, and thirteen smaller, aqueducts, thirty-seven gates, and six hundred and forty-four towers on the walls. Its population, when greatest, did not probably fall much below four millions. The seat of empire was transferred to Byzantium, by Constantine, A. D. 328; and Rome itself was taken by Odoacer, king of the Heruli, A. D. 476, which put an end to the empire of the west.

S

SAMNITES. A people of Italy, whose territory, Samnium, lay to the east of Campania and the lower extremity of Latium. The Samnites were of Sabine origin, and famed for their valour, which displayed itself in their long conflict with the Roman power. They only ceased to exist as a nation after their overthrow by Sylla. p. 108.

SICCA. A city of Numidia, on the river Bagradas, and at some distance from the coast. It was called Sicca Venerca, from a temple of Venus which it contained. Bochart and De Brosses derive the name of Sicca from the Punic *Succoth Benoth*, (i. e. "tabernacula puellarum," and make *Benoth* ("puella") the origin of the word *Venus* among the Romans. According to Shaw, the modern *Kaff* stands near the site of the ancient city. This, however, is doubtful. p. 39.

SICILIA. A well-known island in the Mediterranean, separated from Italy by the Fretum Siculum, or *Straits of Messina*. Its triangular shape gave it the appellations of Trinacria and Triquetra, (τρεις-ἄκραι, and τρεῖς-ἴσθμοι.) The promontory nearest Italy was called Pelorum, now cape *Faro*. The one to the south of this was Pachynum, now

Passaro; and the remaining one *Lilybæum*, now *Boeo*. This last, however, is in truth not a mountain-promontory, but a low, flat point of land, rendered dangerous to vessels by its sand-banks and concealed rocks. *Sicilia* derived its name from the ancient *Siculi*, who came into this island from *Latium*. p. 20

SIDONI. The people of Sidon, in Phœnicia. This was the oldest, and, until eclipsed by its colony *Tyre*, the most powerful of the Phœnician cities. The inhabitants appear to have acquired at an early period a pre-eminence in arts, manufactures, and commerce. The modern *Suide* is still a considerable town, but the harbour is nearly choked with sand. Sidon was about twenty-four miles north of *Tyre*. p. 51.

SUTHUL. A town of *Numidia*, of which *Sallust* alone makes mention. *M. Barbie du Bocage* suspects that this town is the same with that called *Sufetala* (now *Sbaitla*) in the *Itin. Ant.* The name *Suthul* is said to signify "the town of eagles." p. 27.

SYRTES. The *Syrtes* were two bays or gulfs on the coast of *Africa*, of which the one was called *Syrtis Major*, the other *Syrtis Minor*. The latter is now termed the gulf of *Capes*, from the ancient city of *Tacape*, which stood at the head of it. It is about forty-five geographical miles in breadth, and runs up into the continent about seventy-five miles. It is opposite to the islands of *Sicily* and *Malta*, and was reckoned the more dangerous of the two. This gulf is still an object of apprehension to mariners, in consequence of the variations and uncertainties of the tides on a flat and shelvy coast. The *Syrtis Major* is about one hundred and eighty geographical miles between the two capes, and penetrates one hundred miles into the land. The natives call it *Syrte-al-Kibber*, i. e. the Great *Syrtis*, and sailors, *Sydra*, or *Seedra*. The name *Syrtis* is generally derived from the Greek $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega$, "to drag," in allusion to the agitation of the sand by the force of the tides. (Compare *Sallust, Jugurth.* c. 78.) It is more than probable, however, that the appellation is to be deduced from the term *Sert*, which still exists in *Arabic* as the name for a desert tract or region: for the term *Syrtis* does not appear to have been confined to the mere gulfs themselves, but to have been extended also to the desert country adjacent, which is still at the present day called *Sert*. (Compare *Ritter. allgem. vergleichende Geogr.*, vol. i., p. 929.) p. 14, 51.

T.

TANA. Now *Wad-al-Thaine*, a river of *Africa Propria*, in the district of *Byzacium*, falling into the sea to the north of *Syrtis Minor*. p. 61.

TERRACINA. A city of *Latium*, called also *Anxur*, situate on the sea coast, in a northeastern direction from the *Circean* promontory. *Anxur* was probably its *Volscian* name. We learn from *Horace* that this city stood on the lofty rock at the foot of which the modern *Terracina* is situate. According to *Strabo*, it was first called *Trachina*, a Greek appellation, indicative of the ruggedness of its situation. p. 102.

THALA. A city of *Numidia*, the true position of which is unknown. It is generally supposed to have been the same with *Telepte*, now *Fer-reanach*. p. 49

THERA. An island of the *Aegean sea*, forming one of the *Sporades*, and situate about seven hundred stadia from the *Cretan* coast, in a north-

east direction. The modern name is *Santorin*. This island is supposed to have been of volcanic origin, as, according to some accounts, two islands near it rose on a sudden from the sea. Its earlier name was Calliste, in allusion to its beauty. p. 14.

THIRMIŌA. A town of Numidia, the situation of which is unknown. Dr. Shaw places it near the coast. p. 7.

THRACIA. A mountainous country, between the Strymon and Euxine from west to east, and the chain of mount Haemus and the shores of the Aegean and Propontis from north to south. The inhabitants were brave, but comparatively uncivilized. The modern name is *Roumilia* (*Roum-ili*.) p. 27.

TISIDĪUM. A town of Numidia, supposed by some to have been the same with what Ptolemy calls Thisica, between the city of Thabraca and the river Bagradas. M. Barbie du Bocage, however, suspects it to have been identical with Tisdrum, a large city in the district of Emporia, now *El-Jem*. p. 43.

TRANSPADANUS. *Vid.* Gallia Cispadana.

U.

UTĪCA. A city of Africa, on the seacoast, southwest of Carthage, and separated from its immediate district by the river Bagradas. Utica was the earliest, or one of the earliest, colonies planted by Tyre on the African coast; and Bochart derives the name from the Phoenician *Atiké*, i. e. "ancient." The Greek name of the place, *Ἰτικη*, is perhaps a corruption of this. Justin makes Utica more ancient than Carthage. It was more or less dependant, however, on the power of this latter city, and hence the disaffection frequently shown by its inhabitants to the Carthaginian cause. Utica rose in importance after the fall of Carthage. When, however, Carthage was rebuilt, it again took the second rank. Here Cato the younger put an end to his existence, whence the name *Uticensis* given him in history. The remains of Utica are to be seen near the modern *Porto Farina*, in the district of *Tums*. p. 18.

V.

VAGA. Called also Vacca, a city of Africa, west of Carthage, on the river Rubricatus, and celebrated among the Numidian trading-places for its extensive traffic. D'Anville and Barbie du Bocage recognise traces of the ancient name in the modern *Vegja*, or *Beja*, in the district of Tunis. The modern name of the Rubricatus is *Wad-el Berber*. p. 20.

Z.

ZAMA. A city of Africa, called Zama Regia, and lying some distance to the southwest of Carthage, and to the northwest of Hadrumetum. Sallust describes it as a large place, and strongly fortified. It became the residence subsequently of Juba, and the deposite for his treasures.

Strabo speaks of it as being in his days a ruined city, it probably met with this fate during the civil wars. It appears to have been afterwards rebuilt, and to have become the seat of a bishopric. The modern *Zowarin* marks the ancient site. There was another Zama, five days' journey west of Carthage, according to Polybius (15, 5). Near this latter place was fought the famous battle between the elder Africanus and Hannibal.

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HISTORICAL INDEX.



HISTORICAL INDEX.

A.

ABORIGINES. *Vid.* Geographical Index.

ADHERBAL. Son of Micipsa, and grandson of Masinissa, besieged at Cirta, and put to death by Jugurtha, after imploring in vain the aid of Rome, B. C. 112. Gesenius conjectures the origin of this proper name, from the Hebrew *Addir*, ("great,") and *Baal*, ("lord.") Claudian touches slightly on the history of Adherbal, (15, 409.)

AEMILIUS PAULLUS. *Vid.* Lepidus.

AEMILIUS SCAURUS. *Vid.* Scaurus.

ALBINUS. Aulus Postumius, brother of Spurius Postumius Albinus, the consul, who obtained by lot Numidia for his province, B. C. 112. Aulus, and the Roman army entrusted to his care by his brother, were entrapped by Jugurtha, and compelled to pass under the yoke. The senate refused to ratify the treaty which he made on this occasion with the Numidian monarch. Livy (*Ep.* 64) calls him lieutenant-general, not *propraetor*, the term applied by Sallust

ALBINUS. Spurius Postumius, elected consul with M. Minucius Rufus, 112 B. C.; and who, in the allotment of the provinces, obtained Numidia, while his colleague got Macedonia. He appears to have been a commander of very inferior abilities, and was repeatedly foiled and baffled by Jugurtha. Being compelled to return to Rome, to attend the elections, he left his army in charge of his brother Aulus, whom Jugurtha entrapped and compelled to pass under the yoke. On returning to Africa, he was forced by the wretched state of the troops to remain inactive. In this condition he resigned the army to Metellus, who superseded him in the command.

ANNIUS, Lucius. A tribune of the commons, who made a vigorous effort to retain his office, after the expiration of his legal term. He was aided in this attempt by one of his colleagues, P. Licinius Lucullus, in opposition to the other tribunes; and the struggles of these two prevented the election of the other magistrates during a whole year.

ANNIUS, Quintus. A man of senatorian rank, who entered into the conspiracy of Catiline. He effected his escape, when some of the ring-leaders were apprehended, and appears to have eluded the search of the agents of government, and to have gone unpunished.

ANTONIUS, Caius. A Roman, son of M. Antonius, the orator, and brother of M. Antonius Creticus, the father of the triumvir. He was originally in habits of very great intimacy with Catiline, and the arrangement was that these two should stand for the consulship, and, if they

succeeded, commence, while in this high office, their plans of revolution. Cicero defeated this scheme, and, being elected consul with Antonius for his colleague, succeeded in detaching the latter from the conspiracy, and from every other design formed against the state. He effected this desirable object by yielding to Antonius the rich province of Macedonia, which had fallen to his own lot. In the action between the forces of Catiline and those of the republic, Antonius took no part, having been prevented, according to Sallust, by a complaint in his feet. Dio Cassius, however, states expressly, that he feigned illness on this occasion, through fear of encountering the reproaches of Catiline, in case they should meet in the fight. After the conspiracy was crushed, Antonius went to his province of Macedonia, where he continued for two years, but, on his return to Rome, he was brought to trial, and banished, for having been guilty of extortion, and having made war beyond the limits of his province, (*Liv. Epit.* 103.) He was a man of very dissolute habits, and before he obtained the consulship had been expelled by the censors from the senate for immoral conduct.

ASPAR. A Numidian, sent to the court of Bocchus by Jugurtha, to obtain secret information respecting the intentions of the Mauretanian king with respect to himself and the Roman people. He was outwitted by Bocchus and Sylla, and the immediate consequence was the capture of Jugurtha.

AURELIA ORESTILLA. A female of great beauty, but very corrupt principles. Catiline offered her his hand in marriage, which she refused to accept, because he had a son by a former marriage, arrived at man's estate. To remove this obstacle Catiline put his son to death by administering poison. (Compare *Val. Max.* 9, 1.)

AUTRONIUS, P. A Roman of senatorian rank, who became consul elect, but afterwards lost the consulship on a charge of bribery. The consequent disgrace in which this involved him led him very probably to join the party of Catiline. After the overthrow of that party he succeeded in making his escape.

B.

BAEBIUS, C. A tribune of the commons, on whom Jugurtha prevailed, by dint of bribery, to espouse his cause, and interpose his veto, when the Numidian prince was summoned before the Roman people.

BELLIENUS, L. The Roman praetor at Utica, whom Marius summoned to attend a council at Cirta, towards the end of the Jugurthine war. According to some he was the maternal uncle of Catiline.

BESTIA, L. Calpurnius. A Roman nobleman, who held the consulship with Scipio Nasica, B. C. 113. It fell to his lot to carry on the war in Numidia against Jugurtha, where, however, he acquired no fame, but was led by his avaricious feelings to receive a heavy bribe, and conclude a disadvantageous and dishonourable peace with Jugurtha. He was condemned under the Mamilian law, and died in exile. Besides the charges brought against him by Sallust, Pliny the elder mentions that M. Caecilius brought him to trial for poisoning at least two of his wives by wolfsbane.

Bocchus. King of Mauretania, who betrayed Jugurtha into the hands of the Romans. He obtained the reward of his treachery the western part of Numidia.

BOMILCAR. An officer in the army of Jugurtha, to whom he entrusted secret and important business. He conspired along with Nabdalsa against his master, but the plot was discovered and he lost his life.

BRUTUS, D. JUNIUS. The husband of Sempronia. His residence was near the forum, and into it Umbrenus took the ambassadors of the Allobroges, and discovered to them the conspiracy of Catiline. From Sallust's mentioning that the meeting was held in his house when Brutus was from home, the presumption is that he had no knowledge of the conspiracy; although his wife Sempronia was an accomplice.

C.

CAESAR, C. JULIUS. Son of Caius Caesar, and Aurelia the daughter of Cotta. He was born in the sixth consulship of Marius, B. C. 99. When only in his seventeenth year, he obtained the office of Flamen Dialis or High-priest of Jupiter. His marriage with Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, excited against him the hatred of Sylla, whose suspicion he had previously incurred from his aunt Julia's being the wife of Marius. He with difficulty escaped assassination, and it was only at the intercession of the vestal virgins, and in consequence of the entreaties of his relations, that Sylla spared his life. The latter, indeed, had the discernment to behold in him, even when a mere youth, the germes of future talent and ambition, and when he was asked by his friends why he was so anxious to put a mere boy to death, his answer was, "In that boy, I see many Mariuses."—Of the eventful life of this eminent Roman, it will only be necessary here to speak so far as it was connected with the conspiracy of Catiline. His principal aim, in the accomplishment of his ambitious schemes, was to gain the favour of the populace, and weaken the power of the nobility. This brought him at once in contact with Catiline, and, in favouring the views of that daring conspirator, his object was to destroy by these means the liberty of his country, and then to crush the conspirators themselves, and make himself master of Rome. The opinion which he gave in the senate, with respect to the punishment of Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other accomplices of Catiline; the threatening conduct of the Roman equites, who guarded the temple where the senate met, and his being arraigned as an associate in the conspiracy before the senate, sufficiently prove both the public opinion and his own guilt.

CASSIUS. *Vid.* Longinus.

CATILINA, L. SERGIUS. A Roman of patrician rank, and the last of the *gens Sergia*. Of his father and grandfather little is known. The former would seem to have been in indigent circumstances, from the language of Quintus Cicero, (*de Pet. Cons.* c. 2,) who speaks of Catiline, as having been born amid the poverty of his father. The great grandfather, M. Sergius Silus, or Silo, distinguished himself greatly in the second Punic war, and was present in the battles of Ticinus, Trebia, Trasymenus, and Cannae. Pliny (*H. N.* 7, 29) speaks of his exploits in a very animated strain.—The cruelty of Catiline's disposition, his undaunted resolution, and the depravity of his morals, fitted him for acting a distinguished part in the turbulent and bloody scenes of the period in which he lived. He embraced the interests of Sylla, in whose army he held the office of quaestor. That monster, in his victory, had in Catiline an able coadjutor, whose heart knew no sympathy, and his lewdness no

bounds. He rejoiced in the carnage and plunder of the proscribed, gratifying at one time his own private resentments, by bringing his enemies to punishment, and executing at another the bloody mandates of the dictator himself. Many citizens of noble birth are said to have fallen by his hand, and, according to Plutarch, (*Vit. Syll.* c. 32.—*Vit. Cic.* c. 10,) he had assassinated his own brother during the civil war, and now, to screen himself from prosecution, persuaded Sylla to put him down among the proscribed, as a person still alive. He murdered, too, with his own hands, his sister's husband, a Roman knight, of a mild and peaceable character. One of the most horrid actions, however, of which he was guilty, would seem to have been the killing of M. Marius Gratidianus, a near relation of the celebrated Marius. Sylla had put the name of this individual on the list of the proscribed, whereupon Catiline entered the dwelling of the unfortunate man, exhausted upon his person all the refinements of cruelty and insult, and having at length put an end to his existence, carried his bloody head in triumph through the streets of Rome, and brought it to Sylla, as he sat on his tribunal in the forum. When this was done, the murderer washed his hands in the lustral water at the door of Apollo's temple, which stood in the immediate vicinity.—Catiline was peculiarly dangerous and formidable, as his power of dissimulation enabled him to throw a veil over his vices. Such was his art, that, while he was poisoning the minds of the Roman youth, he gained the friendship and esteem of the severe Catulus. The remainder of his career is detailed in the pages of Sallust, and will not need repetition here.

CATO, M. Porcius, surnamed Uticensis, on account of his having destroyed himself at Utica, was the great grandson of Cato the Censor. His parents died when he was very young, and he was educated under the roof of his mother's brother, Livius Drusus. He was austere in his morals, a strict follower of the tenets of the Stoic sect; and so great a lover of what was virtuous and right, as to pursue every object of such a nature with undeviating steadiness, regardless of the difficulties which he might have to encounter, or of the dangers to which he might be exposed. Cato exerted himself, though in vain, to stem the torrent of Roman luxury and corruption, and in his own person he copied the simplicity of earlier days. He often appeared barefooted in public, and never travelled but on foot. In whatever office he was employed, he always reformed its abuses, and restored the ancient regulations. To the qualities of a virtuous man, and the rectitude of a stern patriot, Cato added the intrepidity of a brave soldier and the talents of an able general. In the affair of the conspiracy, he gave Cicero his constant and vigorous support, and it was chiefly through his efforts, in opposition to those of Caesar, that the accomplices of Catiline were capitally punished. This virtuous Roman put an end to his existence at Utica, after the defeat of Juba and Scipio by Caesar, in the battle of Thapsus.

CATULUS, Q. Lutatius. A noble Roman, conspicuous both for his love of country and his private virtues. He was the colleague of Marius in the consulship when the Cimbri and Teutones came down upon the south of Europe, and was engaged with that commander in the bloody battle of the Raudii Campi, where the Cimbri were so signally defeated by the Romans. We afterwards find him censor with Crassus; and, subsequently to this, opposing Crassus's attempt to make Egypt tributary. Catulus was in politics on the aristocratic side, and

of course a warm opponent of Julius Caesar. He was competitor also with the latter for the office of pontifex, but unsuccessful in his application. At a later period he obtained the consulship along with M. Aemilius Lepidus, B. C. 80, and ten years after this he dedicated the temple of Jupiter in the capitol, which had been destroyed by fire. The character of Catulus stood deservedly high. A stranger to flattery and adulation, he reprov'd with equal openness the levity of the multitude, and the misconduct of the senate. An anecdote is related of him by Plutarch, which proves conclusively the estimation in which he was held. When it was proposed to invest Pompey with extraordinary power, under the Manilian law, for the suppression of the pirates, Catulus opposed the step, and one of his arguments was, that the people ought not to expose such a man to so many dangers as he was likely to incur in this new command, "for," added he, "what other will you have if you lose him?" With one voice the assembled people exclaimed, "Yourself." After a long life of honourable usefulness, Catulus was compelled to put an end to his days, by order of the sanguinary Marius. In order to effect this, he shut himself up in a narrow chamber, newly plastered, and suffocated himself by the vapour produced by a large fire.

CETHĒGUS, C. Cornelius. A Roman of corrupt morals and turbulent character. He filled, at one time, the office of tribune, and was also a warm partisan of Sulla, after having originally sided with Marius. Subsequently, however, losing the influence which he had possessed, he joined in the conspiracy of Catiline. Cicero informs us, that in rashness and daring he surpassed Catiline himself, and almost equalled him in strength of body, love of arms, and dignity of birth. In arranging the details of the plot, the conspirators assigned to Cethegus the task of posting himself at the door of Cicero's house, and, after he had forced an entrance, of murdering that illustrious Roman. The vigilance of Cicero frustrated this design. Cethegus was apprehended along with Lentulus and the rest, and strangled in prison.

CICĒRO, M. Tullius. An eminent and well-known Roman, born at Arpinum, a town of the Volsci, in Latium, B. C. 107. His father although of equestrian rank, had never enjoyed any curule office, and, on that account, Cicero frequently calls himself "a new man," (*novus homo*,) as having been the first of his family who had raised himself to such a magistracy. After a careful education, in the completion of which he travelled over many parts of Greece, Cicero entered on the career of office, and it was his peculiar boast, to have obtained each preferment in succession in its own proper year, or, in other words, as soon as he was eligible to it. Thus, he obtained the quaestorship at thirty-one years of age, the aedileship at thirty-seven, the praetorship at forty, and the consulship at forty-three. Our limits will compel us to confine ourselves merely to that part of Cicero's history which was connected with the conspiracy of Catiline, and only to so much even of this as Sallust himself has not touched upon. It was a master stroke of policy on the part of Cicero to drive Catiline out of Rome, and force him, as it were, into a rebellion before it was ripe, in the hope, that, by carrying out with him his accomplices, he would clear the city at once of the whole faction; or, by leaving them behind, without his counsels to guide them, would expose them to sure destruction by their own rashness and folly. For Catiline's chief trust was not on the open force which he had provided

for the field, but on the success of his secret machinations at Rome, and on making himself master of the city.—While the sense of all his important services was still fresh, Cicero was repaid with the most ample honours. L. Gellius, moreover, who had been consul and censor, said in a speech to the senate, that the republic owed him a civic crown, “for having saved them all from ruin,” and Catulus, in a full house, declared him “the father of his country,” as Cato did likewise from the rostra, with the loud acclamations of the whole people. Party feelings, however, eventually gained the ascendancy, and the very man who had been thus idolized was impeached for putting citizens to death without the formality of a trial, and was compelled to yield to the coming storm, and retire into voluntary banishment. The individual most active against him was Publius Clodius. The charge against him had reference to the summary punishment inflicted by him, in accordance with the orders of the senate, on Lentulus, Cethegus, and their associates. Cicero displayed a great want of firmness in exile, his fortitude deserted him, and his spirits sunk in deep depression. By the exertions of Pompey and the efforts of his other friends, aided by the active co-operation of the senate, he was finally recalled. The senate decreed their thanks to all the cities which had treated with respect the illustrious exile, and ordered his town and country houses, which Clodius had destroyed, to be rebuilt at the public expense. Such multitudes accompanied him from his landing, that he says, Italy carried him on her shoulders to Rome, an expression, which Plutarch considers actually short of the truth.

CINNA, L. Cornelius. A Roman nobleman of considerable influence and personal bravery. He was consul with Cn. Octavius, B. C. 91, but was deprived by his colleague of his consular authority, and driven by him out of the city, because he had by force procured the enactment of several injurious laws. Obtaining possession of the army of Appius Claudius, he declared war on the government, and called to his assistance Marius and other exiles from Africa. Cinna and Marius eventually triumphed, Rome opened her gates, and the most cruel excesses were committed by the victors. All the leading men of the party of Sylla were put to death, and their property confiscated. Cinna and Marius then declared themselves consuls, and the latter died on the very first day of his entering upon office. L. Valerius Flaccus succeeded him. In his third and fourth consulships Cinna had Cn. Papius Carbo for his colleague, with whom he made preparations for a war against Sylla, who was then engaged in the operations against Mithridates. During the fourth consulship of Cinna, Julius Caesar married his daughter Cornelia. Cinna eventually, after raising a powerful armament against Sylla, was killed by his own men, on a rumour of his having put Pompey, then quite a young man, to death.

GOEPARIUS, Q. A native of Terracina, and accomplice in the conspiracy of Catiline. He was preparing to set out for Apulia, to rouse and arm the slaves against the state, at the time the conspiracy was discovered. Having learned that the plot was detected, he fled from Rome, before the officers sent by the consuls to apprehend him arrived at his house, but was afterwards taken and strangled in prison.

CORNELIUS, C. A Roman knight, connected with the conspiracy of Catiline, who undertook, in conjunction with L. Vargunteius, to murder Cicero the consul, at his own home.

CORNIFICIUS, Q. A Roman, to whose custody Cethegus was committed, before he suffered punishment.

CRASSUS, M. Licinius. A celebrated Roman, surnamed the "Rich," on account of his great opulence. At first he was very circumscribed in his circumstances, but by educating slaves, and selling them for a high price, he soon enriched himself. Crassus distinguished himself in the war against Spartacus, by defeating that gladiator and killing 12000 of his followers. After this, he was chosen consul with Pompey, and, after the consulship, obtained the office of censor. His supposed participation in the conspiracy of Catiline was probably without any foundation in truth. What purpose could Crassus, in fact, propose to himself by entering into a plot to burn a city, in which his own property was so considerable? The enmity which arose between Cicero and Crassus, in consequence of the alleged guilt of the latter, was so bitter, that, according to Plutarch, it would have shown itself by some act of violence on the part of Crassus, had not his son Publius, who was very intimate with Cicero, prevented him. He even prevailed on his father, eventually, to become reconciled to the orator. Crassus became afterwards a member of the first triumvirate; and, obtaining Syria for his province, marched against the Parthians, by whom he was defeated and slain.

CURIUS, Q. A Roman of good family, whose disgraceful and immoral conduct had caused his expulsion by the censors from the senate. He was connected with the conspiracy, but divulged the secret of such a conspiracy's having been formed, to Fulvia, a female of high rank, with whom he was intimate. Fulvia communicated the danger which threatened the state and the lives of the citizens; and the alarm which this occasioned caused the election of Cicero to the consulship. Cicero subsequently prevailed upon Curius, through the means of Fulvia, to discover to him all the movements of Catiline, and was thus enabled to baffle his schemes. In return for these services, rewards were voted him from the public funds; but Caesar, whom Curius had named among the conspirators, exerted himself against the fulfilment of the public promise, and the rewards were not given.

D.

DABAR. A descendant of Massinissa, who stood high in the favour of Bocchus. He was employed by that monarch in the negotiations with Sylla, respecting the seizure of Jugurtha.

DAMASIPPUS. A praetor during the consulship of Papius Carbo, and the younger Marius. As a follower of the Marian party, he indulged in many cruel excesses against the opposite faction, and also against such as were suspected of favouring it. He assembled the senate under the pretence of business, and then massacred a number of the leading noblemen, alleging that they were in the interest of Sylla. (B. C. 84.) Sylla, when he gained the ascendancy, ordered him to be slain.

F.

FABIUS MAXIMUS, Q. An illustrious Roman, the well-known opponent of Hannibal, styled Cunctator. from having saved his country by

his wise delay and cautious operations in the field. He is alluded to by Sallust in the commencement of the history of the Jugurthine war.

FABIUS SANGA, Q. A Roman nobleman, who enjoyed the right of patronage over the state of the Allobroges, on which account their deputies at Rome disclosed to him the conspiracy of Catiline. He immediately communicated the information to Cicero.

FIGŪLUS, C. Marcius. A Roman, who held the consulship with Julius Caesar, B. C. 66. During this year Catiline formed his plan for the overthrow of the government.

FLAMMA, C. Flaminius. A Roman with whom Catiline passed a few days, at his residence in the territory of Arretium, after the conspiracy had been discovered at Rome, and while he was supplying with arms the inhabitants of the vicinity.

FULVIA. A Roman female of high rank, but corrupt principles. Cicero, through her means, obtained from Curius secret information of all the movements of the conspirators.

FULVIUS, A. The son of a Roman senator, who left Rome to join the army of Catiline, but was arrested on the way, brought back to the city, and put to death by command of his parent.

FLACCUS, M. Fulvius. A Roman, who was consul along with M. Plautius Hypsæus, B. C. 127. He joined the party of Caius Gracchus, and was killed by the consul Opimius, in the tumultuary movements attendant on the passage of the Agrarian law. His house was levelled to the ground, and the place on which it had stood declared public property.

FULVIUS NOBILIOR, M. A Roman of senatorian dignity, one of the accomplices of Catiline.

FURIUS, P. One of the accomplices of Catiline, remarkable for his active and daring spirit. He is the one to whom Sallust alludes under the epithet *Faesusulanus*. He fell fighting among the foremost at the battle of Pistoria, where Catiline was defeated.

G.

GABINIUS CAPITO, P. A Roman of Equestrian rank, whom Cicero calls Cimber. He appears to have been one of the most worthless of the accomplices of Catiline. He suffered capital punishment along with Lentulus and the rest.

GAUDA. A Numidian, of noble extraction, son of Mastanabal, and grandson of Masinissa, whom Micipsa had named as heir to the crown of Numidia, in case his more immediate descendants should not survive to enjoy it. He became weakened in mind by a severe bodily sickness, and a tool in the hands of Marius, for the prosecution of his ambitious schemes in supplanting Metellus.

GRACCHI. There were two brothers of this name, Tiberius Gracchus and Caius Gracchus, sons of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, and of Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus. Tiberius the elder, was of a mild and unruffled temper, but Caius, violent and irascible. The object of the two brothers, in succession, was to have the public lands divided among the citizens. Appian says, that the nobles and rich men, partly by getting possession of the public lands, partly by buying up the shares of indigent owners, had made themselves masters of all the lands in

Italy, and had thus, by degrees, accomplished the removal of the common people from their possessions. This abuse stimulated Tiberius Gracchus to revive the Licinian law, by which no one could hold more than 500 *jugera*, or about 350 acres of land. The owners, however, were to be indemnified for the land they had thus lost. The attempts of the Gracchi cost them their lives. Tiberius was slain in a collision between his adherents and the party of the nobility headed by Scipio Nasica. Caius was slain some years afterwards by the consul Opimius and his party.

GULUSSA. Second son of Masinissa. Livy makes him to have received a third of the kingdom, on the death of his father. (*Epit.* 50.) Sallust, however, states, that both Gulussa and Mastanabal were cut off by disease, before their father died; and that Micipsa, the remaining brother, on the demise of his father, succeeded to the whole kingdom. In the third Punic war, Gulussa contributed to the conquest of the Carthaginians, and the destruction of their state.

H.

HANNĪBAL. Son of Hamilcar, the celebrated general of Carthago. He is only once casually alluded to by Sallust.

HIEMPSAL. Son of Micipsa, and brother of Adherbal. He was assassinated by persons employed for that purpose by Jugurtha.

J.

JUGURTHA. Son of Mastanabal. His history is given in full by Sallust, throughout the narrative of the Jugurthine war.

JULIUS, C. One of the accomplices of Catiline, despatched by him into Apulia, to procure additional strength for the conspiracy.

JULIUS CAESAR, C. *Vid.* Caesar

JULIUS CAESAR, L. Consul with C. Marius Figulus, B. C. 66. During their consulship, Catiline formed the design of overturning the government, which he attempted to carry into execution the next year when Cicero and Antonius succeeded to the consulship.

L.

LAECA, M. Porcius. An accomplice of Catiline, who, in the dead of night, convened the leading members of the conspiracy at his own house, just before the discovery of the conspiracy. He was a descendant of M. Porcius Laeca, tribune of the commons, who had the law carried prohibiting magistrates from punishing a Roman citizen with death, and substituting, for capital punishment, banishment and confiscation of property.

LENTULUS, P. Cornelius, surnamed Sura. A Roman nobleman, grandson of P. Cornelius Lentulus, who was *Princeps Senatus*. He married Julia, sister of L. Julius Caesar, after the death of her first husband, M. Antonius Creticus, to whom she had born M. Antonius, the triumvir. Lentulus was a man of talents, but extremely corrupt in his private character. The interest of his family, and the affability of his manners, proceeding from a love of popularity, raised him through the

usual gradation of public honours to the office of consul, which he obtained B. C. 73. in conjunction with Cn. Aufidius Orestis. Expelled from the senate on account of his immoral conduct, he had procured the praetorship, the usual step for being again restored to that body, when Catiline formed his design of subverting the government. Poverty, the natural consequence of excessive dissipation, added to immoderate vanity and extravagant ambition, induced him to join in the conspiracy. The soothsayers easily persuaded him that he was the third of the *gens Cornelia*, destined by the fates to enjoy the supreme power at Rome. L. Cornelius Cinna, and L. Cornelius Sylla, had both attained to that elevation. His schemes, however, all proved abortive, and he was strangled in prison with the other conspirators who had been arrested. Plutarch informs us, that he received the surname of *Sura*, in consequence of his having wasted a large sum of the public money in his quaestorship under Sylla, who, enraged at his conduct, demanded a statement of his accounts in the senate, when Lentulus, with the utmost indifference, declared he had no accounts to produce, and contemptuously presented to him the *calf* of his leg, (*sura*.) Among the Romans, particularly among the boys, the player at tennis, who missed his stroke, presented the calf of his leg to receive as a punishment a certain number of blows upon it. Lentulus, in allusion to that game, acted in the manner just described, which accounts for the surname, or rather nickname, of *Sura*.

LENTULUS Spinther, P. Cornelius. *Vid.* Spinther.

LEPIDUS, L. Aemilius, or L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, called by Sallust merely L. Paullus. He was the brother of M. Aemilius Lepidus, who formed with Augustus and Mark Antony the second triumvirate. In early life he commenced a prosecution against Catiline, under the Plautian law. He held the consulship with C. Claudius Marcellus, B. C. 52, the year that the censors expelled Sallust from the senate. He perished in the conscription of the triumvirate, being left to his fate by his own brother.

LONGINUS, L. Cassius. A Roman of senatorian rank, who entered into the conspiracy of Catiline, and engaged to set the city on fire. He fled before the discovery of the plot. From his extraordinary corpulence the *fatness of Cassius* became a kind of by-word.

M.

MAMILIUS LIMETANUS, C. A tribune of the commons, who had a bill passed ordering an inquiry into the conduct of the persons who had received bribes from Jugurtha, and been guilty of other misdemeanors.

MANLIUS, A. A lieutenant-general in the army of Marius, sent as a confidential deputy, along with Sylla, to Bocchus, king of Mauretania.

MANLIUS, C. One of the accomplices of Catiline, whom the latter sent into Etruria to levy troops, and adopt whatever measures he might deem necessary for the success of the conspiracy. He commanded the right wing of Catiline's army in the final encounter, and fell fighting with the greatest bravery in the foremost ranks. Manlius had held a commission in the army of Sylla, under whom he had acquired con-

siderable experience as an officer, and accumulated great wealth, which he soon squandered away. He engaged in the conspiracy to retrieve his ruined fortunes.

MANLIUS, M. A Roman commander, who held the consulship with P. Rutilius Rufus, B. C. 107. He was defeated by the Gauls that same year. Cicero (*Pro Planc.* 5) calls him Cn. Manlius, and Eutropius (5. 1) Manius Manilius.

MANLIUS TORQUATUS, L. A Roman commander, who held the consulship with L. Aurelius Cotta, 67 B. C. He was the particular friend of Cicero, who mentions him in terms of high approbation in his letters. Sallust calls him L. Torquatus.

MARCIUS REX, Q. Consul with L. Caecilius Metellus, B. C. 80. When Catiline, five years after, formed his conspiracy, Q. Marcius Rex was sent to Faesulæ, to levy troops, and adopt such other measures as he might deem proper. He had just returned from a military command, had demanded a triumph, and met with opposition from a few unprincipled men in the senate. The Marcian family claimed descent from Ancus Marcius, and hence the name Marcius Rex.

MARIUS, C. A native of Arpinum, remarkable for his military talents, but still more for his cruel and vindictive disposition. Having preserved the state by his bravery, he afterwards brought it to the brink of ruin by his reckless and uncompromising violence. In early life, he was a ploughman, and wrought for hire. Quitting that employment, he entered the ranks of the army, and distinguished himself under Scipio at the siege and capture of Numantia. From the condition of a common soldier, he gradually rose to the command of the Roman army, and to the office of consul. After bringing the war with Jugurtha to a close, he defeated in two terrible encounters the Teutones and Cimbri, slaying an immense number, and taking a vast multitude prisoners. After these signal victories, his ambitious feelings brought him in collision with Sylla, and a desolating civil war was the consequence. To crush the power of his rival, Sylla marched the troops which he had raised to carry on the war with Mithridates to Rome, and compelled Marius to flee. In his banishment he underwent uncommon hardships, from which he was in the end released by Cinna's embracing his interests. He then returned to Rome to satiate his inhuman resentment, and butchered many thousands of the citizens. Tired at last with murder and assassination, he and Cinna appointed themselves consuls. But Marius, worn out by infirmities, age, and excessive intoxication, to which he probably had recourse to blunt the stings of a guilty conscience, died on the first day of his being invested with the consulship for the seventh time.

MASSINISSA. Son of Gala, king of the Massyli, in Numidia. He was brought up at Carthage, where he contracted friendships with the nobles, and embraced the interests of the state. As an ally of the Carthaginians, he waged a successful war against Syphax. He afterwards crossed over into Spain, still on the side of Carthage, and distinguished himself by his bravery, activity, and military skill. After Scipio, surnamed Africanus Major, had defeated Asdrubal in this country, he found, among the prisoners of war, one of the nephews of Massinissa. The Roman commander sent this relative, loaded with presents, to his uncle, and gave him an escort for the safety of his person. Struck by this act of generosity, Massinissa forgot all former feelings of hostility, and joined

his forces to those of Scipio. From this time, he continued a firm and faithful ally to his new friends, and it was to his exertions that the Romans owed many of their victories in Africa, and particularly the one which proved so fatal to Asdrubal and Syphax. In the battle of Zama also, Massinissa greatly contributed to the overthrow of Hannibal, and the Romans rewarded his fidelity by large accessions of territory. He attained to an advanced age, in the enjoyment of excellent health, and, on his death, left his kingdom to be divided by the younger Scipio among his three sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Manastabal. One circumstance in the life of Massinissa is worthy of particular attention from its tragical nature. He had become possessed of Sophonisba, the captive wife of Syphax, to whom he had been attached in earlier days, and having carried her to his camp, he married her. But this step displeasing the Roman commander, the monarch sent her a cup of poison which she readily drank, and expired, while Massinissa abandoned himself to the deepest sorrow.

MEMMIUS, C. A tribune of the commons, and violent foe to the power of the nobility. He exerted himself powerfully and with great success in exposing the shameful bribery of Jugurtha, and arousing the commons to an assertion of their rights. He lost his life in a canvass for the consulship. (B. C. 102,) having been slain by L. Apuleius Saturninus, a tribune, from an apprehension that he would oppose him in his evil actions. Memmius fell under repeated strokes, by the bludgeons of hired assassins in the very midst of the assembly. Sallust speaks in strong terms of his eloquence, though Cicero does not allow him a high rank among Roman orators.

METELLUS, Q. Caecilius, surnamed Numidicus, enjoyed the consulship with M. Junius Silanus, 111 B. C. He obtained Numidia as his province, and had nearly brought the war against Jugurtha to a close, by his military talents and incorruptible integrity, when he was removed from the command by the intrigues of Marius. For defeating Jugurtha and desolating Numidia, Metellus received the surname of Numidicus, and according to Eutropius (4, 27) a triumph. Some time after this, he was summoned to trial by Saturninus, a tribune, for having refused to swear to observe the Agrarian law, which this individual had carried by force; and, although all the good citizens supported him, he went, in order to prevent any commotion, into voluntary exile at Rhodes. Marius pronounced sentence of banishment against him, B. C. 104, two years after which, however, he was honourably recalled.

METELLUS, Q. Caecilius, surnamed Celer, filled the office of praetor during the consulship of Cicero, and levied troops against Catiline. On the expiration of his praetorship, he obtained the province of Cisalpine Gaul, and subsequently held the consulship with L. Afranius. He married Clodia, the sister of P. Clodius, and lost his life by poison administered by this abandoned woman. Cicero praises his eloquence and his political integrity, and he is mentioned also by Horace (Od. 2 1.) He was surnamed Celer, according to Plutarch, from the quickness with which he celebrated funeral games in memory of his father, within a few days only after that parent's decease.

METELLUS, Q. surnamed Creticus, was consul B. C. 70, along with Q. Hortensius. On the expiration of his consulship, he obtained, as proconsul, the island of Crete for his province, and reduced it beneath

the Roman sway, for which he obtained the surname above mentioned. He was honoured beside this with a triumph, notwithstanding the opposition of Pompey.

MICIPSA. Eldest son of Massinissa, who succeeded to the throne of Numidia on the death of his brothers Gulussa and Manastabal, having previously to this enjoyed only the one third part of the kingdom as his share. Very little is known of the character of this monarch. He left two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and Jugurtha as a third by adoption.

MINUCIUS Rufus, M. was consul with Sp. Postumius Albinus, B. C. 112. He obtained Macedonia for his province, and carried on a successful war against the Thracians, conquering the Scordisci and Treballi in Macedonia. Sallust calls him Quintus, while in Livy and in the consular calendar he is named Marcus.

MITHRIDATES. A celebrated king of Pontus, in Asia Minor, sur named Eupator, and the seventh in succession. He was distinguished for his personal bravery and military talents, and for the long resistance which he made against the armies of Rome. At last, however, being deserted by his allies, betrayed by his son Pharnaces, and frequently defeated by the Romans, he was, at his own request, slain by a Gaul, that he might not fall into the hands of his enemies. The constitution of this monarch was so fortified by antidotes, of many of which he is said to have been the inventor, that the strongest and most active poisons had no effect upon him. The true form of the name appears to be Mithradates, although the other is sanctioned by custom.

MURËNA, Licinius, C. brother of the Licinius Murena, who was consul B. C. 62, and whom Cicero defended. C. Murena was deputy governor (*legatus*) of Transalpine Gaul when Catiline's conspiracy broke out, and secured a number of the malcontents who were endeavouring to excite commotions in his province.

N.

NABDALSA. A Numidian of rank and of great influence with the people. Jugurtha entrusted him with the command of a separate army, and he proved faithful to his monarch, until Bomilcar induced him to engage in a plot for the ruin of his master. On the discovery of the plot, Nabdalsa escaped punishment, but Bomilcar was put to death.

NASICA. *Vid.* Scipio.

NERO, Tiberius Claudius. A Roman nobleman, grandfather of the emperor Tiberius Claudius Nero. When the conspiracy of Catiline was discovered, and the matter was debated in the senate, Nero moved that the guards on duty should be strengthened, and the whole affair discussed more fully at a second meeting of that body. This motion very probably was intended to produce a unanimous sentence, with the view of giving time to the parties to come to an agreement, abating, perhaps, somewhat the severity of D. Junius Silanus, and adding to that of Caesar, the former having been in favour of death, the latter of confiscation and banishment merely.

O.

OCTAVIUS Rufus, Cn. A Roman officer, who, during the Numidian war, brought over a supply of money to Africa. He must not be confounded with the Octavius who held the consulship with Cinna B. C. 89, and who drove his colleague from the city, but was afterwards put to death by Cinna and Marius.

OPIMIUS, L. A Roman nobleman, who held the consulship with C. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, and who, while in that office, overpowered C. Sempronius Gracchus, the advocate of the Agrarian law. No fewer than three thousand persons were slain on this occasion, according to Plutarch, and along with Gracchus perished M. Fulvius Flaccus, a man of consular dignity. Opimius subsequently allowed himself to be bribed by Jugurtha, and, being brought to trial for this offence, was condemned, and went into banishment at Dyrrhachium, where he died in great poverty. The name of this individual has also descended to later times in another way. The wine made during his consulship was remarkable for having attained to a very great age, and was called *Vinum Opimianum*. There appears to have been an uncommon vintage during the year in which he was consul. Cicero states that he tasted some Opimian wine seventy-five years after; and Pliny informs us, that it was still to be found when he wrote, at the distance of two hundred years, and that it had the appearance of candied honey.

ORESTILLA. *Vid.* Aurelia.

P.

PAULLUS, L. *Vid.* L. Aemilius Lepidus.

PERSES. King of Macedonia. He was the son of Philip by a concubine, and therefore inferior to Demetrius, the legitimate son of that monarch. By a false accusation, however, he induced the monarch to put Demetrius to death. Philip, on being informed of the truth, resolved to disinherit Perses, and secure the crown to his youngest son Antigonus; but his own death, which happened soon after, frustrated his design. One of the first acts of Perses on coming to the throne, was to put Antigonus to death, both because he had been intended as successor to Philip, and because it was through him that the innocence of Demetrius was made known. Becoming involved, however, in war with the Romans, he was conquered and stripped of his kingdom by Paullus Aemilius, who led him in triumph through the streets of Rome. He was afterwards sent as prisoner to Alba, where he ended his days. The Romans treated him with more kindness than he deserved, allowing him to retain his attendants, money, &c. With Perses fell the Macedonian empire. He was the twentieth monarch, reckoning in succession from Caranus, the first king of the country.

PETREIUS, M. A lieutenant of the consul Antonius, who, in consequence of the indisposition of the latter, commanded the forces of the state in the action against Catiline. He joined the party of Pompey in the civil war, and, in conjunction with Afranius, endeavoured to make head against Caesar in Spain. From the narrative of Caesar, they would appear to have been both able commanders. After having been forced

to capitulate, Petreius joined the army of the republic in Africa, and, on being defeated along with Juba, king of Mauretania, in the battle of Thapsus, he and that prince engaged purposely in single combat, that they might die an honourable death. Juba soon laid Petreius dead at his feet, and then, at his own request, fell by the hand of a slave.

PISO, Cn. A Roman of good family, but profligate and needy. The urgency of his wants, uniting with the depravity of his disposition, instigated him to any measure which had for its object the convulsion of the state, as the only remedy which could free him from difficulties and embarrassments. He readily entered into the conspiracy of Catiline, and, in the execution of the plot, he was at the head of an army to hold the Spaniards in subjection. The design transpired and necessarily prevented its execution. Soon after, although only quaestor, he obtained the government of Hither Spain, with the authority of propraetor, by the interest of Crassus, who wished to set him up in opposition to Pompey. The senate assented, in order to have so dangerous a citizen at a distance from the seat of government. The Spanish cavalry, which formed part of his train, assassinated him soon after his arrival in that country.

POMPEIUS, Cn. Son of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, and the well-known opponent of Caesar. He received his title of Magnus from Sylla, after various successes in behalf of that commander. During the troubles occasioned by the conspiracy of Catiline, Pompey was engaged in the movements connected with the Mithridatic war, and in settling the affairs of Asia.

POMPEIUS Rufus, Q. A Roman praetor, despatched to Capua, to take possession of that place lest it should fall into the hands of Catiline's partisans.

POMPTINUS, C. A praetor, during the time of Cicero's consulship. He was one of the officers appointed by Cicero to arrest the Allobrogian ambassadors and their train. He subsequently, on the expiration of his praetorship, obtained the government of Gallia Narbonensis, defeated the Allobroges, who had revolted, and reduced their country to tranquillity, for which he was honoured with a triumph. Cicero employed him as his lieutenant in the government of Cilicia, where he distinguished himself by his bravery.

R.

RUTILIUS Rufus, P. A lieutenant under Metellus in the war with Jugurtha. He afterwards held the consulship with Cn. Manlius Maximus, B. C. 167. Subsequently to this period, he served as lieutenant under Q. Mucius Scaevola, when he attempted to protect the people of Asia from the oppression of the farmers of the revenue. In consequence of this, he fell under the displeasure of the equestrian order, and was brought to trial. Disregarding both the want of evidence and his unsullied reputation before this impeachment, his judges condemned him, and sentenced him to banishment. He retired to Smyrna. Velleius Paterculus asserts that he was a man, the very best not only of his own time, but of any age. He had an uncommon knowledge of the military art, and introduced many improvements into the Roman discipline. In banishment he devoted his time to philosophy and literary pursuits, in-

clining to the Stoic doctrines which he had learned under Panaetius. He resisted the urgent solicitations of Sylla, then at the head of affairs, to quit the place of his retreat and return to Rome. Rutilius wrote in Greek the history of his own times, the war against Hannibal, the siege of Numantia, at which he fought, and the war in Numidia. The last received high commendation for its impartiality. In addition to these works may be mentioned his own biography, which Tacitus praises, Observations on the Greek Philosophers, and Orations on several topics. Cicero mentions his eloquence with respect. He was also an able lawyer.

S.

SAENIUS, L. A Roman, who read in the senate a letter which he had received from Faesulae, containing intelligence, that Manlius, one of the accomplices of Catiline, had taken up arms against the state with a numerous party of followers.

SCAURUS, M. Aemilius. A Roman nobleman, of great ability, who held the consulship with M. Caecilius Metellus, B. C. 116. He triumphed over the Carni; and made the road from Placentia to Parma, hence called the Aemilian way. He had the honour of being appointed *Princeps Senatus*, and would have ranked in history with the very first characters of the Roman state, had not his splendid talents been tarnished by avarice and other degrading passions. Pliny agrees with Sallust in giving the unfavourable side of the picture. On the other hand, Cicero highly extols his virtues, abilities, and achievements. It is of this same individual that Valerius Maximus (3, 7, 8) relates the well-known anecdote, so illustrative of the high estimation in which he was held by the people. Being accused of having received a bribe from a foreign prince, he concluded a very brief defence with the following words:—“*Varius Sucronensis Aemilium Scaurum, regia mercede corruptum, imperium populi Romani perdidisse ait: Aemilius Scaurus huic se affinem esse culpae negat. Utri creditis?*” The writer adds:—“*Cujus dicti admiratione populus commotus Varium ab illa dementissima actione pertinaci clamore depulit.*” It is more than probable, therefore, that Sallust endeavours to depreciate Scaurus, because the latter was a member, and a strong advocate for the power, of the nobility; while Cicero, on the other hand, strives for this same reason to exalt his character. The truth undoubtedly lies between either extreme. He afterwards held the office of censor, and the consulship a second time. His name often occurs in the writings of Cicero, who speaks in great praise of a work of his in three books, recording the principal occurrences and transactions of his life. The orator considers it equal to Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*.

SCIPIO, P. Cornelius, afterwards surnamed Africanus, from his victory over Hannibal at Zama, and his consequent overthrow of the Carthaginian power. He is only alluded to incidentally by Sallust.

SCIPIO, P. Cornelius, surnamed Aemilianus, and also Africanus Minor. He was the son of Paullus Aemilius, the conqueror of Macedonia, and was adopted into the Scipio line by the son of the elder Africanus. His name Aemilianus refers to his parentage, and that of Africanus Minor, (“Younger Africanus,”) to his having destroyed Car-

thage at the close of the third Punic war. He is sometimes also styled Numantinus, from his having conquered Numantia.

SCIPIO NASICA, P. Cornelius, married Metella, daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus. Cicero, in his treatise on illustrious orators, mentions, that, in wit and humour, he surpassed all his contemporaries. He obtained the consulship, B. C. 113, with L. Calpurnius Piso Bestia, when Italy fell to his lot, and Numidia to that of his colleague. He died in office, on which account Bestia returned from Numidia to preside at the elections.

SEMPRONIA. The wife of Decimus Brutus, by whom she became the mother of D. Junius Brutus, so well known for the share he took in the assassination of Julius Caesar. She engaged in the conspiracy of Catiline, without the knowledge, as it would appear, of her husband. Sallust has drawn her character in a very masterly manner, as that of a bold and unprincipled female.

SILANUS, Decimus Junius, held the office of consul with Licinius Murena, B. C. 64. They succeeded M. Tullius Cicero and C. Antonius. Being consuls elect, when the case of Catiline and his accomplices came before the senate, Silanus was asked his opinion first, with respect to the punishment that ought to be inflicted on these traitors. He was in favour of their being put to death. Subsequently, however, he embraced the opinion of Tiberius Nero, who was for strengthening the guards and adjourning the debate.

SILANUS, M. Junius. A Roman nobleman, who had for his colleague in the consulship Q. Caecilius Metellus, 111 B. C. He was totally defeated by the Cimbri in Gaul. (*Liv. Ept. 65.*) Eutropius says he defeated the Cimbri, but this is inaccurate.

SISENNA, L. Cornelius. An historian of the Cornelian family, and descended from that Sisenna who was praetor A. U. C. 570. In his youth he practised as an orator, and is characterized by Cicero as a man of learning and wit, but of no great industry, or knowledge of business. In more advanced life he was praetor of Achaia, and a friend of Atticus. Vossius says his history commenced after the taking of Rome by the Gauls, and ended with the wars of Marius and Sylla. Now, it is possible that he may have given some sketch of Roman affairs from the burning of the city by the Gauls, but it is evident he had touched slightly on these early portions of the history: for though his work consisted of twenty, or, according to others, of twenty-two books, it appears from a fragment of the second, which is still preserved, that he had there advanced in his narrative as far as the Social war, which broke out in the year 663. The greater part, therefore, was probably devoted to the history of the civil wars of Marius: and indeed Velleius Paterculus calls his work *Opus Belli Civilis Sullani*. The great defect of his history consisted, it is said, in its not being written with sufficient political freedom, at least concerning the character and conduct of Sylla, which is regretted by Sallust, in a passage bearing ample testimony to the merits of Sisenna in other particulars. Cicero, while he admits his superiority over his predecessors, adds, that he was far from perfection, and complains that there was something puerile in his Annals, as if he had studied none of the Greek historians but Clitarhus. (*Cic. de Leg. 1, 2.*) The fragments which remain of his history are more numerous than those of any old Latin annalist, being about 150; but they are also

shorter and more unconnected. Indeed, there are scarcely two sentences any where joined together.

SITTIVS NUCERINUS, P. A Roman knight, born at Nuceria, whence his surname Nucerinus. Catiline, according to Sallust, reckoned him among his friends, and, according to the common account, he was not only connected with the conspiracy, but, having been summoned to stand trial for some misdemeanor, before the discovery of the plot, he fled into Africa with a number of his associates and dependants, and assisted the king of Mauretania against the neighbouring princes. Cicero, however, in his oration for P. Cornelius Sylla, says, that he quitted the city in consequence of an agreement with the king of Mauretania; that he had previously been there, and that the idea of his being in the conspiracy was absurd. The orator describes him as a respectable man, and calls him his old friend and acquaintance. Sittius, with his troops, afterwards joined the standard of Julius Caesar in Africa, and rendered him important service against the forces of Scipio and Juba. The conqueror bestowed upon him, as a recompense, the city and territory of Cirta. *Vid.* Geographical Index, s. v. Cirta.

SPINTHER, or P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, held the office of curule aedile, B. C. 65, when Cicero and Antonius were consuls. His great wealth enabled him to display a magnificence in the celebration of the games, which surpassed what had ever before been seen at Rome. To his charge P. Lentulus Sura, who was then Praetor Urbanus, was confined, when the conspiracy of Catiline was detected in the capital. In the year 59 B. C. he was propraetor of Hispania Citerior. He was elected consul with Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, and procured the recall of Cicero from banishment. In the civil war, he attached himself to the side of Pompey, and, having been taken prisoner, was brought before Caesar, at Corfinium, and set at liberty. He fought in the battle of Pharsalia, and fled to Rhodes, but the Rhodians refused him protection. Nothing farther is known of him. According to Valerius Maximus, he had the surname of Spinther, from his resemblance to a comedian of that name.

STATILIUS, L. A Roman of equestrian rank, connected with the conspiracy of Catiline, and strangled in prison.

SULLA, L. Cornelius. A Roman of Patrician rank, who served at first under Marius. His activity and address contributed greatly to bring the Jugurthine war to a successful termination. Marius became, at last, jealous of Sylla's merit; hence originated that quarrel between them, which was productive of the most enormous cruelties, and contributed to the final extinction of Roman liberty. Being sent to Asia to restrain the power of Mithridates, though under a different pretence, he proved himself both a brave soldier and an able general. On his return, he displayed his military talents to great advantage in the Social war. So strongly were his soldiers attached to him, that when two tribunes were sent to take the command of his army, and give it to Marius, they stoned them to death. Marius, in revenge, put Sylla's friends in the city to the sword, upon which the latter marched to Rome, and compelled Marius to flee. The horrid proscription now began. A price was set on the head of Marius, but he effected his escape. Sylla then set out against Mithridates, defeated his armies under different generals, and concluded a peace with him on very advantageous terms. Marius and Cinna having butchered many of Sylla's friends at Rome, he returned to Italy to avenge

their deaths. On his arriva., his conduct was marked by clemency and moderation; but no sooner were his enemies wholly within his power, than he committed the most enormous and barbarous acts of cruelty. To aggrandize himself, to exalt the patricians, and to glut his desire of revenge on his enemies, induced Sylla to assume the reins of absolute government. He corrected the abuses introduced by popular and unprincipled demagogues, restored the ancient laws, and enacted many that were salutary and beneficial. Still, tyranny marked his whole conduct, and rendered his administration a scene of terror, by his personal enmities and insufferable despotism. Desire of revenge was a stronger passion in the mind of Sylla than love of power. After glutting his vengeance with the blood of thousands, and governing with despotic authority for three years, he resigned the reins of power, and lived undisturbed as a private citizen. He died in great torment of the *morbus pedicularis*, in the sixtieth year of his age, about 78 B. C. The perpetual intoxication to which he had recourse to avoid the horrors of a guilty conscience, contributed to hasten his death.

SYPHAX. A king of the Masaesyli, in Africa. At first he was hostile to the Carthaginians, and waged war against them; but, on marrying Sophonisba, daughter of Hasdrubal, he formed an alliance with Carthage. He was defeated by Africanus in a night engagement, his tents being all destroyed by fire; and was taken prisoner after a second battle, in which he and Hasdrubal were overcome by Laelius and Masinissa. Scipio sent him to Rome, when the senate ordered him to be kept a prisoner at Alba, from which he was removed at a later period to Tibur.

T.

TARQUINIUS, L. A man who left Rome to join the army of Catiline, but who was apprehended and brought back. On his examination, he promised to make a full disclosure, if the public faith were pledged for his safety. On this being done, he implicated Crassus in the plot. This charge was deemed by the senate utterly false, and Tarquinius was ordered to be confined in prison, unless he gave up the person who had instigated him to the act.

TERENTIUS Varro, Cn. A man of senatorian rank, who held the office of praetor, B. C. 66, and to whom the conspirator Q. Coeparius was given in charge.

TORQUATUS, L. Manlius. A Roman nobleman, who held the consulship with L. Aurelius Cotta, B. C. 67. He was the particular friend of M. Tullius Cicero, who mentions him in terms of high commendation in many of his letters. He obtained Macedonia for his province. In the civil war he sided with Pompey. The time and manner of his death are not mentioned.

U.

UMBRĒNUS, P. A freedman, who engaged in the conspiracy of Catiline, and endeavoured to prevail on the deputies from the Allobroges to take part with that traitor. He was committed to prison on the discovery of the plot, and most probably punished with death.

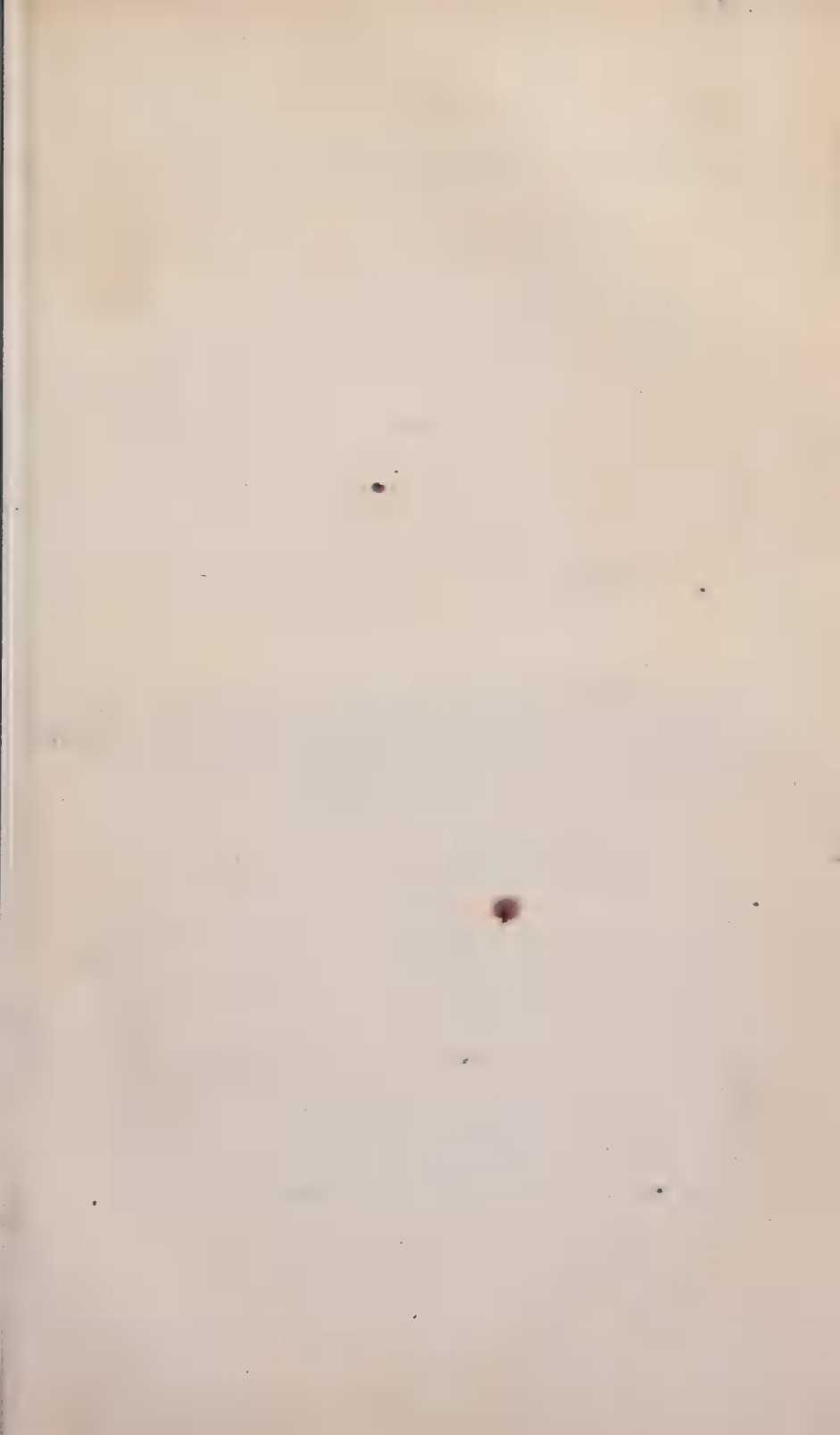
V.

VALERIŪS Flaccus, L. A Roman nobleman, distinguished for his military talents and general ability. He traced his descent from Valerius Poplicola. After holding the office of tribune of the soldiers in Cilicia, and being quaestor in Spain, he obtained the praetorship in the year in which Cicero was consul, and contributed by his activity to the crushing of Catiline's conspiracy. After the expiration of his praetorship, he succeeded to the government of Asia, and on his return was arraigned for extortion, but acquitted through the powerful eloquence of Cicero, who, together with Hortensius, pleaded his cause.

VARGUNTEIUS, L. One of the accomplices of Catiline, who undertook, along with C. Cornelius, to murder Cicero in his own house. The consul was apprized of his danger by Curius, through Fulvia, and they were refused admittance. Cicero says they were both knights. Probably Vargunteius, though a senator, was of equestrian origin.

VOLTURCIUS, T. A native of Crotona, and one of the accomplices of Catiline. He was intrusted by Lentulus with a letter for Catiline. On being seized, and brought before the senate, he at first pleaded entire ignorance of the conspiracy, but, on being assured of his safety, he made a full discovery of all that he knew. His testimony was confirmed by the deputies of the Allobroges.

VOLUX, son of Bocchus, king of Mauretania, sent by his father, at the head of a large body of cavalry to meet Sylla, quaestor under Marius and escort him to the royal presence



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