

LATIN SERIES • VOLUME 18

SALLUST

SALLUST

Bellum Catilinae
Bellum Iugurthinum

The War with Catiline and the War with Jugurtha

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation
preserving the original word order

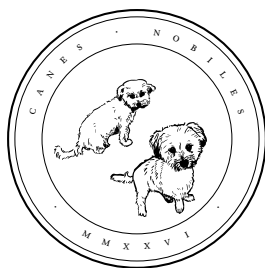


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The Latin text follows Ahlberg's Teubner text of 1919

Set from the Perseus Digital Library's canonical Latin corpus, with corrections

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Ahlberg secludes with square brackets, and this volume does not print what he secludes; his supplements are printed without their brackets, and the three asterisks of his one lacuna are glossed as one. The chapters are his, gathered into episodes whose divisions, and every English section title in the book, are this press's.

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SALLUST

Bellum Catilinae

The War with Catiline

Men should not pass through life like cattle: the body we share with the beasts, the mind with the gods, and the glory the mind wins lasts. Men long disputed whether war is won by strength of body or by virtue of mind: each needs the other, and the first empires show that talent counts for most. As a young man he entered public life and found shamelessness, bribery, and greed there; ambition held him too. Now he has withdrawn and will write episodes of Rome's history, free of hope, fear, and party; his subject is Catiline's conspiracy, a crime memorable for its new wickedness and danger.

Omnis homines, qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus, 1
all men who themselves are-eager to-excel the-other animals
summa ope niti decet, ne vitam silentio transeant
with-utmost effort to-strive it-befits lest life in-silence they-pass-through
veluti pecora, quae natura prona atque ventri oboedientia
like cattle which nature bent-forward and to-the-belly obedient
finxit. sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore
has-fashioned but our whole strength in the-mind and the-body
sita est: animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur;
placed is of-the-mind the-rule of-the-body the-service rather we-use
alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum beluis commune est.
the-one to-us with the-gods the-other with the-beasts common is
quo mihi rectius videtur ingeni quam virium opibus
wherefore to-me more-rightly it-seems of-talent than of-strength by-the-resources
gloriam quaerere, et quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis
glory to-seek and since life itself which we-enjoy brief
est, memoriam nostri quam maxume longam efficere. nam
is the-memory of-ourselves as most long to-make for
divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus clara
of-riches and of-beauty the-glory fleeting and fragile is virtue bright
aeternaque habetur. sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen
and-eternal is-held but long a-great among mortals contest

fuit, vine corporis an virtute animi res
there-was whether-by-strength of-body or by-virtue of-mind the-business
 militaris magis procederet. nam et prius quam incipias
military more would-prosper for both before than you-begin
 consulto et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est. ita
of-deliberation and when you-have-deliberated promptly of-action need there-is thus
 utrumque per se indigens alterum alterius auxilio eget.

each through itself lacking the-one of-the-other the-help needs

- 2 Igitur initio reges — nam in terris nomen imperi id
therefore in-the-beginning kings for on earth the-name of-command that
 primum fuit — divorsi pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant:
first was differing some talent others the-body exercised
 etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur; sua
even then the-life of-men without desire was-passed their-own
 quoque satis placebant. postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus,
to-each enough pleased afterward however when in Asia Cyrus
 in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbis atque
in Greece the-Lacedaemonians and the-Athenians began cities and
 nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere,
nations to-subdue the-lust of-ruling the-cause of-war to-hold
 maxumam gloriam in maximo imperio putare, tum demum
the-greatest glory in the-greatest command to-think then at-last
 periculo atque negotiis compertum est in bello plurimum
by-danger and by-affairs discovered it-was in war most
 ingenium posse. quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus
talent to-avail but if of-kings and of-generals of-mind the-virtue
 in pace ita ut in bello valeret, aequabilius atque constantius
in peace so as in war were-strong more-evenly and more-steadily
 sese res humanae haberent, neque aliud alio ferri
themselves affairs human would-hold nor other-thing to-other-place to-be-carried
 neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneret. nam imperium
nor to-be-changed and to-be-mixed all-things would-you-see for command

facile iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est.
easily by-those arts is-kept by-which in-the-beginning won it-is
 verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate
but when for toil idleness for self-restraint and fairness
 lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus
lust and pride have-invaded fortune together with the-morals
 inmutatur. ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a
is-changed thus command always to the-best each from
 minus bono transfertur. quae homines arant navigant aedificant,
the-less good is-transferred what men plow sail build
 virtuti omnia parent. sed multi mortales, dediti ventri
to-virtue all-things obey but many mortals given-over to-the-belly
 atque somno, indocti incultique vitam sicuti peregrinantes
and to-sleep untaught and-uncultured life like travelers
 transiere; quibus profecto contra naturam corpus voluptati,
have-passed-through to-whom surely against nature the-body a-pleasure
 anima oneri fuit. eorum ego vitam mortemque iuxta aestumo,
the-soul a-burden was of-them I the-life and-the-death alike reckon
 quoniam de utraque siletur. verum enim vero is demum
since about both there-is-silence but indeed truly he only
 mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui aliquo negotio
to-me to-live and to-enjoy the-soul seems who in-some business
 intentus praeclari facinoris aut artis bonae famam quaerit. sed
intent of-a-glorious deed or of-an-art good the-fame seeks but
 in magna copia rerum aliud alii natura iter ostendit.
in great abundance of-things another to-another nature the-road shows
 Pulchrum est bene facere rei publicae, etiam bene 3
fine it-is well to-do for-the-thing public even well
 dicere haud absurdum est; vel pace vel bello clarum fieri
to-speak not absurd is either in-peace or in-war famous to-become
 licet; et qui fecere et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi
it-is-allowed and who have-done and who the-deeds of-others have-written many

laudantur. ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudquaquam par gloria
are-praised and to-me indeed although by-no-means equal glory
 sequitur scriptorem et auctorem rerum, tamen in primis
follows the-writer and the-doer of-things yet among the-first
 arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum quod facta
hard it-seems the-deeds done to-write first because the-deeds
 dictis exaequanda sunt; dehinc quia plerique quae delicta
with-words to-be-equalled are then because most-men what faults
 reprehenderis malevolentia et invidia dicta putant, ubi de
you-have-censured from-malevolence and envy spoken think when about
 magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memores, quae sibi
great virtue and glory of-the-good you-recount what to-himself
 quisque facilia factu putat, aequo animo accipit, supra ea
each easy to-do thinks with-calm mind he-accepts beyond those-things
 veluti ficta pro falsis ducit. sed ego adulescentulus initio
as fabricated for false he-takes but I a-very-young-man in-the-beginning
 sicuti plerique studio ad rem publicam latus sum, ibique mihi
like most by-zeal to the-thing public borne was and-there to-me
 multa adversa fuere. nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia,
many-things adverse were for instead-of shame instead-of restraint
 pro virtute audacia largitio avaritia vigeabant. quae tametsi
instead-of virtue boldness bribery avarice flourished which although
 animus aspernabatur insolens malarum artium, tamen inter
(my)-mind scorned unaccustomed of-bad arts yet among
 tanta vitia imbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur; ac me,
such-great vices (my)-weak age by-ambition corrupted was-held and me
 quom ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus
when from of-the-rest the-bad morals I-dissented nothing less
 honoris cupido eadem qua ceteros fama atque invidia vexabat.
of-office the-desire with-the-same as the-others fame and envy troubled

Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit 4
therefore when (my)-mind from many miseries and dangers rested
 et mihi reliquam aetatem a re publica procul habendam
and to-me the-remaining age from the-thing public far to-be-held
 decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium
I-decided not was (my)-plan in-sloth and in-idleness the-good leisure
 conterere, neque vero agrum colundo aut venando, servilibus
to-waste nor indeed the-field on-tilling or on-hunting on-slavish
 officiis, intentum aetatem agere; sed a quo incepto studioque
tasks intent (my)-age to-spend but from which undertaking and-pursuit
 me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res
me ambition bad had-detained to-the-same having-returned I-resolved the-deeds
 gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna
done of-the-people Roman selectively as each of-memory worthy
 videbantur, perscribere, eo magis quod mihi a spe metu
seemed to-write-out the more because to-me from hope fear
 partibus rei publicae animus liber erat. igitur de Catilinae
the-parties of-the-thing public (my)-mind free was therefore about of-Catiline
 coniuratione quam verissime potero paucis absolvam;
the-conspiracy as most-truly I-shall-be-able in-few-words I-shall-finish
 nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo sceleris
for that crime among the-first I memorable reckon of-wickedness
 atque periculi novitate. de quouis hominis moribus pauca
and of-danger for-the-novelty about whose of-the-man character a-few-things
 prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.
first to-be-explained are before the-beginning of-narrating I-make

Lucius Catiline is of noble birth, strong in mind and body, and depraved in nature. From youth he loves civil war and plunder, and after Sulla's tyranny he longs to seize the state, driven by poverty, guilt, and the city's corruption. To explain those morals Sallust goes back to the founding by Trojans and Aborigines, to the kings, and to the consuls. Early Rome, eager for glory, is just by nature, not by law, brave in war and fair in peace.

- 5 L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi
Lucius Catiline of-noble birth born was with-great strength both of-mind
et corporis sed ingenio malo pravoque. huic ab adulescentia
and of-body but with-a-nature evil and-depraved to-him from youth
bella intestina caedes rapinae discordia civilis grata fuere,
wars internal slaughter plunder discord civil pleasing were
ibique iuventutem suam exercuit. corpus patiens inediae aliorum
and-there youth his-own he-exercised (his)-body enduring of-hunger of-cold
vigiliae supra quam quocumque credibile est. animus audax
of-sleeplessness beyond what to-anyone credible is (his)-mind bold
subdolanus varius, quocumque rei lubet simulator ac dissimulator,
crafty changeable of-whatever thing it-pleases a-feigner and a-dissembler
alieni adpetens sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus; satis
of-another's covetous of-his-own lavish burning in desires enough
eloquentiae, sapientiae parum. vastus animus immoderata
of-eloquence of-wisdom too-little (his)-vast mind immoderate-things
incredibilia nimis alta semper cupiebat. hunc post
incredible-things too high-things always desired him after
dominationem L. Sullae lubido maxuma invaserat rei
the-tyranny of-Lucius Sulla a-lust very-great had-invaded of-the-thing
publicae capiundae; neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum
public of-seizing nor it by-what means he-might-attain provided
sibi regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat. agitabatur
for-himself a-kingship he-procured anything of-account he-held was-driven

magis magisque in dies animus ferox inopia rei
more and-more day-by day (his)-mind fierce by-the-want of-property
 familiaris et conscientia scelerum, quae utraque iis
private and by-the-consciousness of-crimes which both by-those
 artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. incitabant praeterea
arts be-had-increased which above I-have-mentioned urged(-him)-on besides
 corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac divorsa inter se
the-corrupt of-the-state morals which the-worst and opposed among themselves
 mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. res ipsa hortari
evils luxury and avarice troubled the-matter itself to-urge
 videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit,
seems since about the-morals of-the-state the-occasion has-reminded-me
 supra repetere ac paucis instituta maiorum domi
further-back to-go and in-few-words the-institutions of-the-ancestors at-home
 militiaeque, quo modo rem publicam habuerint quantamque
and-in-war in-what way the-thing public they-held and-how-great
 reliquerint, ut paulatim inmutata ex pulcherruma atque
they-left how little-by-little changed from the-most-beautiful and
 optuma pessuma ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.
best the-worst and most-shameful made it-has-been to-discuss
 Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere 6
the-city Rome as I have-received founded and held
 initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis
in-the-beginning the-Trojans who with-Aeneas as-leader exiles with-homes uncertain
 vagabantur, cumque iis Aborigines, genus hominum agreste,
wandered and-with them the-Aborigines a-race of-men rustic
 sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. hi
without laws without command free and unrestrained these
 postquam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili
after into one wall they-came-together of-unlike race of-dissimilar
 lingua, alii alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est
tongue some in-another manner living incredible to-relate it-is

quam facile coaluerint: ita brevi multitudo dispersa
how easily they-grew-together thus in-a-short-time a-multitude scattered
 atque vaga concordia civitas facta erat. sed postquam
and wandering by-concord a-state made had-been but after
 res eorum civibus moribus agris aucta satis prospera
the-state their by-citizens by-morals by-lands increased enough prosperous
 satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur,
and-enough powerful seemed as most-things of-mortals are-held
 invidia ex opulentia orta est. igitur reges populique finitimi
envy from wealth arisen has therefore kings and-peoples neighboring
 bello temptare, pauci ex amicis auxilio esse: nam ceteri metu
by-war assailed few of friends for-help were for the-rest by-fear
 perculsi a periculis aberant. at Romani domi militiaeque
struck from dangers held-alooft but the-Romans at-home and-in-war
 intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam
intent hurried prepared one another urged the-enemies to-meet
 ire, libertatem, patriam parentisque armis tegere. post
went liberty fatherland and-parents with-arms they-protected afterward
 ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia
when the-dangers by-virtue they-had-driven-off to-allies and friends aid
 portabant, magisque dandis quam accipiundis beneficiis
they-brought and-more by-giving than by-receiving favors
 amicitias parabant. imperium legitimum, nomen imperi
friendships they-won a-command lawful the-name of-command
 regum habebant. delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum,
royal they-held chosen-men to-whom the-body with-years weak
 ingenium sapientia validum erat, rei publicae consultabant:
the-talent with-wisdom strong was for-the-thing public took-counsel
 hi vel aetate vel curae similitudine patres appellabantur.
these either by-age or of-care by-the-likeness fathers were-called
 post ubi regum imperium, quod initio conservandae
afterward when the-royal command which in-the-beginning of-preserving

libertatis atque augendae rei publicae fuerat, in superbiam
liberty and of-increasing the-thing public had-been into pride
 dominationemque se convortit, inmutato more annua imperia
and-tyranny itself turned with-changed custom yearly commands
 binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minume
and-two generals for-themselves they-made in-that way least
 posse putabant per licentiam inolescere animum humanum.
to-be-able they-thought through license to-grow-insolent the-mind human
 Sed ea tempestate coepere se quisque magis extollere 7
but at-that time began themselves each more to-raise
 magisque ingenium in promptu habere. nam regibus boni
and-more talent in readiness to-have for to-kings the-good
 quam mali suspiciores sunt, semperque iis aliena virtus
than the-bad more-suspect are and-always to-them another's virtue
 formidulosa est. sed civitas incredibile memoratu est adepta
fearful is but the-state incredible to-relate it-is having-obtained
 libertate quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriae
liberty how-much in-a-short-time it-grew so-great a-desire of-glory
 incesserat. iam primum iuventus, simul ac belli patiens
had-come-upon(-them) now first the-youth as-soon as of-war capable
 erat, in castris per laborem usum militiae discebat,
it-was in the-camps through toil the-practice of-soldiering learned
 magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in
and-more in handsome arms and military horses than in
 scortis atque conviviis lubidinem habebant. igitur talibus viris
barlots and banquets lust they-had therefore to-such men
 non labor insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduos erat,
not toil unaccustomed not place any rough or steep was
 non armatus hostis formidulosus: virtus omnia domuerat. sed
not an-armed enemy fearful virtue all-things had-mastered but
 gloriae maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat: se quisque
of-glory a-very-great contest among themselves was himself each

hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici, dum tale facinus
an-enemy to-strike a-wall to-climb to-be-seen while such a-deed
 faceret, properabat. eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque
he-did hastened those riches that good fame and-great
 nobilitatem putabant. laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant;
nobility they-thought of-praise greedy of-money generous they-were
 gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. memorare possum,
glory vast riches honorable they-wished to-relate I-could
 quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus
what in places the-greatest of-the-enemy forces the-people Roman
 parva manu fuderit, quas urbis natura munitas pugnando
with-a-small band routed what cities by-nature fortified by-fighting
 ceperit, ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.
it-took unless that matter further us from the-undertaking should-draw

- 8 Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas
but surely fortune in every thing rules she things all
 ex lubricine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque.
from caprice rather than from the-truth celebrates and-obscures
 Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego aestumo, satis amplae
of-the-Athenians the-deeds done as I reckon enough ample
 magnificaeque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama
and-magnificent were but somewhat smaller however than in-fame
 feruntur. sed quia provenire ibi scriptorum magna ingenia,
they-are-reported but because arose there of-writers great talents
 per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis
throughout of-the-lands the-circle of-the-Athenians the-deeds as the-greatest
 celebrantur. ita eorum qui fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum
are-celebrated thus of-those who did the-virtue so-great is-held as-much-as
 eam verbis potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. at populo
it by-words were-able to-exalt brilliant talents but to-the-people
 Romano numquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissimus
Roman never that abundance was because the-most-prudent

quisque maxume negotiosus erat, ingenium nemo sine corpore

each most busy was (his)-talent no-one without the-body

exercebat, optumus quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis

exercised the-best each to-do than to-speak his-own by others

bene facta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

well done to-be-praised than himself of-others to-narrate preferred

Igitur domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur; concordia

therefore at-home and-in-war good morals were-cultivated concord

maxuma, minuma avaritia erat; ius bonumque apud eos non

very-great very-little avarice was right and-good among them not

legibus magis quam natura valebat. iurgia, discordias similitudines

by-laws more than by-nature prevailed quarrels discords feuds

cum hostibus exercebant, cives cum civibus de virtute

with the-enemies they-practiced citizens with citizens about virtue

certabant. in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in

contended in the-worship of-the-gods magnificent at-home frugal toward

amicos fideles erant. duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi

friends faithful they-were by-two these arts by-boldness in war when

pax evererat aequitate, seque remque publicam curabant.

peace had-come by-fairness themselves and-the-thing public they-cared-for

quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta haec habeo, quod in

of-which things I the-greatest proofs these have that in

bello saepius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in

war more-often punished it-was on those who against the-command against

hostem pugnaverant quique tardius revocati proelio excesserant,

the-enemy had-fought and-who more-slowly recalled from-battle had-withdrawn

quam qui signa relinquere aut pulsi loco cedere ausi

than who the-standards to-abandon or driven from-(their)-place to-yield dared

erant; in pace vero quod beneficiis magis quam metu imperium

had in peace however that by-favors rather than by-fear command

agitabant et accepta iniuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

they-exercised and received a-wrong to-forgive than to-pursue they-preferred

When Carthage falls, fortune begins to rage. Leisure and wealth breed first greed for money and then for power. Ambition, a vice close to a virtue, makes men false; avarice ruins good faith and honesty. After Sulla recovers the state by arms, his victors plunder their fellow citizens, and the army he had pampered in Asia, schooled there in luxury, leaves the vanquished nothing. Riches bring honor, and poverty becomes a disgrace. Men build houses the size of cities, level mountains, and pave seas, and the young, ruined by luxury, turn to crime.

- 10 Sed ubi labore atque iustitia res publica crevit, reges magni
but when by-toil and by-justice the-thing public grew kings great
 bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes vi subacti,
by-war were-tamed nations wild and peoples huge by-force subdued
 Carthago aemula imperi Romani ab stirpe interiit, cuncta
Carthage the-rival of-the-empire Roman from the-root perished all
 maria terraeque patebant, saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia
seas and-lands lay-open to-rage fortune and to-confound all-things
 coepit. qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile
began who toils dangers doubtful and harsh circumstances easily
 toleraverant, iis otium divitiaeque, optanda alias, oneri
had-endured to-them leisure and-riches desirable at-other-times a-burden
 miseriaeque fuere. igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido
and-misery were therefore first of-money then of-empire the-desire
 crevit: ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. namque
grew these as-it-were the-material of-all evils were for
 avaritia fidem probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvertit;
avarice good-faith honesty and-the-other arts good overturned
 pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia
instead-of these pride cruelty the-gods to-neglect all-things
 venalia habere edocuit. ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri
for-sale to-bold it-taught ambition many mortals false to-become

subegit aliud clausum in pectore aliud in lingua promptum
compelled one-thing shut-up in the-breast another in the-tongue ready
habere, amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re sed ex
to-have friendships and-enmities not from the-matter but from
commodo aestumare, magisque voltum quam ingenium bonum
advantage to-value and-rather the-face than the-nature good
habere. haec primo paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari; post
to-have these first little-by-little grew sometimes were-punished afterward
ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas inmutata, imperium
when the-contagion like a-plague invaded the-state was-changed the-empire
ex iustissimo atque optumo crudele intolerandumque factum.
from the-most-just and best cruel and-intolerable was-made
Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum 11
but at-first more ambition than avarice the-minds of-men
exercebat, quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. nam
exercised which however a-vice nearer to-virtue was for
gloriam honorem imperium bonus et ignavos aequè
glory office command the-good-man and the-coward equally
sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic
for-themselves desire but the-former by-the-true way strives to-the-latter
quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit.
because good arts are-lacking by-tricks and deceits contends
avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens
avarice of-money the-passion has which no wise-man
concupivit: ea quasi venenis malis inbuta corpus animumque
has-coveted it as-if with-poisons evil steeped the-body and-the-mind
virilem effeminat, semper infinita insatiabilis est, neque
manly makes-effeminate always boundless insatiable it-is neither
copia neque inopia minuitur. sed postquam L. Sulla armis
by-plenty nor by-want is-lessened but after Lucius Sulla by-arms
recepta re publica bonis initiis malos eventus habuit,
recovered the-thing public from-good beginnings bad outcomes bad

rapere omnes omnes trahere, domum alius alius agros
plundered all all dragged-off a-house one another fields
 cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores habere, foeda
coveted nor measure nor restraint the-victors had foul
 crudeliaque in civis facinora facere. huc adcedebat quod
and-cruel against citizens deeds they-did to-this was-added that
 L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi
Lucius Sulla the-army which in Asia he-had-led so-that to-himself
 fidum faceret, contra morem maiorum luxuriose nimisque
loyal he-might-make against the-custom of-the-ancestors luxuriously and-too
 liberaliter habuerat. loca amoena voluptaria facile in otio
liberally had-kept places pleasant voluptuous easily in leisure
 ferocis militum animos molliverant: ibi primum insuevit
the-fierce of-the-soldiers minds had-softened there first grew-used
 exercitus populi Romani amare potare, signa tabulas pictas
the-army of-the-people Roman to-make-love to-drink statues pictures painted
 vasa caelata mirari, ea privatim et publice rapere, delubra
vases embossed to-admire them privately and publicly to-seize shrines
 spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere. igitur ii milites,
to-despoil sacred and-profane all-things to-pollute therefore those soldiers
 postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis
after victory obtained have nothing left to-the-vanquished
 fecere. quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant:
made inasmuch-as prosperous circumstances of-the-wise the-minds wear-out
 ne illi corruptis moribus victoriae temperarent.
much-less they with-corrupted morals in-victory would-moderate

- 12 Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere et eas gloria, imperium
after riches an-honor to-be began and them glory command
 potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi,
power followed grew-dull virtue poverty a-disgrace to-be-held
 innocentia pro malevolentia duci coepit. igitur ex divitiis
innocence for malevolence to-be-reckoned began therefore from riches

iuventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere:

the-youth luxury and avarice with pride invaded

rapere consumere, sua parvi pendere aliena cupere,

they-plundered they-squandered their-own at-little they-valued another's they-coveted

pudorem pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua,

shame chastity divine-things and human-things indiscriminately

nihil pensi neque moderati habere. operae pretium est,

nothing of-account nor of-moderation they-held of-the-labor worth-while it-is

quom domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum

when houses and villas you-have-come-to-know in of-cities the-manner

exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri maiores

built-up to-view the-temples of-the-gods which our ancestors

religiosissimi mortales fecere. verum illi delubra deorum pietate,

most-devout mortals made but they the-shrines of-the-gods with-piety

domos suas gloria decorabant, neque victis quicquam

the-houses their-own with-glory adorned nor from-the-vanquished anything

praeter iniuriae licentiam eripiebant. at hi contra,

except of-wrongdoing the-license did-they-take but these on-the-contrary

ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus omnia ea

most-cowardly men through utmost crime all those-things

sociis adimere, quae fortissimi viri victores reliquerant:

from-the-allies took-away which the-bravest men as-victors had-left

proinde quasi iniuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti.

just as-if a-wrong to-do that alone were command to-use

Nam quid ea memorem, quae nisi iis qui videre

for why those-things should-I-relate which unless to-those who have-seen

nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis compluribus subvorsos

to-no-one credible are by private-men many overturned

montis, maria constrata esse? quibus mihi videntur

mountains seas paved-over to-have-been to-whom to-me seem

ludibrio fuisse divitiae: quippe quas honeste habere

a-plaything to-have-been riches inasmuch-as which honorably to-bold

13

licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. sed libido
it-was-allowed to-abuse through shame they-hastened but the-lust
 stupri ganeae ceterique cultus non minor incesserat:
of-debauchery of-gluttony and-of-the-other refinement not less had-come-upon-them
 viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere;
men women's-things suffered women chastity in the-open held
 vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere; dormire
of-eating for-the-sake by-land and-sea all-things they-sought-out they-slept
 prius, quam somni cupido esset; non famem aut sitim,
before than of-sleep a-desire was not hunger or thirst
 neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia
nor cold nor weariness they-waited-for but those all-things
 luxu antecapere. haec iuventutem, ubi familiares opes
by-luxury they-forestalled these-things the-youth when the-family resources
 defecerant, ad facinora incendebant: animus imbutus malis
had-failed to crimes inflamed the-mind steeped in-bad
 artibus haud facile lubricinibus carebat; eo profusius
arts not easily lusts did-without all-the more-lavishly
 omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat.
in-all ways to-gain and to-expense devoted had-been

IV • CATILINE'S FOLLOWING

In so corrupt a city Catiline gathers about him every profligate, debtor, and criminal, and wins the young by feeding their desires. As a young man he had debauched a noble maiden and a priestess of Vesta, and he is firmly believed to have killed his own son to marry Aurelia Orestilla. His guilty mind gives him no rest: his color is bloodless and his gait uneven. He trains his followers in perjury and murder. With debts everywhere, Sulla's veterans eager for war, and Pompey's army far away, he plans to seize the state.

In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id quod factu 14
in so-great and-so corrupt a-state Catiline that which to-do
 facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum
easiest was of-all shameful-acts and crimes around
 se tamquam stipatorum catervas habebat. nam quicumque
himself like of-bodyguards troops he-had for whoever
 inpudicus adulter ganeo manu ventre pene bona patria
unchaste adulterer glutton by-hand by-belly by-member the-goods paternal
 laceraverat quique alienum aes grande conflaverat, quo
had-wasted and-whoever another's money great had-run-up with-which
 flagitium aut facinus redimeret, praeterea omnes undique
a-disgrace or a-crime he-might-buy-off besides all from-everywhere
 parricidae sacrilegi, convicti iudiciis aut pro factis iudicium
parricides temple-robbers convicted in-trials or for (their)-deeds a-trial
 timentes, ad hoc quos manus atque lingua periurio
fearing to this those-whom the-hand and the-tongue by-perjury
 aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo omnes quos flagitium,
or by-blood civil fed finally all whom disgrace
 egestas conscius animus exagitabat, ii Catilinae proximi
want a-guilty mind drove these to-Catiline nearest
 familiaresque erant. quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuos in
and-intimate were but if anyone even from guilt free into
 amicitiam eius inciderat, cottidiano usu atque illecebris
friendship his had-fallen by-daily intercourse and allurements
 facile par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. sed maxime
easily equal and-like to-the-others was-made but most
 adulescentium familiaritates adpetebat: eorum animi molles
of-young-men the-intimacies he-sought their minds soft
 et aetate fluxi dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. nam ut
and by-age pliable by-tricks not with-difficulty were-caught for as
 quousque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta
of-each the-passion according-to age burned to-some harlots

praebere, aliis canes atque equos mercari; postremo neque
he-supplied to-others dogs and horses he-bought finally neither
 sumptui neque modestiae suae parcere, dum illos obnoxios
expense nor modesty his-own he-spared provided them bound
 fidosque sibi faceret. scio fuisse nonnullos, qui ita
and-loyal to-himself he-might-make I-know there-were some who so
 existumarent iuventutem, quae domum Catilinae frequentabat,
thought the-youth which the-house of-Catiline frequented
 parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis
too-little honorably (their)-chastity to-have-kept but from other things rather
 quam quod quoiquam id compertum foret, haec fama valebat.
than that to-anyone it discovered was this report prevailed

- 15 Iam primum adulescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra
now first as-a-young-man Catiline many unspeakable debaucheries
 fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestae, alia huiusce
had-done with a-maiden noble with a-priestess of-Vesta others of-this
 modi contra ius fasque. postremo captus amore Aureliae
kind against right and-divine-law finally seized by-love of-Aurelia
 Orestillae, quouis praeter formam nihil umquam bonus
Orestilla of-whom except the-beauty nothing ever good-man
 laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat timens privignum adulta
praised because she to-marry him hesitated fearing a-stepson grown
 aetate, pro certo creditur necato filio vacuam domum scelestis
in-age for certain it-is-believed killed (his)-son empty the-house for-criminal
 nuptiis fecisse. quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur
marriage be-made which indeed thing to-me among the-first seems
 causa fuisse facinus maturandi. namque animus impurus,
the-cause to-have-been the-crime of-hastening for (his)-mind impure
 dis hominibusque infestus neque vigiliis neque quietibus
to-gods and-men hostile neither by-waking nor by-rest
 sedari poterat: ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat.
to-be-calmed could so conscience (his)-mind aroused ravaged

igitur colos ei exanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo modo

therefore (his)-color to-him bloodless foul (his)-eyes quick now now

tardus incessus: prorsus in facie voltuque vecordia inerat.

slow (his)-gait wholly in (his)-face and-look madness was

Sed iuventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis 16

but the-youth whom as above we-have-said he-had-enticed in-many

modis mala facinora edocebat. ex illis testis signatoresque

ways evil deeds he-taught from them witnesses and-signers

falsos commodare; fidem fortunas pericula vilia habere;

false he-lent good-faith fortunes dangers cheap he-held

post ubi eorum famam atque pudorem adriverat, maiora

afterward when their good-name and shame he-had-worn-away greater

alia imperabat. si causa peccandi in praesens minus

other-things he-commanded if a-cause for-wrongdoing in the-present less

suppetebat, nihilo minus insontis sicuti sontis circumvenire,

was-at-hand by-nothing less the-innocent as the-guilty he-ensnared

iugulare: scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut

he-slaughtered evidently lest through idleness should-grow-sluggish (their)-hand or

animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. his amicis

mind gratuitously rather evil and cruel he-was in-these friends

sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod aes alienum

and-allies trusting Catiline at-the-same-time because money another's

per omnis terras ingens erat et quod plerique Sullani

throughout all lands huge was and because most Sullan

milites largius suo usi rapinarum et victoriae veteris

soldiers more-lavishly their-own having-used of-plunder and of-victory old

memores civile bellum exoptabant, opprimundae rei publicae

mindful civil war desired of-crushing the-thing public

consilium cepit. in Italia nullus exercitus, Cn. Pompeius

a-plan he-formed in Italy no army Gnaeus Pompeius

in extremis terris bellum gerebat; ipsi consulatum petenti

in the-farthest lands war was-waging to-himself the-consulship seeking

magna spes, senatus nihil sane intentus: tutae tranquillaeque

great hope the-senate nothing at-all intent safe and-calm

res omnes, sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

things all but those wholly opportune for-Catiline

V · THE FIRST MEETING

About the first of June, in the consulship of Lucius Caesar and Gaius Figulus, Catiline sounds out men one by one and then calls them together: senators such as Lentulus, Cethegus, and Autronius, knights, and nobles from the colonies. Some believe Crassus knew of the plot. Sallust then recounts an earlier conspiracy: after Autronius and Publius Sulla were convicted of bribery, Autronius planned with Piso and Catiline to kill the consuls, a plan that failed when Catiline gave the signal too soon, before enough of them had gathered.

17 Igitur circiter Kalendas Iunias L. Caesare et C. Figulo

therefore about the-Kalends of-June Lucius Caesar and Gaius Figulus

consulibus primo singulos appellare; hortari alios, alios

being-consuls first one-by-one he-addressed he-urged some others

temptare; opes suas, inparatam rem publicam, magna

he-sounded-out resources his-own unprepared the-thing public great

praemia coniurationis docere. ubi satis explorata sunt quae

rewards of-the-conspiracy he-showed when enough explored were what

voluit, in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxuma necessitudo

he-wished into one all he-calls-together in-whom the-greatest need

et plurimum audaciae inerat. eo convenere senatorii ordinis

and most of-boldness was there came-together of-the-senatorial order

P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus,

Publius Lentulus Sura Publius Autronius Lucius Cassius Longinus

C. Cethegus, P. et Ser. Sullae Ser. filii, L.

Gaius Cethegus Publius and Servius Sullas of-Servius sons Lucius

Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia,
Vargunteius Quintus Annius Marcus Porcius Laeca Lucius Bestia
Q. Curius; praeterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius
Quintus Curius besides from the-equestrian order Marcus Fulvius
Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius;
Nobilior Lucius Statilius Publius Gabinius Capito Gaius Cornelius
ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis domi nobiles. erant
to this many from the-colonies and towns at-home noble were
praeterea complures paulo occultius consili huiusce participes
besides several a-little more-secretly of-plan this sharers
nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam
nobles whom rather of-tyranny the-hope urged than
inopia aut alia necessitudo. ceterum iuventus pleraque sed
want or other need for-the-rest the-youth most but
maxume nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat: quibus in otio
especially of-the-nobles of-Catiline the-undertakings favored to-whom in leisure
vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat; incerta
either magnificently or softly to-live the-means there-was uncertain-things
pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant. fuere item
for certain war than peace they-preferred there-were likewise
ea tempestate qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non
at-that time who believed Marcus Licinius Crassus not
ignarum eius consili fuisse: quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus
unaware of-that plan to-have-been because Gnaeus Pompeius hateful
ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat, quousvis opes voluisse
to-himself a-great army was-leading anyone's power to-have-wished
contra illius potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si
against his power to-grow at-the-same-time trusting if
coniuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.
the-conspiracy had-prevailed easily among them the-chief himself would-be

- 18 Sed antea item coniuravere pauci contra rem publicam,
but before likewise conspired a-few against the-thing public
 in quibus Catilina fuit. de qua quam verissime potero
among whom Catiline was about which as most-truly I-shall-be-able
 dicam. L. Tullo et M'. Lepido consulibus P. Autronius
I-shall-speak Lucius Tullus and Manius Lepidus being-consuls Publius Autronius
 et P. Sulla designati consules legibus ambitus interrogati
and Publius Sulla designated consuls under-the-laws of-bribery prosecuted
 poenas dederant. post paulo Catilina pecuniarum repetundarum
penalties had-paid after a-little Catiline for-moneys of-recovery
 reus prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod intra legitimos
accused prevented had-been the-consulship to-seek because within the-lawful
 dies profiteri nequiverat. erat eodem tempore Cn.
days to-declare-himself he-had-been-unable there-was at-the-same time Gnaeus
 Piso, adulescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens, factiosus,
Piso a-young-man noble of-the-utmost boldness needy factious
 quem ad perturbandam rem publicam inopia atque mali
whom to overthrowing the-thing public want and bad
 mores stimulabant. cum hoc Catilina et Autronius circiter
morals spurred with this Catiline and Autronius about
 Nonas Decembris consilio communicato parabant in Capitolio
the-Nones of-December the-plan being-shared prepared in the-Capitol
 Kalendis Ianuariis L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules
on-the-Kalends of-January Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus the-consuls
 interficere, ipsi fascibus correptis Pisonem cum exercitu ad
to-kill themselves the-fascies seized Piso with an-army to
 optinendas duas Hispanias mittere. ea re cognita rursus
holding the-two Spains to-send that thing learned again
 in Nonas Februarias consilium caedis transtulerant. iam
to the-Nones of-February the-plan of-the-slaughter they-had-transferred already
 tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem
then not for-the-consuls only but for-most senators ruin

machinabantur. quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia
they-were-contriving but unless Catiline had-been-too-hasty before the-senate-house
 signum sociis dare, eo die post conditam urbem
the-signal to-(his)-allies to-give on-that day after the-founding of-the-city
 Romam pessimum facinus patratum foret. quia nondum
Rome the-worst crime accomplished would-have-been because not-yet
 frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit.
in-numbers the-armed-men had-assembled that thing the-plan broke-up
 Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quaestor pro praetore
afterward Piso into Hither Spain as-quaestor in-place-of praetor 19
 missus est adnitere Crasso, quod eum infestum inimicum
sent was with-the-support of-Crassus because him hostile an-enemy
 Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. neque tamen senatus provinciam
to-Gnaeus Pompeius he-had-known nor however the-senate the-province
 invitus dederat, quippe foedum hominem a re
unwillingly had-given inasmuch-as the-foul man from the-thing
 publica procul esse volebat, simul quia boni complures
public far to-be it-wished at-the-same-time because the-good several
 praesidium in eo putabant et iam tum potentia Pompei
a-protection in him thought and already then the-power of-Pompeius
 formidulosa erat. sed is Piso in provincia ab equitibus
fearful was but that Piso in the-province by the-cavalry
 Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens occisus est.
Spanish whom in (his)-army he-was-leading a-march making killed was
 sunt qui ita dicant: imperia eius iniusta superba crudelia
there-are who so say the-commands his unjust arrogant cruel
 barbaros nequivisse pati; alii autem, equites illos,
the-barbarians to-have-been-unable to-endure others however the-cavalry those
 Cn. Pompei veteres fidosque clientis, voluntate eius Pisonem
of-Gnaeus Pompeius old and-loyal clients by-the-will his Pison
 aggressos: numquam Hispanos praeterea tale facinus fecisse,
to-have-attacked never the-Spaniards besides such a-deed to-have-done

sed imperia saeva multa antea perpressos. nos eam rem in
 but commands harsh many before to-have-endured we that thing in
 medio relinquemus. de superiore coniuratione satis dictum.
 the-middle shall-leave about the-earlier conspiracy enough said

VI • CATILINE'S SPEECH

Catiline addresses his fellow conspirators apart. To want and not want the same things is true friendship. The state has fallen to a powerful few, while they, brave and good, live in debt and contempt. Victory is in their hands, if only they will act. He promises the cancellation of debts, the proscription of the rich, magistracies, priesthods, and plunder. Some say he made them swear an oath over human blood mixed with wine; Sallust cannot confirm it.

- 20 Catilina ubi eos, quos paulo ante memoravi, convenisse
 Catiline when them whom a-little before I-mentioned to-have-assembled
 videt, tametsi, cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen
 sees although with individuals many-things often he-had-treated yet
 in rem fore credens univorsos appellare et cohortari,
 to the-purpose it-would-be believing all-together to-address and to-exhort
 in abditam partem aedium secedit atque ibi omnibus
 into a-hidden part of-the-house withdraws and there all
 arbitris procul amotis orationem huiusce modi habuit: 'Ni
 witnesses far removed a-speech of-this kind held unless
 virtus fidesque vostra spectata mihi forent, nequiquam
 the-virtue and-loyalty your proved to-me had-been in-vain
 opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio in
 an-opportune occasion would-have-fallen hope great dominion in
 manibus frustra fuissent, neque ego per ignaviam aut
 (our)-hands vainly would-have-been nor I through cowardice or
 vana ingenia incerta pro certis captarem. sed quia multis
 empty natures uncertain-things for certain would-grasp but because in-many

et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortis fidosque mihi,
and great storms you I-have-known brave and-loyal to-me
 eo animus ausus est maxumum atque pulcherrimum
therefore (my)-mind dared has the-greatest and most-glorious
 facinus incipere, simul quia vobis eadem quae mihi
deed to-undertake at-the-same-time because to-you the-same which to-me
 bona malaque esse intellexi; nam idem velle atque idem
good and-bad to-be I-have-understood for the-same to-wish and the-same
 nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. sed ego quae mente
not-to-wish that alone firm friendship is but I what in-(my)-mind
 agitavi, omnes iam antea divorsi audistis. ceterum mihi
I-have-turned all already before separately you-have-heard but to-me
 in dies magis animus accenditur, quom considero, quae
day-by day more (my)-mind is-inflamed when I-consider what
 condicio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus
the-condition of-life going-to-be is unless we ourselves we-claim
 in libertatem. nam postquam res publica in paucorum
into liberty for after the-thing public into of-a-few
 potentium ius atque dicionem concessit, semper illis
powerful-men the-right and control passed always to-them
 reges tetrarchae vectigales esse, populi nationes stipendia
kings tetrarchs tributary have-been peoples nations tributes
 pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui boni, nobiles atque ignobiles,
have-paid the-rest all active good noble and ignoble
 volgus fuimus sine gratia, sine auctoritate, iis obnoxii,
a-rabble we-have-been without influence without authority to-those subject
 quibus, si res publica valeret, formidini essemus. itaque
to-whom if the-thing public were-strong an-object-of-fear we-would-be and-so
 omnis gratia potentia honos divitiae apud illos sunt aut
all influence power office riches with them are or
 ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere pericula repulsas, iudicia
where they wish to-us they-have-left dangers defeats trials

egestatem. quae quousque tandem patiemini, o fortissimi
poverty which how-long at-last will-you-endure O bravest
 viri? nonne emori per virtutem praestat quam vitam
men is-it-not to-die through virtue better than a-life
 miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio
wretched and dishonorable where of-another's arrogance a-plaything
 fueris, per dedecus amittere? verum enim vero, pro
you-have-been through disgrace to-lose but indeed truly by
 deum atque hominum fidem, victoria in manu nobis est,
of-gods and of-men the-faith victory in the-hand to-us is
 viget aetas, animus valet; contra illis annis atque
flourishes (our)-age (our)-spirit is-strong on-the-other-hand to-them by-years and
 divitiis omnia consenuerunt. tantummodo incepto opus
by-riches all-things have-grown-old only of-a-beginning need
 est, cetera res expediet. etenim quis mortalium, quoi
there-is the-rest the-thing will-accomplish for who of-mortals to-whom
 virile ingenium est, tolerare potest illis divitias superare,
a-manly nature is endure can to-them riches to-overflow
 quas profundant in extruendo mari et montibus coaequandis,
which they-squander in building-out the-sea and the-mountains leveling
 nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos
to-us property private even for necessities to-be-lacking them
 binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis larem familiarem
two or more houses to-join-together to-us a-bearth domestic
 nusquam ullum esse? quom tabulas signa toreumata emunt,
nowhere any to-be although pictures statues embossed-work they-buy
 nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis
new-houses they-tear-down others they-build finally in-all ways
 pecuniam trahunt vexant, tamen summa lubidine divitias
money they-drag they-barass yet with-utmost lust riches
 suas vincere nequeunt. at nobis est domi inopia, foris
their-own to-exhaust they-cannot but to-us there-is at-home want outside

aes alienum, mala res, spes multo asperior: denique
money another's bad the-situation the-hope much harsher finally

quid reliqui habemus praeter miseram animam? quin igitur
what left do-we-have except a-wretched soul why-not then

expergiscimini? en illa, illa, quam saepe optastis

do-you-awake behold that that which often you-have-wished-for

libertas, praeterea divitiae decus gloria in oculis sita sunt;

liberty besides riches honor glory in (your)-eyes placed are

fortuna omnia ea victoribus praemia posuit. res, tempus

fortune all these to-the-victors as-prizes has-set the-matter the-time

pericula, egestas belli spolia magnifica magis quam oratio

the-dangers the-poverty of-war the-spoils magnificent more than speech

mea vos hortantur. vel imperatore vel milite me utimini:

my you urge either as-general or as-soldier me use

neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. haec ipsa,

neither (my)-mind nor (my)-body from you will-be-absent these-things very

ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam, nisi forte me animus

as I-hope with-you together as-consul I-shall-do unless perhaps me (my)-mind

fallit et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis.'

deceives and you to-serve rather than to-rule ready are

Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde

21

after heard these-things the-men to-whom evils in-abundance

omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi

all were but neither means nor hope good any although

illis quia movere magna merces videbatur, tamen

to-them quiet-things to-disturb a-great reward seemed yet

postulavere plerique, ut proponeret, quae condicio belli foret,

demanded most that he-should-set-forth what the-condition of-war would-be

quae praemia armis peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei

what rewards by-arms they-would-see what everywhere of-help or of-hope

habent. tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem

they-bad then Catiline promised tablets new proscription

locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia,
of-the-rich magistracies priesthoods plunder other all-things
 quae bellum atque libido victorum fert; praeterea esse
which war and the-lust of-victors brings besides there-was
 in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu
in Spain Hither Piso in Mauretania with an-army
 P. Sittium Nucerinum, consili sui participes; petere
Publius Sittius of-Nuceria of-plan his sharers was-seeking
 consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore
the-consulship Gaius Antonius whom to-himself colleague would-be
 speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus
he-hoped a-man both intimate and by-all necessities
 circumventum; cum eo se consulem initium agundi
hemmed-in with him himself as-consul the-beginning of-acting
 facturum. ad hoc maledictis increpabat omnis bonos, suorum
he-would-make to this with-abuse he-assailed all the-good of-his-own
 unum quemque nominans laudare: admonebat alium egestatis,
one each naming he-praised he-reminded one of-poverty
 alium cupiditatis suae, compluris periculi aut ignominiae,
another of-desire his several of-danger or of-disgrace
 multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. postquam
many of-the-victory Sullan to-whom it for-booty had-been after
 omnium animos alacris videt, cohortatus, ut petitionem
of-all the-minds eager he-sees having-exhorted that candidacy
 suam curae habent, conventum dimisit.
his a-care they-should-hold the-meeting he-dismissed

- 22 Fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent Catilinam oratione
there-were at-that time who said Catiline the-speech
 habita, quom ad iusiurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret,
beld when to an-oath the-partners of-crime his he-was-driving
 humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris
human of-the-body blood with-wine mixed in bowls

circumtulisse: inde quom post execrationem omnes
to-have-carried-round thence when after the-curse all
 degustavissent, sicuti in sollemnibus sacris fieri consuevit,
had-tasted as in solemn rites to-be-done it-is-customary
 aperuisse consilium suom, atque eo ita fecisse, quo
to-have-disclosed plan his and therefore so to-have-done in-order-that
 inter se fidi magis forent alius alii tanti facinoris
among themselves loyal more they-might-be one to-another of-so-great a-crime
 conscii. nonnulli ficta et haec et multa praeterea
privy some fabricated both these-things and many besides
 existumabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam quae postea orta
thought by those who of-Cicero the-odium which afterward arisen
 est leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas
has to-be-softened believed by-the-atrocity of-the-crime of-those who penalties
 dederant. nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.
had-paid to-us that matter for (its)-greatness too-little ascertained is

VII · FULVIA AND SEMPRONIA

Quintus Curius, a senator expelled for disgrace, boasts of the plot to his mistress Fulvia, who spreads the news. Alarmed, the nobility set aside their scorn for a new man and make Cicero consul. Catiline does not stop: he stores arms, borrows money, and draws in women who had lived by their bodies, meaning to use them to stir the slaves and fire the city. Among them is Sempronia, learned, witty, and beautiful, who had often broken her word and shared in murder.

Sed in ea coniuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro 23
but in that conspiracy was Quintus Curius born of-no obscure
 loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus, quem censores
place with-disgraces and crimes covered whom the-censors
 senatu probri gratia moverant. huic homini non minor
from-the-senate of-infamy for-the-sake had-removed in-this man not less

vanitas inerat quam audacia: neque reticere quae audierat,
vanity was than boldness neither he-kept-silent what he-had-heard
 neque suamet ipse scelera occultare, prorsus neque dicere
nor his-own he-himself crimes hid in-short neither to-say
 neque facere quicquam pensi habebat. erat ei cum
nor to-do anything of-account he-held there-was to-him with
 Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo. quoi cum
Fulvia a-woman noble of-debauchery an-old intimacy to-whom when
 minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat,
less welcome he-was because through-want less to-give he-could
 repente glorians maria montisque polliceri coepit et minari
suddenly boasting seas and-mountains to-promise he-began and to-threaten
 interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret, postremo
at-times with-the-sword unless to-him submissive she-should-be finally
 ferocius agitare quam solitus erat. at Fulvia insolentiae
more-fiercely to-behave than accustomed he-was but Fulvia of-the-insolence
 Curi causa cognita tale periculum rei publicae haud
of-Curius the-cause learned such a-danger to-the-thing public not
 occultum habuit, sed sublato auctore de Catilinae coniuratione
hidden held but suppressed the-source about of-Catiline the-conspiracy
 quae quoque modo audierat compluribus narravit. ea
what and-in-what way she-had-heard to-several told that
 res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum
thing among the-first the-zeal of-men kindled for the-consulship
 mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. namque antea pleraque
entrusting to-Marcus Tullius Cicero for before most
 nobilitas invidia aestuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum
the-nobility with-envy seethed and as-it-were to-be-polluted the-consulship
 credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novos adeptus foret.
they-believed if it however outstanding a-man new obtained had
 sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere.
but when the-danger came envy and pride behind were

Igitur comitiis habitis consules declarantur M. Tullius et 24
therefore the-elections held consuls are-declared Marcus Tullius and
 C. Antonius. quod factum primo popularis coniurationis
Gaius Antonius which fact first the-accomplices of-the-conspiracy
 concusserat. neque tamen Catilinae furor minuebatur, sed
had-shaken nor however of-Catiline the-madness was-lessening but
 in dies plura agitare: arma per Italiam locis opportunis
day-by day more-things be-plotted arms throughout Italy in-places convenient
 parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuum
be-prepared money on-bis-own or of-friends credit taken borrowed
 Faesulas ad Manlium quendam portare, qui postea princeps
to-Faesulae to Manlius a-certain be-carried who afterward the-chief
 fuit belli faciundi. ea tempestate plurimos quousque generis
was of-war of-making at-that time very-many of-every kind
 homines adscivisse sibi dicitur, mulieres etiam aliquot,
men to-have-attached to-himself he-is-said women also some
 quae primo ingentis sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant,
who at-first huge expenses by-prostitution of-the-body had-borne
 post ubi aetas tantummodo quaestui neque luxuriae modum
afterward when age only to-gain but-not to-luxury a-limit
 fecerat, aes alienum grande conflaverant. per eas se
had-set money another's great had-run-up through them himself
 Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem
Catiline believed to-be-able the-slaves city to-stir-up the-city
 incendere, viros earum vel adiungere sibi vel interficere.
to-burn the-husbands their either to-join to-himself or to-kill
 Sed in iis erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis audaciae 25
but among them was Sempronia who many often of-manly boldness
 facinora commiserat. haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea
deeds had-committed this woman in-birth and in-beauty besides
 viro atque liberis satis fortunata fuit; litteris Graecis et
in-husband and children enough fortunate was in-letters Greek and

Latinis docta, psallere et saltare elegantius, quam necesse est
Latin learned to-play-the-lyre and to-dance more-elegantly than necessary is
 probae, multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt.
for-a-virtuous-woman many other-things which instruments of-luxury are
 sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit;
but to-her dearer always all-things than honor and chastity were
 pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres;
(her)-money or (her)-fame less she-spared not easily could-you-distinguish
 lubido sic accensa, ut saepius peteret viros quam peteretur.
(her)-lust so inflamed that more-often she-sought men than she-was-sought
 sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abiuraverat,
but she often before-this (her)-word had-betrayed a-loan had-denied-on-oath
 caedis conscia fuerat: luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat.
of-murder privy had-been by-luxury and want headlong she-had-gone
 verum ingenium eius haud absurdum: posse versus facere,
but the-talent her not absurd to-be-able verses to-make
 iocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel
a-jest to-raise speech to-use either modest or tender or
 procaci; prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.
wanton in-short much wit and-much charm was-in(-her)

VIII • THE CONSUL IS WARNED

Catiline stands again for the consulship, while Cicero, told everything through Curius and Fulvia, guards himself and wins over his colleague Antonius. Defeated, Catiline turns to war and sends Manlius to Faesulae. At a night meeting at Laeca's house he says Cicero must die first, and Cornelius and Vargunteius resolve to stab him in his house at a morning call; warned through Fulvia, Cicero keeps them from the door. The senate decrees that the consuls see to the state's safety, and when Manlius takes up arms, forces go to Faesulae and Apulia, rewards are offered, and watches are kept in Rome.

His rebus comparatis Catilina nihilo minus in proximum
these things prepared Catiline nothing less for the-next
 annum consulatum petebat, sperans, si designatus foret,
year the-consulship sought hoping if designated he-should-be
 facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. neque interea
easily himself at will Antonius he-would-use nor meanwhile
 quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni.
quiet was but in-all ways plots he-prepared for-Cicero
 neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae deerant.
nor to-him however for guarding craft or cunning were-lacking
 namque a principio consulatus sui multa pollicendo per
for from the-beginning of-consulship his many-things by-promising through
 Fulviam effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo
Fulvia he-had-brought-about that Quintus Curius about whom a-little
 ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet; ad hoc
before I-mentioned the-plans of-Catiline to-him should-betray to this
 collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciae perpulerat,
colleague his Antonius by-a-bargain over-the-province he-had-induced
 ne contra rem publicam sentiret; circum se praesidia
that-not against the-thing public he-should-feel around himself guards
 amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. postquam dies
of-friends and clients secretly he-kept after the-day
 comitorum venit et Catilinae neque petito neque insidiae
of-the-elections came and for-Catiline neither the-candidacy nor the-plots
 quas consulibus in campo fecerat prospere cessere,
which against-the-consuls in the-Field he-had-made prosperously turned-out
 constituit bellum facere et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam
he-resolved war to-make and the-extreme all-things to-try since
 quae occulte temptaverat aspera foedaque evenerant.
what secretly he-had-attempted harsh and-foul had-turned-out

- 27 Igitur C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruria,
therefore Gaius Manlius to-Faesulae and into that part of-Etruria
 Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C.
Septimius a-certain of-Camerinum into the-territory Picene Gaius
 Iulium in Apuliam dimisit, praeterea alium alio, quem
Iulius into Apulia he-dispatched besides another elsewhere whom
 ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. interea Romae
everywhere useful to-himself would-be he-believed meanwhile at-Rome
 multa simul moliri: consulibus insidias tendere, parare
many-things at-once he-set-in-motion for-the-consuls snares he-laid he-prepared
 incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere; ipse
fires convenient places with-armed men he-beset himself
 cum telo esse, item alios iubere, hortari uti semper intenti
with a-weapon he-was likewise others he-ordered he-urged that always intent
 paratique essent; dies noctisque festinare, vigilare, neque
and-ready they-should-be day and-night he-hurried he-kept-awake neither
 insomniis neque labore fatigari. postremo, ubi multa
by-sleeplessness nor by-toil he-was-wearied finally when many-things
 agitantī nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte coniurationis
to-him-plotting nothing succeeds again at-dead of-night of-the-conspiracy
 principes convocat per M. Porcium Laecam, ibique
the-leaders he-calls-together through Marcus Porcius Laeca and-there
 multa de ignavia eorum questus docet se Manlium
many-things about the-cowardice their having-complained he-shows himself Manlius
 praemisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma
to-have-sent-ahead to that multitude which for taking arms
 paraverat, item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium
he-had-prepared likewise others into other places convenient who the-beginning
 belli facerent, seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius
of-war should-make and-himself to the-army to-set-out to-wish if first
 Ciceronem oppressisset: eum suis consiliis multum officere.
Cicero he-had-crushed him his-own plans greatly to-obstruct

Igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris C. Cornelius 28
therefore terrified and hesitating the-others Gaius Cornelius
 eques Romanus operam suam pollicitus et cum eo L.
a-knight Roman help his having-promised and with him Lucius
 Vargunteius senator constituere ea nocte paulo post cum
Vargunteius a-senator decided that night a-little after with
 armatis hominibus sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem ac
armed men as-if to-pay-respects to-enter to Cicero and
 de inproviso domi suae inparatum confodere. Curius ubi
by surprise at-home his-own unprepared to-stab-him Curius when
 intellegit, quantum periculum consuli impendeat, propere
he-understands how-great a-danger for-the-consul impends quickly
 per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur enuntiat. ita
through Fulvia to-Cicero the-plot which was-being-prepared reveals so
 illi ianua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra susceperant.
they from-the-door kept-off so-great a-crime in-vain had-undertaken
 interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare egestate
meanwhile Manlius in Etruria the-plebs was-stirring-up by-want
 simul ac dolore iniuriae novarum rerum cupidam, quod
at-once and by-resentment of-wrong of-new things eager because
 Sullae dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat, praeterea
of-Sulla under-the-tyranny (its)-fields and-goods all it-had-lost besides
 latrones quousque generis, quorum in ea regione magna
robbers of-every kind of-whom in that region a-great
 copia erat, nonnullos ex Sullanis coloniis, quibus lubido
abundance there-was some from the-Sullan colonies to-whom lust
 atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerat.
and luxury from great plunder nothing left had-made
 Ea cum Ciceroni nuntiarentur, ancipiti malo permotus, 29
these-things when to-Cicero were-reported by-a-double evil disturbed
 quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius
because neither the-city from plots by-private counsel longer

tueri poterat neque, exercitus Manli quantus aut quo
to-protect he-could nor the-army of-Manlius how-great or with-what
 consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, rem ad
plan it-was sufficiently ascertained he-held the-matter to
 senatum refert iam antea volgi rumoribus exagitata.
the-senate he-refers already before of-the-rabble by-the-rumors stirred-up
 itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus
and-so what generally in a-dreadful business it-is-wont the-senate
 decrevit, darent operam consules, ne quid res publica
decreed they-should-give attention the-consuls lest any the-thing public
 detrimenti caperet. ea potestas per senatum more Romano
of-harm should-take this power through the-senate by-custom Roman
 magistratui maxuma permittitur: exercitum parare, bellum
to-a-magistrate the-greatest is-granted an-army to-raise war
 gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis, domi
to-wage to-restrain in-all ways allies and citizens at-home
 militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere; aliter
and-in-war command and jurisdiction supreme to-hold otherwise
 sine populi iussu nullius earum rerum consuli ius est.

30 Post paucos dies L. Saenius senator in senatu litteras
after a-few days Lucius Saenius a-senator in the-senate a-letter
 recitavit, quas Faesulis adlatas sibi dicebat, in quibus
read which from-Faesulae brought to-himself he-said in which
 scriptum erat C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magna
written it-was Gaius Manlius arms to-have-taken with a-great
 multitudine ante diem VI Kalendas Novembris. simul,
multitude before the-day sixth of-the-Kalends of-November at-the-same-time
 id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia
that which in such a-matter is-wont some portents and prodigies
 nuntiabant, alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuae atque
reported others meetings to-be-held arms to-be-carried at-Capua and

in Apulia servile bellum moveri. igitur senati decreto Q.
in Apulia a-slave war to-be-stirred therefore of-the-senate by-decree Quintus
 Marcius Rex Faesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam
Marcius Rex to-Faesulae Quintus Metellus Creticus into Apulia
 circumque ea loca missi — hi utrique ad urbem imperatores
and-around those places were-sent these both near the-city as-generals
 erant, impediti ne triumphant calumnia paucorum, quibus
were hindered lest they-should-triumph by-the-chicanery of-a-few to-whom
 omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat —, sed
all-things honorable and dishonorable to-sell the-custom was but
 praetores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus
the-praetors Quintus Pompeius Rufus to-Capua Quintus Metellus
 Celer in agrum Picenum, iisque permissum, uti pro
Celer into the-territory Picene and-to-them it-was-permitted that according-to
 tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent. ad hoc, si quis
the-time and the-danger an-army they-should-raise to this if anyone
 indicavisset de coniuratione, quae contra rem publicam
should-have-informed about the-conspiracy which against the-thing public
 facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et sestertia
made had-been as-a-reward to-a-slave freedom and thousand-sesterces
 centum, libero inpunitatem eius rei et sestertia
a-hundred to-a-free-man impunity of-that matter and thousand-sesterces
 ducenta itemque decrevere, uti gladiatoriae familiae Capuam
two-hundred and-likewise they-decreed that the-gladiatorial troops to-Capua
 et in cetera municipia distribuarentur pro quousque
and into the-other towns should-be-distributed according-to of-each
 opibus, Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur
the-resources at-Rome through the-whole city watches should-be-kept
 iisque minores magistratus praeessent.
and-over-them the-lesser magistrates should-command

The city is in panic. Catiline comes into the senate, where Cicero speaks against him in a brilliant and useful speech. Catiline, with lowered face, begs the senators not to believe the worst of a patrician and sneers at Cicero as an immigrant citizen; shouted down, he threatens to put out his fire with ruin, and leaves that night for Manlius's camp. He writes to the consulars that he is going into exile, and to Catulus commending Orestilla. When he enters the camp with the fasces, the senate declares him and Manlius public enemies, yet despite its rewards no one betrays the plot or deserts Catiline's camp.

- 31 Quibus rebus permota civitas atque inmutata urbis facies
by-which things disturbed the-state and changed of-the-city the-face
 erat. ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna quies
was from the-highest gaiety and wantonness which long quiet
 pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit: festinare, trepidare,
had-produced suddenly all gloom invaded they-hurried they-trembled
 neque loco neque homini quoquam satis credere, neque
neither a-place nor a-man any enough they-trusted neither
 bellum gerere neque pacem habere, suo quisque metu
war they-waged nor peace they-had by-his-own each fear
 pericula metiri. ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicae
the-dangers measured to this the-women to-whom of-the-thing public
 magnitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, adfligare
because-of-the-greatness of-the-war a-fear unaccustomed had-come-upon beat
 sese, manus supplices ad caelum tendere, miserari
themselves (their)-hands suppliant to the-sky stretched pitied
 parvos liberos, rogare omnia, omni rumore pavere, adripere
(their)-little children asked-about everything at-every rumor trembled snatched-at
 omnia, superbia atque deliciis omissis sibi patriaeque
all-things pride and luxuries dropped of-themselves and-of-the-fatherland
 diffidere. at Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat,
despaired but of-Catiline the-cruel mind the-same those-things pursued

tametsi praesidia parabantur et ipse lege Plautia
although guards were-being-prepared and he-himself under-the-law Plautian
 interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. postremo dissimulandi
arraigned had-been by Lucius Paulus finally of-dissembling
 causa aut sui expurgandi, sicut iurgio laccessitus foret,
for-the-sake or of-himself of-clearing as-if by-a-quarrel provoked he-were
 in senatum venit. tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam
into the-senate he-came then Marcus Tullius the-consul whether the-presence
 eius timens sive ira conmotus, orationem habuit luculentam
his fearing or by-anger moved a-speech delivered brilliant
 atque utilem rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit.
and useful to-the-thing public which afterward written-down he-published
 sed ubi ille adsedit Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda
but when he sat-down Catiline as he-was prepared for dissembling
 omnia, demisso voltu, voce supplici postulare a patribus
everything with-lowered face with-voice suppliant to-beg from the-fathers
 coepit, ne quid de se temere crederent: ea familia
he-began lest anything about himself rashly they-should-believe from-such a-family
 ortum, ita se ab adulescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia
sprung so himself from youth (bis)-life to-have-ordered that all
 bona in spe haberet; ne existumarent sibi, patricio
good-things in hope he-bad lest they-should-think to-himself a-patrician
 homini, quous ipsius atque maiorum pluruma beneficia in
man whose own and of-ancestors very-many benefits to
 plebem Romanam essent, perdita re publica opus esse,
the-plebs Roman were lost the-thing public need to-be
 quom eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis
when it were-saving Marcus Tullius an-immigrant citizen of-the-city
 Romae. ad hoc maledicta alia quom adderet, obstrepere
of-Rome to this abuses other when he-added shouted-him-down
 omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. tum ille furibundus
all enemy and parricide called then he raging

‘Quoniam quidem circumventus’ inquit ‘ab inimicis praeceps
since indeed surrounded he-said by enemies headlong
 agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam.’

I-am-driven the-fire my by-demolition I-shall-extinguish

- 32 Deinde se ex curia domum proripuit. ibi multa
then himself from the-senate-house home he-rushed there many-things
 ipse secum volvens, quod neque insidiae consuli
he-himself with-himself turning-over because neither the-plots against-the-consul
 procedebant et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis
were-succeeding and from arson he-understood the-city by-watches
 munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augere ac,
protected best to-do believing the-army to-increase and
 prius quam legiones scriberentur, multa antecapere, quae
before than the-legions should-be-enrolled many-things to-seize-beforehand which
 bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana
for-war of-use would-be at-night dead with a-few into the-Manlian
 castra profectus est. sed Cethego atque Lentulo ceterisque,
camp set-out he-has but to-Cethegus and Lentulus and-the-others
 quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus
whose he-had-known ready boldness he-entrusts by-what means
 possent, opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli
they-could the-resources of-the-faction they-should-strengthen plots against-the-consul
 maturent, caedem incendia aliaque belli facinora parent:
they-should-hasten slaughter fires and-other of-war crimes they-should-prepare
 sese propediem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum.
himself shortly with a-great army to the-city would-approach
 dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero
while these-things at-Rome are-done Gaius Manlius from his-own number
 legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit cum mandatis huiusce modi:
envoys to Marcus Rex sends with instructions of-this kind

'Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque
the-gods and-men we-call-to-witness general we arms neither
 contra patriam cepisse neque quo periculum aliis
against the-fatherland to-have-taken nor so-that danger to-others
 faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab iniuria tuta forent,
we-might-make but that bodies our from wrong safe might-be
 qui miseri, egentes violentia atque crudelitate faeneratorum
who wretched needy by-the-violence and cruelty of-the-moneylenders
 plerique patria, sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes
most of-fatherland but all of-fame and fortunes deprived
 sumus. neque quoquam nostrum licuit more
are nor to-any of-us has-it-been-allowed by-the-custom
 maiorum lege uti neque amisso patrimonio liberum corpus
of-the-ancestors the-law to-use nor having-lost (our)-patrimony a-free body
 habere: tanta saevitia faeneratorum atque praetoris fuit.
to-have so-great the-cruelty of-the-moneylenders and of-the-praetor has-been
 saepe maiores vostrum, miseriti plebis Romanae, decretis
often the-ancestors of-you having-pitied the-plebs Roman by-decrees
 suis inopiae eius opitulati sunt, ac novissime memoria
their-own the-want its relieved have and most-recently in-memory
 nostra propter magnitudinem aeris alieni volentibus omnibus
our because-of the-greatness of-money another's willing with-all
 bonis argentum aere solutum est. saepe ipsa plebs
the-good silver with-bronze paid was often itself the-plebs
 aut dominandi studio permota aut superbia magistratum
either of-ruling by-desire moved or by-the-arrogance of-the-magistrates
 armata a patribus secessit. at nos non imperium neque
armed from the-fathers seceded but we not command nor
 divitias petimus, quarum rerum causa bella atque certamina
riches seek of-which things for-the-sake wars and contests
 omnia inter mortalis sunt, sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus
all among mortals are but liberty which no good-man

nisi cum anima simul amittit. te atque senatum
except with life at-the-same-time loses you and the-senate
 obtestamur: consulatis miseris civibus, legis praesidium,
we-beseech consult-for wretched citizens of-the-law the-protection
 quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis, neve nobis
which the-injustice of-the-praetor has-snatched-away restore nor on-us
 eam necessitudinem inponatis, ut quaeramus, quonam modo
that necessity impose that we-should-seek in-what way
 maxumeulti sanguinem nostrum pereamus.⁷
most having-avenged blood our we-may-perish

- 34 Ad haec Q. Marcius respondit, si quid ab senatu
to these Quintus Marcius replied if anything from the-senate
 petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices
to-ask they-wished from arms they-should-withdraw to-Rome as-suppliants
 proficiscantur; ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum
they-should-set-out of-such mildness and compassion the-senate
 populi Romani semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo
of-the-people Roman always to-have-been that no-one ever from it
 frustra auxilium petiverit. at Catilina ex itinere plerisque
in-vain help has-sought but Catiline from the-march to-most
 consularibus, praeterea optumo quoique litteras mittit: se
consulars besides to-the-best each letters sends himself
 falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum
by-false charges beset since the-faction of-(his)-enemies
 resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, Massiliam in exilium
to-resist he-had-been-unable to-fortune to-yield to-Massilia into exile
 proficisci, non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed
to-set-out not because to-himself of-so-great a-crime conscious he-was but
 uti res publica quieta foret neve ex sua contentione
that the-thing public quiet might-be nor from his-own struggle
 seditio oreretur. ab his longe divorsas litteras Q. Catulus
civil-strife might-arise from these far different a-letter Quintus Catulus

in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditas
in the-senate read which to-himself in-the-name of-Catiline delivered
 dicebat. earum exemplum infra scriptum est.

he-said of-it a-copy below written is

‘L. Catilina Q. Catulo. Egregia tua fides re

35

Lucius Catiline to-Quintus Catulus outstanding your good-faith by-deed

cognita, grata mihi magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam

known welcome to-me great amid my dangers confidence

commendationi meae tribuit. quam ob rem defensionem

to-recommendation my has-given which on-account-of thing a-defense

in novo consilio non statui parare; satisfactionem ex

in new plan not I-have-resolved to-prepare an-explanation from

nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, quam

no consciousness about guilt to-set-forth I-have-decided which

medius fidius veram licet cognoscas. iniuriis contumeliisque

so-help me-heaven true you-may know by-wrongs and-insults

concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus

provoked because of-the-fruit of-toil and-industry my deprived

statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum

the-standing of-dignity not I-held public of-the-wretched

causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi, non quin aes

the-cause for my custom I-have-undertaken not because money

alienum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere non

another's on-my accounts from possessions to-pay not

possem — et alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillae suis

I-could both on-others' accounts the-generosity of-Orestilla with-her-own

filiaeque copiis persolveret — sed quod non dignos

and-of-(her)-daughter means would-pay-off but because not worthy

homines honore honestatos videbam meque falsa suspicione

men with-office honored I-saw and-myself by-false suspicion

alienatum esse sentiebam. hoc nomine satis honestas pro meo

estranged to-be I-felt on-this account enough honorable for my

casu spes reliquae dignitatis conservandae sum secutus.

situation the-hopes of-remaining dignity of-preserving I-have followed

plura quom scribere vellem, nuntiatum est vim mihi

more when to-write I-wished announced it-was violence to-me

parari. nunc Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei trado;

to-be-prepared now Orestilla I-commend and-to-your good-faith hand-over

eam ab iniuria defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. haveto.'

her from wrong defend by children your entreated farewell

36 Sed ipse paucos dies conmoratus apud C. Flaminium in

but he-himself a-few days having-stayed with Gaius Flaminius in

agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem antea sollicitatam armis

the-territory Arretine while the-neighborhood before stirred-up with-arms

exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperi insignibus in castra

he-equips with the-fascies and other of-command insignia into the-camp

ad Manlium contendit. haec ubi Romae comperta sunt,

to Manlius he-hastens these-things when at-Rome discovered were

senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostis iudicat, ceterae

the-senate Catiline and Manlius enemies declares for-the-remaining

multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret

multitude a-day it-sets before which without penalty it-would-be-allowed

ab armis discedere praeter rerum capitalium condemnatis.

from arms to-withdraw except of-crimes capital for-the-condemned

praeterea decernit, uti consules dilectum habeant, Antonius cum

besides it-decrees that the-consuls a-levy should-bold Antonius with

exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet, Cicero urbi praesidio

an-army Catiline to-pursue should-hasten Cicero to-the-city for-a-guard

sit. ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo

should-be at-that time to-me the-empire of-the-people Roman by-far

maxume miserabile visum est. quoi quom ad occasum ab

most pitiable seemed has to-which when to the-setting from

ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque

the-rising of-the-sun all-things tamed by-arms were-obedient at-home leisure and

divitiae, quae prima mortales putant, adfluerent, fuere tamen
 riches which the-first mortals think flowed-in there-were yet
 cives, qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum
 citizens who themselves and-the-thing public with-obstinate minds to-ruin
 irent. namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta multitudine
 went for by-two of-the-senate decrees from so-great a-multitude
 neque praemio inductus coniurationem patefecerat neque ex
 neither by-reward led the-conspiracy had-disclosed nor from
 castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat: tanta vis
 the-camp of-Catiline anyone of-all had-departed so-great the-force
 morbi atque uti tabes plerosque civium animos invaserat.
 of-the-disease and as a-wasting most of-the-citizens minds had-invaded

X · THE PLEBS AND THE PARTIES

Not only the conspirators but the whole plebs want revolution. The poor envy the good; young men who had worked in the fields prefer idleness in the city; the children of those whom Sulla proscribed hope for war. Since the tribunes regained their power, both sides have fought for power under honorable names, and if Catiline had won the first battle or even drawn it, disaster would have followed. Many outside the plot join him, among them Fulvius, a senator's son, whom his father has killed.

Neque solum illis aliena mens erat, qui conscii coniurationis 37
 nor only to-those estranged the-mind was who privy to-the-conspiracy
 fuerant, sed omnino cuncta plebes novarum rerum studio
 had-been but altogether the-whole plebs for-new things from-eagerness
 Catilinae incepta probabat. id adeo more suo videbatur
 of-Catiline the-undertakings approved that indeed by-custom its-own it-seemed
 facere. nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullae sunt,
 to-do for always in a-state those-to-whom resources none are
 bonis invident, malos extollunt, vetera odere, nova exoptant,
 the-good envy the-bad extol old-things hate new-things desire

odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student, turba
from-hatred of-their-own affairs to-be-changed all-things they-are-eager by-turmoil
 atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile
and by-seditions without care they-are-fed since want easily
 habetur sine damno. sed urbana plebes, ea vero praeceps
is-held without loss but the-city plebs it indeed headlong
 erat de multis causis. primum omnium, qui ubique
was from many causes first of-all those-who everywhere
 probro atque petulantia maxime praestabant, item alii per
in-disgrace and insolence most excelled likewise others through
 dedecora patrimonii amissis, postremo omnes, quos flagitium
shameful-acts (their)-patrimonies lost finally all whom a-disgrace
 aut facinus domo expulerat, ii Romam sicut in sentinam
or a-crime from-home had-driven these to-Rome as into a-bilge
 confluxerant. deinde multi memores Sullanae victoriae, quod ex
had-flowed-together then many mindful of-the-Sullan victory because from
 gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, ut
common soldiers some senators they-saw others so rich that
 regio victu atque cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in
in-royal fare and style (their)-life they-spent for-himself each if in
 armis foret, ex victoria talia sperabat. praeterea iuventus,
arms he-should-be from victory such-things hoped besides the-youth
 quae in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis
which in the-fields of-the-hands by-the-wage (their)-want had-endured by-private
 atque publicis largitionibus excita urbanum otium ingrato
and public largesses roused the-city leisure to-thankless
 labori praetulerat. eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat.
toil had-preferred these and others all the-evil public fed
 quo minus mirandum est homines egentis, malis moribus,
wherefore less to-be-wondered-at it-is men needy with-bad morals
 maxuma spe rei publicae iuxta ac sibi consuluisse.
with-the-greatest hope for-the-thing public equally as for-themselves to-have-consulted

praeterea, quorum victoria Sullae parentes proscripti, bona
besides those-whose by-the-victory of-Sulla parents proscribed goods
 erepta, ius libertatis inminutum erat, haud sane
snatched-away the-right of-liberty diminished had-been not indeed
 alio animo belli eventum expectabant. ad hoc quicumque
with-other mind of-war the-outcome awaited to this whoever
 aliarum atque senatus partium erant, conturbari
of-other than of-the-senate parties were to-be-thrown-into-confusion
 rem publicam quam minus valere ipsi malebant. id
the-thing public than less to-be-powerful themselves preferred that
 adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem revorterat.
indeed evil many after years into the-state had-returned
 Nam postquam Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus 38
for after Gnaeus Pompeius and Marcus Crassus being-consuls
 tribunicia potestas restituta est, homines adulescentes summam
the-tribunician power restored was men young the-highest
 potestatem nacti, quibus aetas animusque ferox erat,
power having-obtained to-whom age and-spirit fierce was
 coepere senatum criminando plebem exagitare, dein largiundo
began the-senate by-accusing the-plebs to-stir-up then by-giving
 atque pollicitando magis incendere, ita ipsi clari potentesque
and by-promising more to-inflame so themselves famous and-powerful
 fieri. contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas
to-become against them with-utmost effort strove the-greater-part-of the-nobility
 senatus specie pro sua magnitudine. namque, uti
of-the-senate under-the-pretext for its-own greatness for that
 paucis verum absolvam, post illa tempora quicumque
in-a-few-words the-truth I-may-finish after those times whoever
 rem publicam agitare, honestis nominibus, alii, sicuti
the-thing public agitated with-honorable names some as-if
 populi iura defenderent, pars, quo senatus auctoritas
of-the-people the-rights they-were-defending part so-that of-the-senate the-authority

maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes pro sua quisque
greatest might-be the-good public pretending for his-own each
 potentia certabant. neque illis modestia neque modus
power contended nor to-them restraint nor measure
 contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.
of-contention was both-sides victory cruelly exercised

- 39 Sed postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque
but after Gnaeus Pompeius to the-war maritime and
 Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes inminutae,
Mithridatic sent was of-the-plebs the-resources were-diminished
 paucorum potentia crevit. ii magistratus, provincias aliaque
of-the-few the-power grew these magistracies provinces and-other
 omnia tenere; ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu aetatem agere
all-things held themselves unharmed flourishing without fear (their)-life spent
 ceterosque iudiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu placidius
and-the-others by-trials terrified so-that the-plebs in office more-calmly
 tractarent. sed ubi primum dubiis rebus novandi
they-might-handle but when first in-doubtful circumstances of-revolutionizing
 spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum adrexit. quod si
the-hope offered was the-old contest the-minds their roused but if
 primo proelio Catilina superior aut aequa manu discessisset,
in-the-first battle Catiline superior or with-equal strength had-come-off
 profecto magna clades atque calamitas rem publicam
surely a-great disaster and calamity the-thing public
 oppressisset, neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius
would-have-overwhelmed nor to-those who victory obtained had longer
 ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exanguibus qui
it to-use it-would-have-been-allowed but-that from-the-weary and bloodless who
 plus posset imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. fuere
more could command and liberty would-wrest there-were
 tamen extra coniurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio
however outside the-conspiracy several who to Catiline at-first

profecti sunt. in iis erat Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem
set-out have among them was Fulvius a-senator's son whom
 retractum ex itinere parens necari iussit. isdem temporibus
dragged-back from the-march (his)-father to-be-killed ordered in-the-same times
 Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscumque
at-Rome Lentulus as Catiline had-instructed whomever
 moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per
by-morals or by-fortune for-new things suitable he-believed either through
 se aut per alios sollicitabat, neque solum civis, sed
himself or through others he-was-stirring-up nor only citizens but
 quousque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret.
of-every kind class of-men which only for-war of-use might-be

XI • THE ALLOBROGES

Lentulus has Umbrenus approach envoys of the Allobroges, a Gallic people burdened with debt. After long doubt they tell their patron Sanga, who tells Cicero, and Cicero has them feign zeal. The conspirators plan fires across the city and Cicero's murder. The envoys demand sworn letters and leave with Volturcius, and at the Mulvian bridge the praetors arrest them. Before the senate Volturcius turns informer, the letters are read, Lentulus resigns his praetorship, and the leaders are handed to senators for custody in their houses.

Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos 40
therefore to-Publius Umbrenus a-certain the-business he-gives that the-envoys
 Allobrogum requirat eosque, si possit, inpellat ad
of-the-Allobroges he-should-seek-out and-them if he-could should-drive to
 societatem belli, existumans publice privatimque aere alieno
an-alliance of-war thinking publicly and-privately by-money another's
 oppressos, praeterea quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset,
crushed besides because by-nature the-race Gallic warlike was

facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus,
easily them to such a-plan to-be-brought to-be-able Umbrenus
 quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum
because in Gaul traded had to-most chiefs of-the-states
 notus erat atque eos noverat. itaque sine mora, ubi primum
known was and them he-knew and-so without delay when first
 legatos in foro conspexit, percontatus pauca de statu
the-envoys in the-forum he-caught-sight-of having-asked a-few-things about the-state
 civitatis et quasi dolens eius casum requirere coepit,
of-(their)-nation and as-if grieving over-its misfortune to-inquire he-began
 quem exitum tantis malis sperarent. postquam illos videt
what outcome to-such-great evils they-hoped after them he-sees
 queri de avaritia magistratuum, accusare senatum, quod
complain about the-avarice of-the-magistrates accuse the-senate because
 in eo auxilii nihil esset, miseriis suis remedium mortem
in it of-help nothing there-was for-miseries their-own as-remedy death
 expectare, 'at ego', inquit, 'vobis, si modo viri esse voltis,
to-await but I he-said to-you if only men to-be you-wish
 rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis.' haec
a-way will-show by-which so-great those evils you-may-escape these-things
 ubi dixit, Allobroges in maxumam spem adducti Umbrenum
when he-said the-Allobroges into the-greatest hope brought Umbrenus
 orare, ut sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum neque
begged that on-them he-should-have-pity nothing so harsh nor
 tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissime facturi essent,
so difficult to-be which not most-eagerly about-to-do they-would-be
 dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. ille eos in
provided that thing the-state from-money another's should-free he them into
 domum D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat
the-house of-Decimus Brutus leads because to-the-forum near it-was
 neque aliena consili propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus
nor alien to-the-plan because-of Sempronia for then Brutus

ab Roma aberat. praeterea Gabinium arcessit, quo maior
from Rome was-absent besides Gabinium he-summons so-that greater
 auctoritas sermoni inesset. eo praesente coniurationem
authority to-the-talk might-be-in with-him present the-conspiracy
 aperit, nominat socios, praeterea multos quouisque generis
he-discloses he-names the-allies besides many of-every kind
 innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset. deinde eos
innocent so-that to-the-envoys spirit greater might-be then them
 pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit.

having-promised help their home he-dismisses

Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consili
but the-Allobroges long in doubt held what of-plan
 caperent. in altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli,
they-should-take on the-one side was money another's the-zeal for-war
 magna merces in spe victoriae; at in altera maiores opes,
a-great reward in the-hope of-victory but on the-other greater resources
 tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa praemia. haec illis
safe counsels instead-of uncertain hope sure rewards these-things with-them
 volentibus tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae. itaque
turning-over at-last prevailed the-fortune of-the-thing public and-so

Q. Fabio Sangae, quous patrocínio civitas plurimum
to-Quintus Fabius Sanga on-whose patronage (their)-state most
 utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero
relied the-matter whole as they-had-learned they-disclose Cicero
 per Sangam consilio cognito legatis praecipit, ut studium
through Sanga the-plan learned the-envoys instructs that zeal
 coniurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant,
for-the-conspiracy vehemently they-should-feign the-others they-should-approach
 bene polliceantur dentque operam, uti eos quam maxime
well they-should-promise and-should-give effort that them as most
 manifestos habeant.

caught-in-the-act they-might-have

41

- 42 Isdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore,
in-the-same about times in Gaul Hither and Farther
 item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia motus erat.
likewise in the-territory Picene Bruttian Apulia a-commotion was
 namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti
for those whom before Catiline had-sent-out ill-advisedly and as-if
 per dementia cuncta simul agebant. nocturnis consiliis,
through madness all-things at-once did by-nightly meetings
 armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando
of-arms and of-weapons by-transport by-burrying by-stirring
 omnia plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. ex eo numero
all-things more of-fear than of-danger had-caused of that number
 compluris Q. Metellus Celer praetor ex senatus consulto
several Quintus Metellus Celer the-praetor by of-the-senate decree
 causa cognita in vincula coniecerat, item in citeriore Gallia
the-case tried into chains had-cast likewise in Hither Gaul
 C. Murena, qui ei provinciae legatus praeerat.
Gaius Murena who that province as-legate governed
- 43 At Romae Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes coniurationis
but at-Rome Lentulus with the-others who the-leaders of-the-conspiracy
 erant, paratis ut videbatur magnis copiis constituerant, uti,
were prepared as it-seemed great forces had-decided that
 quom Catilina in agrum Aefulanum cum exercitu venisset,
when Catiline into the-territory Aefulan with (his)-army should-have-come
 L. Bestia tribunus plebis contione habita quereretur de
Lucius Bestia tribune of-the-plebs a-meeting held should-complain about
 actionibus Ciceronis bellique gravissimi invidiam optumo
the-actions of-Cicero and-of-the-war most-grievous the-odium on-the-best
 consuli inponeret: eo signo proxuma nocte cetera
consul should-lay at-that signal the-next night the-rest-of-the
 multitudo coniurationis suam quisque negotium exsequeretur.
multitude of-the-conspiracy his-own each business should-carry-out

sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius
but these-things divided in-this way were-said Statilius and Gabinius
 uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis
that with a-great band twelve at-once convenient places of-the-city
 incenderent, quo tumultu facilius aditus ad consulem
should-set-on-fire so-that by-the-tumult easier the-access to the-consul
 ceterosque, quibus insidiae parabantur, fieret; Cethegus
and-the-others for-whom plots were-being-prepared might-become Cethegus
 Ciceronis ianuam obsideret eumque vi aggrederetur; alius
Cicero's door should-beset and-him by-force should-attack one
 autem alium, sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate
however another but sons of-families of-whom from the-nobility
 maxuma pars erat, parentis interficerent; simul caede et
the-greatest part was (their)-parents should-kill at-once by-slaughter and
 incendio percussis omnibus ad Catilinam erumperent. inter
fire struck all to Catiline they-should-burst-out amid
 haec parata atque decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de
these-things prepared and decided Cethegus always complained about
 ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas
the-cowardice of-(his)-allies they by-besitating and days by-putting-off great
 opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto in tali periculo
opportunities were-spoiling of-action not of-deliberation in such danger
 opus esse, seque, si pauci adiuverent, languentibus aliis
need to-be and-himself if a-few should-help languishing the-others
 impetum in curiam facturum. natura ferox, vehemens,
an-attack on the-senate-house he-would-make by-nature fierce violent
 manu promptus erat, maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.
with-hand ready he-was the-greatest good in speed he-thought
 Sed Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabinium ceteros
but the-Allobroges by the-instruction of-Cicero through Gabinius the-others
 conveniunt. ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio
meet from Lentulus Cethegus Statilius likewise Cassius

postulant ius iurandum, quod signatum ad civis
they-demand an-oath sworn which sealed to (their)-citizens
 perferant; aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium
they-may-carry otherwise not easily them to so-great a-business
 inpelli posse. ceteri nihil suspicantes dant, Cassius semet
to-be-driven to-be-able the-others nothing suspecting give Cassius himself
 eo brevi venturum pollicetur ac paulo ante legatos ex
thither shortly to-come promises and a-little before the-envoys from
 urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum iis T. Volturcium quendam
the-city sets-out Lentulus with them Titus Volturcius a-certain
 Crotoniensem mittit, ut Allobroges, prius quam domum
of-Croton sends that the-Allobroges before than home
 pergerent, cum Catilina data atque accepta fide societatem
they-proceeded with Catiline given and received good-faith the-alliance
 confirmarent. ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum
should-confirm he-himself to-Volturcius a-letter to Catiline gives of-which
 exemplum infra scriptum est. 'Qui sim, ex eo, quem ad te
a-copy below written is who I-am from him whom to you
 misi, cognosces. fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis,
I-have-sent you-will-learn see-that you-consider in how-great calamity you-are
 et memineris te virum esse. consideres, quid tuae rationes
and remember yourself a-man to-be consider what your interests
 postulent. auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infumis.' ad
demand help seek from all even from the-lowest to
 hoc mandata verbis dat: quom ab senatu hostis iudicatus
this instructions by-words he-gives since by the-senate an-enemy declared
 sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata
he-has-been with-what plan the-slaves does-he-reject in the-city prepared
 esse quae iusserit; ne cunctetur ipse propius adcedere.
to-be what he-has-ordered let-him-not delay himself nearer to-approach

His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua proficiscerentur 45
these things so done fixed the-night on-which they-were-to-set-out

Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus L. Valerio Flacco et C.
Cicero through the-envoys all-things informed Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Gaius

Pomptino praetoribus imperat, ut in ponte Mulvio per insidias
Pomptinus the-praetors orders that on the-bridge Mulvian by ambush

Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant. rem omnem aperit,
of-the-Allobroges the-company they-should-seize the-matter whole he-discloses

quoius gratia mittebantur; cetera, uti facto opus sit,
for-whose sake they-were-being-sent the-rest as of-action need there-may-be

ita agant permittit. illi, homines militares, sine tumultu
so they-should-act he-permits they men military without tumult

praesidiis conlocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem
guards placed as instructed it-had-been secretly the-bridge

obsidunt. postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venerunt
beset after to that of-place the-envoys with Volturcius came

et simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli cito cognito
and at-once from-both-sides a-shout arisen has the-Gauls quickly understood

consilio sine mora praetoribus se tradunt, Volturcius primo
the-plan without delay to-the-praetors themselves surrender Volturcius at-first

cohortatus ceteros gladio se a multitudine defendit,
having-exhorted the-others with-the-sword himself from the-multitude defends

deinde, ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua
then when by the-envoys deserted he-was many-things first about safety his

Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus
Pomptinus having-implored because to-him known he-was finally fearful

ac vitae diffidens velut hostibus sese praetoribus dedit.
and of-life despairing as-if to-enemies himself to-the-praetors he-surrendered

Quibus rebus confectis omnia propere per nuntios consuli 46
which things completed all-things quickly through messengers to-the-consul

declarantur. at illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul
are-declared but him huge anxiety and joy at-once

occupavere. nam laetabatur intellegens coniuratione patefacta
seized for he-rejoiced understanding the-conspiracy disclosed
 civitatem periculis ereptam esse; porro autem anxius
the-state from-dangers snatched to-have-been moreover however anxious
 erat dubitans, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis
he-was doubting in the-greatest crime such-great citizens caught
 quid facto opus esset: poenam illorum sibi oneri
what of-action need there-might-be the-punishment of-them to-himself a-burden
 impunitatem perdundae rei publicae fore credebatur. igitur
impunity for-ruining the-thing public would-be he-believed therefore
 confirmato animo vocari ad sese iubet Lentulum, Cethegum,
strengthened (bis)-spirit to-be-called to himself he-orders Lentulus Cethegus
 Statilium, Gabinium itemque Caeparium Terracinensem, qui in
Statilius Gabinius and-likewise Caeparius of-Terracina who into
 Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. ceteri sine
Apulia for rousing the-slaves to-set-out was-preparing the-others without
 mora veniunt; Caeparius, paulo ante domo egressus, cognito
delay come Caeparius a-little before from-home gone-out learned
 indicio ex urbe profugerat. consul Lentulum, quod praetor
the-information from the-city had-fled the-consul Lentulus because praetor
 erat, ipse manu tenens in senatum perducit, reliquos cum
he-was himself by-the-hand holding into the-senate leads the-rest with
 custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire iubet. eo senatum
guards into the-temple of-Concord to-come he-orders there the-senate
 advocat magnaue frequentia eius ordinis Volturcium cum
he-summons and-in-great attendance of-that order Volturcius with
 legatis introducit; Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris,
the-envoys he-brings-in Flaccus the-praetor the-letter-case with the-letters
 quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre iubet.
which from the-envoys he-had-received to-the-same-place to-bring he-orders

Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo
Volturcius questioned about the-journey about the-letters finally
 quid aut qua de causa consili habuisset, primo fingere alia,
what or what for cause of-plan he-had-had at-first invented other-things
 dissimulare de coniuratione; post ubi fide publica
dissembled about the-conspiracy afterward when on-the-pledge public
 dicere iussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit docetque
to-speak ordered he-was all-things as done they-had-been he-discloses and-shows
 se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Caepario socium
himself a-few before days by Gabinius and Caeparius as-an-ally
 adscitum nihil amplius scire quam legatos; tantummodo
enlisted nothing more to-know than the-envoys only
 audire solitum ex Gabinio P. Autronium, Ser. Sullam,
to-hear accustomed from Gabinius Publius Autronius Servius Sulla
 L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea coniuratione
Lucius Vargunteius many besides in that conspiracy
 esse. eadem Galli fatentur ac Lentulum dissimulantem
to-be the-same-things the-Gauls confess and Lentulus dissembling
 coarguunt praeter litteras sermonibus, quos ille habere
they-convict besides the-letter by-the-talks which he to-hold
 solitus erat: ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romae tribus
accustomed had-been from the-books Sibylline kingship at-Rome for-three
 Corneliis portendi; Cinna atque Sullam antea, se tertium
Cornelii to-be-foretold Cinna and Sulla before himself the-third
 esse, quoi fatum foret urbis potiri; praeterea ab
to-be to-whom fated it-was of-the-city to-become-master besides from
 incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe
the-burning of-the-Capitol that to-be the-twentieth year which often
 ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum
from prodigies the-soothsayers had-answered by-war civil bloody
 fore. igitur perlectis litteris, quom prius omnes signa
would-be therefore read-through the-letters when first all seals

sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, uti abdicato magistratu
their had-recognized the-senate decrees that resigned (his)-magistracy
 Lentulus itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis habeantur. itaque
Lentulus and-likewise the-others in free custody should-be-kept and-so
 Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat,
Lentulus to-Publius Lentulus Spinther who then aedile was
 Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinius
Cethegus to-Quintus Cornificius Statilius to-Gaius Caesar Gabinius
 M. Crasso, Caeparius — nam is paulo ante ex fuga
to-Marcus Crassus Caeparius for he a-little before from flight
 retractus erat — Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.
brought-back had-been to-Gnaeus Terentius a-senator are-handed-over

XII · CRASSUS, CAESAR, AND THE QUESTION OF PUNISHMENT

When the plan to burn the city comes out, the plebs turn against Catiline. An informer names Crassus, but the senate calls the charge false. Catulus and Piso fail to induce Cicero to have Caesar falsely named by an informer, and spread lies against him until some knights threaten Caesar with their swords. Freedmen and clients try to rescue Lentulus and Cethegus. Cicero puts the prisoners' fate to the senate. Silanus, the consul-elect, proposes death, and when his turn comes, Gaius Caesar is asked for his opinion.

- 48 Interea plebs coniuratione patefacta, quae primo cupida rerum
meanwhile the-plebs the-conspiracy disclosed which at-first eager for-things
 novarum nimis bello favebat, mutata mente Catilinae consilia
new too-much war favored changed (its)-mind of-Catiline the-plans
 execrari, Ciceronem ad caelum tollere: veluti ex servitute
cursed Cicero to the-sky extolled as-if from slavery
 erepta gaudium atque laetitiam agitabat. namque alia belli
snatched joy and gladness it-showed for other of-war

facinora praedae magis quam detrimento fore, incendium
deeds for-booty more than for-loss would-be the-fire
 vero crudele, immoderatum ac sibi maxume calamitosum
however cruel immoderate and to-itself most disastrous
 putabat, quippe quoi omnes copiae in usu cottidiano
it-thought inasmuch-as to-which all (its)-possessions in use daily
 et cultu corporis erant. post eum diem quidam L.
and in-the-care of-the-body were after that day a-certain Lucius
 Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam
Tarquinius to the-senate brought had-been whom to Catiline
 proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. is quom se
setting-out from the-march dragged-back they-said he when himself
 diceret indicaturum de coniuratione, si fides publica data
he-said about-to-inform about the-conspiracy if the-pledge public given
 esset, iussus a consule quae sciret edicere, eadem fere quae
had-been ordered by the-consul what he-knew to-declare the-same nearly as
 Volturcius de paratis incendiis, de caede bonorum,
Volturcius about the-prepared fires about the-slaughter of-the-good
 de itinere hostium senatum docet: praeterea se missum
about the-march of-the-enemy the-senate informs besides himself sent
 a M. Crasso, qui Catilinae nuntiaret, ne eum Lentulus
by Marcus Crassus who to-Catiline should-announce that-not him Lentulus
 et Cethegus aliique ex coniuratione deprehensi terrerent,
and Cethegus and-others of the-conspiracy caught should-frighten
 eoque magis properaret ad urbem adcedere, quo et
and-therefore more he-should-hasten to the-city to-approach so-that both
 ceterorum animos reficeret et illi facilius e periculo
of-the-rest the-minds he-might-restore and they more-easily from danger
 eriperentur. sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem
might-be-snatched but when Tarquinius Crassus named a-man
 nobilem, maximis divitiis, summa potentia, alii rem
noble of-the-greatest riches of-the-highest power some the-thing

incredibilem rati, pars tametsi verum existumabant tamen,
incredible thinking part although true they-thought yet
 quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda
because in such a-time so-great the-power of-the-man more to-be-soothed
 quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis
than to-be-provoked seemed most to-Crassus from business private
 obnoxii, conclamant indicem falsum esse, deque ea re
indebted shout the-informer false to-be and-about that matter
 postulant uti referatur. itaque consulente Cicerone frequens
demand that it-be-referred and-so on-the-motion-of Cicero a-full
 senatus decernit Tarquini indicium falsum videri eumque
senate decrees of-Tarquinius the-information false to-seem and-him
 in vinculis retinendum neque amplius potestatem faciundam,
in chains to-be-held nor further the-opportunity to-be-given
 nisi de eo indicaret, quois consilio tantam rem esset
unless about him he-should-inform whose by-counsel so-great a-thing he-had
 mentitus. erant eo tempore qui existumarent indicium illud
lied there-were at-that time who thought information that
 a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius appellato Crasso
by Publius Autronius contrived so-that more-easily named Crassus
 per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret.
through partnership of-danger the-rest his by-power he-might-shield
 alii Tarquinium a Cicerone inmisum aiebant, ne Crassus
others Tarquinius by Cicero sent-in said lest Crassus
 more suo suscepto malorum patrocínio rem publicam
by-custom his-own undertaken of-the-wicked the-patronage the-thing public
 conturbaret. ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem
should-throw-into-confusion himself Crassus I afterward declaring
 audiui tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone inpositam.
I-heard so-great that insult on-himself by Cicero imposed

Sed isdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque pretio 49
but in-the-same times Quintus Catulus and Gaius Piso neither by-price
 neque gratia Ciceronem inpellere potuere, uti per Allobroges
nor by-influence Cicero to-drive were-able that through the-Allobroges
 aut alium indicem C. Caesar falso nominaretur. nam uterque
or another informer Gaius Caesar falsely should-be-named for each
 cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebat: Piso oppugnatus in iudicio
with him heavy enmities exercised Piso attacked in a-trial
 pecuniarum repetundarum propter quousdam Transpadani
of-moneys to-be-recovered because-of of-a-certain Transpadane
 supplicium iniustum, Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio
the-execution unjust Catulus from the-candidacy of-the-pontificate by-hatred
 incensus, quod extrema aetate, maxumis honoribus usus,
inflamed because in-extreme age the-greatest honors having-held
 ab adolescentulo Caesare victus discesserat. res autem
by a-young-man Caesar defeated he-had-come-off the-matter moreover
 opportuna videbatur, quod is privatim egregia liberalitate,
opportune seemed because he privately by-outstanding liberality
 publice maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat.
publicly by-the-greatest shows large money owed
 sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus inpellere nequeunt,
but when the-consul to so-great a-crime to-drive they-cannot
 ipsi singillatim circumeundo atque ementiundo, quae se
they-themselves one-by-one by-going-round and by-falsifying what they
 ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam
from Volturcius or the-Allobroges to-have-beard said great
 illi invidiam conflaverant usque eo ut nonnulli equites
for-him odium had-stirred-up as-far as-that that some knights
 Romani, qui praesidi causa cum telis erant circum aedem
Roman who of-protection for-the-sake with weapons were around the-temple
 Concordiae, seu periculi magnitudine seu animi mobilitate
of-Concord either of-the-danger by-the-greatness or of-mind by-fickleness

impulsi, quo studium suum in rem publicam clarius
driven so-that zeal their-own for the-thing public more-evident
 esset, egredienti ex senatu Caesari gladio minitarentur.
might-be to-going-out from the-senate to-Caesar with-the-sword threatened

- 50 Dum haec in senatu aguntur et dum legatis Allobrogum
while these-things in the-senate are-done and while to-the-envoys of-the-Allobroges
 et T. Volturcio conprobato eorum indicio, praemia
and to-Titus Volturcius approved their information rewards
 decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli divorsis
are-decreed the-freedmen and a-few of the-clients of-Lentulus by-different
 itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiundum
routes the-workmen and slaves in the-streets for him to-be-rescued
 sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui
were-stirring-up partly they-sought-out leaders of-mobs who
 pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant. Cethegus autem
for-a-price the-thing public to-harass accustomed had-been Cethegus moreover
 per nuntios familiam atque libertos suos, lectos et exercitatos,
through messengers the-household and freedmen his-own picked and trained
 orabat ut grege facto cum telis ad sese inrumperent. consul
begged that a-band made with weapons to himself they-should-burst-in the-consul
 ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis, ut res
when those-things to-be-prepared he-learned posted guards as the-matter
 atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu refert, quid
and time advised convened the-senate he-puts-the-question what
 de iis fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant.
about those to-be-done it-pleases who into custody handed-over had-been
 sed eos paulo ante frequens senatus iudicaverat contra rem
but them a-little before a-full senate had-judged against the-thing
 publicam fecisse. tum D. Iunius Silanus primus sententiam
public to-have-acted then Decimus Junius Silanus first (his)-opinion
 rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de iis,
asked because at-that time consul designate he-was about those

qui in custodiis tenebantur, et praeterea de L. Cassio, P.
who in custody were-held and besides about Lucius Cassius Publius
 Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent,
Furius Publius Umbrenus Quintus Annius if caught they-had-been
 supplicium sumundum decreverat; isque postea permotus
the-penalty to-be-taken had-decreed and-he afterward moved
 oratione C. Caesaris pedibus in sententiam Ti. Neronis
by-the-speech of-Gaius Caesar on-foot to the-opinion of-Tiberius Nero
 iturum se dixit, quod de ea re praesidiis additis
would-go himself he-said because about that matter guards added
 referendum censuerat. sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum est,
to-be-referred had-proposed but Caesar when to him come it-was
 rogatus sententiam a consule huiusce modi verba locutus est:
asked (his)-opinion by the-consul of-this kind words spoken has

XIII • THE SPEECH OF CAESAR

Those who deliberate on doubtful matters, Caesar says, should be free of hatred, friendship, anger, and pity. The ancestors acted with restraint toward the Rhodians and the Carthaginians. Death is a rest from sorrows, not a torment, and the laws allow condemned citizens exile instead. A bad precedent can begin from a just case, as with the Thirty at Athens and Sulla's executions. He proposes that the prisoners' goods be confiscated and they be held under guard in the towns of Italy.

‘Omnis homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis 51
all men fathers conscript who about things doubtful
 consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos
deliberate from hatred friendship anger and pity free
 esse decet. haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa
to-be it-befits not easily the-mind the-truth foresees where those-things
 officiant, neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul et
obstruct nor anyone of-all to-lust at-the-same-time and

usui paruit. ubi intenderis ingenium, valet; si lubido
to-advantage has-obeyed where you-have-applied the-talent it-prevails if lust
 possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. magna mihi
possesses-it it rules the-mind nothing avails great to-me
 copia est memorandi, patres conscripti, quae reges atque
abundance is of-recounting fathers conscript what kings and
 populi ira aut misericordia impulsu male consuluerint. sed
peoples by-anger or by-pity driven badly have-counseled but
 ea malo dicere, quae maiores nostri contra lubidinem
those-things I-prefer to-tell which the-ancestors our against the-lust
 animi sui recte atque ordine fecere. bello Macedonico, quod
of-mind their rightly and in-order did in-the-war Macedonian which
 cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas magna atque
with the-king Perses we-waged of-the-Rhodians the-state great and
 magnifica, quae populi Romani opibus creverat, infida
magnificent which of-the-people Roman by-the-resources had-grown faithless
 et adversa nobis fuit. sed postquam bello confecto de
and hostile to-us was but after the-war completed about
 Rhodiis consultum est, maiores nostri, ne quis divitiarum
the-Rhodians deliberated it-was the-ancestors our lest anyone of-riches
 magis quam iniuriae causa bellum inceptum diceret,
rather than of-wrong for-the-sake the-war begun should-say
 impunitos eos dimiserunt. item bellis Punicis omnibus,
unpunished them dismissed likewise in-the-wars Punic all
 quom saepe Carthaginienses et in pace et per indutias
although often the-Carthaginians both in peace and during truces
 multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per
many wicked crimes had-done never they-themselves through
 occasionem talia fecere: magis quid se dignum
opportunity such-things did rather what of-themselves worthy
 foret, quam quid in illos iure fieri posset, quaerebant.
would-be than what against them by-right to-be-done could they-asked

hoc item vobis providendum est, patres conscripti, ne plus
this likewise by-you to-be-provided-against is fathers conscript lest more
 apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus quam
with you should-weigh of-Publius Lentulus and of-the-rest the-crime than
 vostra dignitas, neu magis irae vestrae quam famae
your dignity nor more to-anger your than to-reputation
 consulatis. nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur,
you-should-consult for if a-worthy penalty for the-deeds their is-found
 novom consilium adprobo; sin magnitudo sceleris omnium
a-new measure I-approve but-if the-magnitude of-the-crime of-all
 ingenia exuperat, his utendum censeo, quae legibus comparata
the-talents surpasses those to-be-used I-propose which by-the-laws provided
 sunt. plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt,
are most of-them who before me opinions have-spoken
 conposite atque magnifice casum rei publicae miserati
in-studied-phrase and magnificently the-fall of-the-thing public pitied
 sunt. quae belli saevitia esset, quae victis acciderent,
have what of-war the-cruelty was what to-the-vanquished befell
 enumeravere: rapi virgines, pueros; divelli liberos a
they-recounted to-be-ravished maidens boys to-be-torn children from
 parentum complexu; matres familiarum pati quae victoribus
of-parents the-embrace mothers of-families to-suffer what to-the-victors
 conlubuissent; fana atque domos spoliari; caedem, incendia
pleased shrines and homes to-be-despoiled slaughter fires
 fieri; postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu
to-take-place finally with-arms corpses gore and grief
 omnia conpleri. sed, per deos immortalis, quo illa oratio
all-things to-be-filled but by the-gods immortal to-what that speech
 pertinuit? an uti vos infestos coniurationi faceret? scilicet,
tended or that you hostile to-the-conspiracy it-might-make evidently
 quem res tanta et tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio
whom a-thing so-great and so dreadful not has-moved him a-speech

accendet. non ita est, neque quoquam mortalium iniuriae
will-inflame not so it-is nor to-any of-mortals wrongs
 suae parvae videntur; multi eas gravius aequo habuere.
his-own small seem many them more-heavily than-fair have-borne
 sed alia aliis licentia est, patres conscripti. qui demissi
but another to-others license is fathers conscript who humble
 in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere,
in obscurity life pass if anything in-anger they-have-done-wrong
 pauci sciunt, fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt; qui
few know fame and fortune their equal are who
 magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum
with-great command endowed on high (their)-life spend their
 facta cuncti mortales novere. ita in maxuma fortuna minuma
deeds all mortals know thus in the-greatest fortune the-least
 licentia est; neque studere neque odisse, sed minime
license is neither to-be-partial nor to-hate but least
 irasci decet; quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in
to-grow-angry it-befits what among others anger is-called that in
 imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. equidem ego
command arrogance and cruelty is-named indeed I
 sic existumo, patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores
so think fathers conscript all tortures less
 quam facinora illorum esse. sed plerique mortales postrema
than the-crimes of-them to-be but most mortals the-last-things
 meminere et in hominibus inpiis sceleris eorum
remember and in-the-case-of men impious of-the-crime their
 obliti de poena disserunt, si ea paulo severior fuit.
forgetful about the-punishment discourse if it a-little too-severe was
 D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuom, certo scio
Decimus Silanus a-man brave and energetic certainly I-know
 quae dixerit studio rei publicae dixisse, neque illum
what he-said from-zeal for-the-thing public to-have-said nor him

in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere: eos mores
in so-great a-matter favor or enmities to-exercise such character
 eamque modestiam viri cognovi. verum sententia eius
and-such moderation of-the-man I-have-known but the-opinion his
 mihi non crudelis — quid enim in talis homines crudele
to-me not cruel what indeed against such men cruel
 fieri potest? — sed aliena a re publica nostra
to-be-done can but alien from the-thing public our
 videtur. nam profecto aut metus aut iniuria te subegit,
seems for surely either fear or wrong you has-compelled
 Silane, consulem designatum genus poenae novom decernere.
Silanus a-consul designate a-kind of-penalty new to-decree
 de timore supervacaneum est disserere, quom praesertim
about fear superfluous it-is to-discourse since especially
 diligentia clarissimi viri consulis tanta praesidia sint in
by-the-diligence of-a-most-illustrious man consul so-great guards are under
 armis. de poena possum equidem dicere, id quod res
arms about the-penalty I-can indeed say that which the-matter
 habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem,
holds in grief and miseries death of-sorrows a-rest
 non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere;
not a-torment to-be it all of-mortals evils to-dissolve
 ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. sed, per deos
beyond neither for-care nor for-joy place to-be but by the-gods
 immortalis, quam ob rem in sententiam non addidisti,
immortal which on-account-of thing to (your)-proposal not you-added
 uti prius verberibus in eos animadvorteretur? an quia lex
that first with-lashes on them punishment-be-inflicted or because the-law
 Porcia vetat? at aliae leges item condemnatis civibus non
Porcian forbids but other laws likewise from-condemned citizens not
 animam eripi, sed exilium permitti iubent. an quia
life to-be-taken but exile to-be-permitted order or because

gravius est verberari quam necari? quid autem acerbum aut
more-severe it-is to-be-flogged than to-be-killed what however bitter or
 nimis grave est in homines tanti facinoris convictos?
too severe is against men of-so-great a-crime convicted
 sin quia levius est, qui convenit in minore negotio legem
but-if because lighter it-is how is-it-consistent in the-lesser matter the-law
 timere, quom eam in maiore neglexeris? at enim quis
to-fear when it in the-greater you-have-disregarded but indeed who
 reprehendet quod in parricidas rei publicae decretum
will-blame what against the-parricides of-the-thing public decreed
 erit? tempus dies fortuna, quouis lubido gentibus
will-have-been time the-day fortune whose caprice the-nations
 moderatur. illis merito accidet quicquid evenierit; ceterum
governs to-them deservedly will-happen whatever shall-befall but
 vos, patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis, considerate.
you fathers conscript what against others you-decide consider
 omnia mala exempla ex rebus bonis orta sunt. sed ubi
all bad precedents from things good arisen have but when
 imperium ad ignaros eius aut minus bonos pervenit, novom
command to men-ignorant of-it or less good has-come new
 illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et
that precedent from the-worthy and suitable to the-unworthy and
 non idoneos transfertur. Lacedaemonii devictis Atheniensibus
not suitable is-transferred the-Lacedaemonians conquered the-Athenians
 triginta viros inposuere, qui rem publicam eorum tractarent.
thirty men imposed who the-thing public their should-manage
 ii primo coepere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum
they at-first began the-worst each and to-all hateful
 indemnatum necare: ea populus laetari et merito dicere
uncondemned to-kill those-things the-people rejoiced and deservedly said
 fieri. post ubi paulatim licentia crevit, iuxta bonos et
to-be-done afterward when little-by-little license grew alike the-good and

malos lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere: ita civitas
the-bad wantonly they-killed the-rest by-fear they-terrified thus the-state
 servitute oppressa stultae laetitiae gravis poenas dedit. nostra
by-slavery oppressed for-foolish joy heavy penalties paid our
 memoria victor Sulla quom Damasippum et alios eius
in-memory victorious Sulla when Damasippus and others of-that
 modi, qui malo rei publicae creverant, iugulari
kind who from-the-evil of-the-thing public had-grown to-be-slaughtered
 iussit, quis non factum eius laudabat? homines scelestos
ordered who not the-deed his praised men wicked
 et factiosos, qui seditionibus rem publicam exagitaverant,
and factious who by-seditions the-thing public had-barassed
 merito necatos aiebant. sed ea res magnae initium cladis
deservedly killed they-said but that thing of-great the-beginning disaster
 fuit. nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas
was for as each a-house or villa finally a-vessel
 aut vestimentum aliquoius concupiverat, dabat operam, uti is
or garment of-anyone had-coveted he-took pains that he
 in proscriptorum numero esset. ita illi, quibus Damasippi
in of-the-proscribed the-number should-be so they to-whom of-Damasippus
 mors laetitiae fuerat, paulo post ipsi trahebantur neque
the-death for-joy had-been a-little after themselves were-dragged-off nor
 prius finis iugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis
sooner an-end of-slaughter was than Sulla all his-own with-riches
 explevit. atque ego haec non in M. Tullio
filled and I these-things not in-the-case-of Marcus Tullius
 neque his temporibus vereor; sed in magna civitate multa
nor in-these times fear but in a-great state many
 et varia ingenia sunt. potest alio tempore, alio
and various natures are it-is-possible at-another time under-another
 consule, quoi item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid
consul to-whom likewise an-army in hand may-be false something

pro vero credi. ubi hoc exemplo per senatus decretum
for true to-be-believed when by-this precedent through of-the-senate a-decree
 consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem statuet aut
the-consul the-sword shall-have-drawn who for-him a-limit will-set or
 quis moderabitur? maiores nostri, patres conscripti, neque
who will-restrain-him the-ancestors our fathers conscript neither
 consili neque audaciae umquam eguere; neque illis superbia
of-counsel nor of-boldness ever lacked nor them pride
 obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant,
hindered whereby less foreign institutions if only honorable they-were
 imitarentur. arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus,
they-should-imitate arms and weapons military from the-Samnites
 insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt.
the-insignia of-magistrates from the-Etruscans for-the-most-part they-took
 postremo, quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum
finally what anywhere among allies or enemies suitable
 videbatur, cum summo studio domi exequabantur: imitari
seemed with the-utmost zeal at-home they-carried-out to-imitate
 quam invidere bonis malebant. sed eodem illo tempore
than to-envy the-good they-preferred but at-the-same that time
 Graeciae morem imitati verberibus animadvortebant in civis, de
of-Greece the-custom imitating with-lashes they-punished on citizens of
 condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. postquam res
the-condemned the-supreme penalty they-took after the-thing
 publica adolevit et multitudine civium factiones valere,
public grew-up and by-the-multipitude of-citizens factions grew-strong
 circumveniri innocentes, alia huiusce modi fieri coepere,
to-be-ensnared the-innocent other-things of-this kind to-be-done began
 tum lex Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, quibus legibus
then the-law Porcian and-other laws prepared were by-which laws
 exilium damnatis permissum est. ego hanc causam, patres
exile to-the-condemned permitted is I this reason fathers

conscripti, quo minus novom consilium capiamus, in primis
conscript why less a-new measure we-should-take among the-first
 magnam puto. profecto virtus atque sapientia maior illis
great I-think surely virtue and wisdom greater in-them
 fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in
was who from small resources so-great an-empire made than in
 nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus. placet igitur
us who those-things well won scarcely retain does-it-please then
 eos dimitti et augeri exercitum Catilinae? minime. sed
them to-be-released and to-be-increased the-army of-Catiline by-no-means but
 ita censeo: publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis
so I-propose to-be-confiscated their moneys themselves in chains
 habendos per municipia, quae maxume opibus valent;
to-be-held throughout the-towns which most in-resources are-strong
 neu quis de iis postea ad senatum referat neve cum
nor anyone about them afterward to the-senate should-refer nor with
 populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare
the-people should-treat who otherwise shall-have-done the-senate to-judge
 eum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium facturum.
him against the-thing public and the-safety of-all to-be-about-to-act

XIV • THE SPEECH OF CATO

Marcus Cato answers that the danger calls for prevention, not debate: once this crime is done, it will be too late for the courts. The Romans have long lost the true names of things, calling the squandering of others' goods generosity. Holding the prisoners in the towns is vain when the wicked are all over Italy and the enemy is at the gates. The ancestors made Rome great not by arms but by industry, just rule, and a free mind in counsel. He proposes death, by the custom of the ancestors, for those who have confessed, as if caught in the act.

- 52 Postquam Caesar dicundi finem fecit, ceteri verbo alius
after Caesar of-speaking an-end made the-others in-a-word one
 alii varie adsentiebantur. at M. Porcius Cato rogatus
to-another variously assented but Marcus Porcius Cato asked
 sententiam huiusce modi orationem habuit: 'Longe alia
(his)-opinion of-this kind a-speech delivered far other
 mihi mens est, patres conscripti, quom res atque
to-me the-mind is fathers conscript when the-situation and
 pericula nostra considero, et quom sententias nonnullorum
the-dangers our I-consider and when the-opinions of-some
 ipse mecum reputo. illi mihi disseruisse videntur de
I-myself with-myself I-ponder they to-me to-have-discoursed seem about
 poena eorum, qui patriae, parentibus, aris
the-punishment of-those who against-the-fatherland against-parents against-altars
 atque focus suis bellum paravere; res autem
and against-hearths their-own war have-prepared the-situation however
 monet cavere ab illis magis quam quid in illos
warns to-guard against them rather than what against them
 statuamus consultare. nam cetera maleficia tum persequare,
we-should-decide to-deliberate for other misdeeds then you-may-prosecute
 ubi facta sunt; hoc nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi
when done they-are this unless you-have-provided-against lest it-happen when
 evenit, frustra iudicia inploras: capta urbe nihil fit
it-has-come in-vain the-courts you-may-implore taken the-city nothing is
 reliqui victis. sed, per deos immortalis, vos ego appello,
left to-the-vanquished but by the-gods immortal you I call-upon
 qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vostras pluris
who always houses villas statues pictures your of-more-value
 quam rem publicam fecistis: si ista, quouiscumque
than the-thing public have-made if those-things of-whatever
 modi sunt quae amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris
kind they-are which you-embrace to-keep if for-pleasures your

otium praeberere voltis, expergiscimini aliquando et capessite
leisure to-provide you-wish wake-up at-last and take-hold-of
 rem publicam. non agitur de vectigalibus neque de
the-thing public not it-is-a-question about revenues nor about
 sociorum iniuriis: libertas et anima nostra in dubio est.
of-the-allies wrongs liberty and life our in doubt is
 saepenumero, patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine
often fathers conscript many words in this order
 feci, saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium
I-have-made often about the-luxury and avarice of-our citizens
 questus sum multosque mortalis ea causa advorsos habeo.
complained I-have and-many mortals for-that reason hostile I-have
 qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam
who to-myself and to-mind my of-no ever fault pardon
 fecissem, haud facile alterius lubricini male facta condonabam.
had-made not easily of-another's lust ill deeds I-condoned
 sed ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen res
but those-things although you little regarded yet the-thing
 publica firma erat, opulentia negligentiam tolerabat. nunc
public firm was (its)-wealth negligence tolerated now
 vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus
however not this is-the-question whether-with-good or with-bad morals
 vivamus, neque quantum aut quam magnificum imperium
we-should-live nor how-great or how magnificent the-empire
 populi Romani sit, sed haec, quouscumque modi
of-the-people Roman may-be but these-things of-whatever kind
 videntur, nostra an nobiscum una hostium futura sint. hic
they-seem ours or with-us together of-the-enemy about-to-be are here
 mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat.
to-me someone mildness and pity names
 iam pridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus:
already long-since indeed we the-true names of-things have-lost

quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia
because the-goods of-others to-lavish generosity of-bad things boldness
 fortitudo vocatur, eo res publica in extremo sita
courage is-called therefore the-thing public on the-brink placed
 est. sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent,
is let-them-be by-all-means since so themselves the-morals hold
 liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in
generous from of-the-allies the-fortunes let-them-be pitiful toward
 furibus aerari; ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur et,
the-thieves of-the-treasury lest they blood our should-lavish and
 dum paucis sceleratis parcant, bonos omnis perditum eant.
while a-few criminals they-spare the-good all to-ruin should-go
 bene et compositae. C. Caesar paulo ante in hoc ordine
well and in-studied-phrase Gaius Caesar a-little before in this order
 de vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea,
about life and death has-discoursed I-suppose false thinking those-things
 quae de inferis memorantur: divorso itinere malos
which about the-underworld are-told by-a-different road the-bad
 a bonis loca taetra, inculta, foeda atque formidulosa
from the-good places foul wild loathsome and fearful
 habere. itaque censuit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos
to-have therefore he-has-proposed the-moneys their to-be-confiscated themselves
 per municipia in custodiis habendos, videlicet timens,
throughout the-towns in custody to-be-held evidently fearing
 ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus coniurationis aut
lest if at-Rome they-be either by the-partisans of-the-conspiracy or
 a multitudine conducta per vim eripiantur. quasi vero
by a-multitude hired by force they-be-snatched-away as-if indeed
 mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe et non per
the-wicked and criminal only in the-city and not throughout
 totam Italiam sint aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad
the-whole Italy may-be or not there more can boldness where for

defendundum opes minores sunt. quare vanum equidem
defending the-resources smaller are wherefore empty indeed
 hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit; si in tanto
this plan is if danger from them he-fears if in so-great
 omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi
of-all fear alone not he-fears the more it-concerns me for-myself
 atque vobis timere. qua re quom de P. Lentulo
and for-you to-fear by-which thing when about Publius Lentulus
 ceterisque statuētis, pro certo habetote vos simul de
and-the-rest you-will-decide for certain bold-it you at-the-same-time about
 exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus coniuratis decernere.
the-army of-Catiline and about all the-conspirators to-decide
 quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus
by-how-much you more-attentively these-things will-do by-so-much to-them the-spirit
 infirmior erit; si paulum modo vos languere viderint, iam
weaker will-be if a-little only you to-flag they-see at-once
 omnes feroces aderunt. nolite existumare maiores nostros
all fierce will-be-here do-not think the-ancestors our
 armis rem publicam ex parva magnam fecisse. si ita
by-arms the-thing public from small great to-have-made if so
 esset, multo pulcherrimam eam nos haberemus: quippe
it-were by-far most-beautiful it we would-have inasmuch-as
 sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum
of-allies and of-citizens besides of-arms and of-horses
 maior copia nobis quam illis est. sed alia fuere,
greater abundance to-us than to-them is but other-things there-were
 quae illos magnos fecere, quae nobis nulla sunt: domi
which them great made which to-us none are at-home
 industria, foris iustum imperium, animus in consulundo
industry abroad just command a-mind in deliberating
 liber, neque delicto neque lubrici obnoxius. pro his nos
free neither to-fault nor to-lust subject instead-of these we

habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam, publice egestatem, privatim
have luxury and avarice publicly poverty privately
 opulentiam. laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam. inter bonos
wealth we-praise riches we-pursue idleness between the-good
 et malos discrimen nullum, omnia virtutis praemia ambitio
and the-bad distinction none all of-virtue the-rewards ambition
 possidet. neque mirum: ubi vos separatim sibi quisque
possesses nor wonder when you separately for-himself each
 consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae aut
counsel you-take when at-home to-pleasures here to-money or
 gratiae servitis, eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuum
to-favor you-are-slaves thus it-comes-about that an-attack is-made on the-empty
 rem publicam. sed ego haec omitto. coniuravere nobilissimi
thing public but I these-things omit have-conspired most-noble
 cives patriam incendere, Gallorum gentem infestissimam
citizens the-fatherland to-burn of-the-Gauls a-nation most-hostile
 nomini Romano ad bellum arcessunt, dux hostium cum
to-the-name Roman to war they-summon the-leader of-the-enemy with
 exercitu supra caput est; vos cunctamini etiam nunc et
an-army over (our)-head is you delay even now and
 dubitatis, quid intra moenia deprensus hostibus faciatis?
hesitate what within the-walls with-caught enemies you-should-do
 misereamini censeo deliquere homines adolescentuli
you-should-pity I-propose they-have-done-wrong men young-lads
 per ambitionem atque etiam armatos dimittatis: ne ista
through ambition and even armed you-should-let-go lest that
 vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint,
to-you mildness and pity if they arms shall-have-taken
 in miseriam convortat. scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed
to misery should-turn evidently the-situation itself harsh is but
 vos non timetis eam. immo vero maxime. sed inertia et
you do-not fear it no indeed very-much but by-idleness and

mollitia animi alius alium expectantes cunctamini, videlicet
by-softness of-mind one another awaiting you-delay evidently
 dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem publicam saepe
in-the-gods immortal trusting who this thing public often
 in maxumis periculis servavere. non votis neque suppliciis
in the-greatest dangers have-saved not by-vows nor by-supplications
 muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agundo, bene
womanish the-aids of-the-gods are-won by-watching by-acting well
 consulundo prospera omnia cedunt. ubi socordiae te atque
by-counseling prosperously all-things turn-out when to-sloth yourself and
 ignaviae tradideris, nequiquam deos inploras: irati
to-cowardice you-have-surrendered in-vain the-gods you-may-implore angry
 infestique sunt. apud maiores nostros A. Manlius Torquatus
and-hostile they-are among the-ancestors our Aulus Manlius Torquatus
 bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium
in-the-war Gallic son his because he against the-command
 in hostem pugnaverat, necari iussit atque ille egregius
against the-enemy had-fought to-be-killed ordered and that outstanding
 adulescens inmoderate fortitudinis morte poenas dedit: vos
young-man of-immoderate courage by-death the-penalty paid you
 de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini?
about most-cruel parricides what you-should-decide delay
 videlicet cetera vita eorum huic sceleri obstat. verum
evidently the-rest-of-the life their to-this crime stands-in-the-way but
 parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae
spare the-dignity of-Lentulus if he-himself (his)-chastity if fame
 suae, si dis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit. ignoscite
his-own if gods or men ever any has-spared forgive
 Cethegi adolescentiae, nisi iterum patriae bellum
of-Cethegus the-youth unless a-second-time against-(his)-fatherland war
 fecit. nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Caepario
he-has-made for why I about Gabinius Statilius Caeparius

loquar? quibus si quicquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea
should-speak to-whom if anything ever of-account had-been not those
 consilia de re publica habuissent. postremo, patres
plans about the-thing public they-would-have-had finally fathers
 conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer
conscript if by-Hercules for-error room there-were easily I-would-allow
 vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis. sed
you by-the-very event to-be-corrected since words you-despise but
 undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus
on-all-sides beset we-are Catiline with an-army at-the-throat
 urget, alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes;
presses others within the-walls and in the-bosom of-the-city are enemies
 neque parari neque consuli quicquam potest occulte:
nor to-be-prepared nor to-be-planned anything can secretly
 quo magis properandum est. quare ego ita censeo, quom
the more to-be-hastened it-is wherefore I so propose since
 nefario consilio sceleratorum civium res publica in
by-the-wicked plan of-criminal citizens the-thing public into
 maxuma pericula venerit, iique indicio T. Volturci
the-greatest dangers has-come and-they on-the-information of-Titus Volturcius
 et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint caedem,
and of-the-envoys of-the-Allobroges convicted and-confessed are slaughter
 incendia aliaque se foeda atque crudelia facinora in civis
fires and-other themselves foul and cruel crimes against citizens
 patriamque paravisse, de confessis, sicuti de manifestis
and-fatherland to-have-prepared on the-confessed as on the-caught-in-the-act
 rerum capitalium, more maiorum supplicium sumundum.
of-crimes capital by-the-custom of-the-ancestors the-penalty to-be-taken

The senate adopts Cato's motion. Sallust reflects that Rome's greatness came from the outstanding virtue of a few, and that in his own time there were two men of great virtue but different character. Caesar won glory by giving, helping, and forgiving; Cato by integrity, severity, and restraint. Cicero then leads Lentulus to the Tullianum, a cell sunk underground and foul with darkness and stench, where he is strangled. Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Caeparius are put to death in the same way, as the senate has decreed.

Postquam Cato adsedit, consulares omnes itemque senatus 53
after Cato sat-down the-consulars all and-like-wise of-the-senate
magna pars sententiam eius laudant, virtutem animi ad
a-great part the-opinion his praise the-virtue of-(his)-mind to
caelum ferunt, alii alios increpantes timidos vocant. Cato
the-sky they-bear some others reproaching cowards call Cato
clarus atque magnus habetur; senati decretum fit, sicuti
famous and great is-held of-the-senate the-decree is-made as
ille censuerat. sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti,
he had-proposed but to-me many-things reading many-things hearing
quae populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari atque terra
which the-people Roman at-home and-in-war by-sea and by-land
praeclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, quae res
glorious deeds did by-chance it-pleased to-consider what thing
maxume tanta negotia sustinisset. sciebam saepe numero
most such-great affairs had-sustained I-knew often times
parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse;
with-a-small band with great legions of-the-enemy to-have-contended
cognoveram parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus,
I-had-learned with-small forces wars waged with wealthy kings
ad hoc saepe fortunae violentiam toleravisse, facundia Graecos,
to this often of-fortune the-violence to-have-endured in-eloquence the-Greeks

gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. ac mihi multa
in-the-glory of-war the-Gauls before the-Romans to-have-been and to-me many-things
 agitati constabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem
pondering it-was-agreed of-a-few citizens the-outstanding virtue
 cuncta patravisse, eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas,
all-things to-have-accomplished and-therefore it-came-about that riches poverty
 multitudinem paucitas superaret. sed postquam luxu atque
a-multitude fewness overcame but after by-luxury and
 desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus res publica magnitudine
idleness the-state corrupted was in-turn the-thing public by-greatness
 sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat ac,
its-own of-generals and of-magistrates the-vices sustained and
 sicuti effeta parentum vi, multis tempestatibus haud
as exhausted of-parents in-strength for-many seasons not
 sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit. sed memoria mea
indeed anyone at-Rome in-virtue great was but in-memory my
 ingenti virtute, divorsis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato
of-vast virtue of-different characters were men two Marcus Cato
 et C. Caesar. quos quoniam res obtulerat, silentio
and Gaius Caesar whom since the-occasion had-offered in-silence
 praeterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et
to-pass-by not was (my)-plan but-that of-each the-nature and
 mores, quantum ingenio possum, aperirem.
the-character as-far-as by-talent I-can I-should-disclose

- 54 Igitur iis genus aetas eloquentia prope aequalia fuere,
therefore to-them birth age eloquence nearly equal were
 magnitudo animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii. Caesar
greatness of-mind equal likewise glory but other to-each Caesar
 beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vitae
by-benefits and munificence great was-held by-integrity of-life
 Cato. ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus, huic
Cato he by-mildness and pity famous became to-this-one

severitas dignitatem addiderat. Caesar dando sublevando
severity dignity had-added Caesar by-giving by-relieving
 ignoscundo, Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus est. in
by-pardoning Cato nothing by-lavishing glory obtained has in
 altero miseris perfugium erat, in altero malis perniciēs.
the-one for-the-wretched a-refuge was in the-other for-the-bad destruction
 illius facilitas, huius constantia laudabatur. postremo
of-the-former the-affability of-the-latter the-firmness was-praised finally
 Caesar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis
Caesar into (his)-mind had-brought to-toil to-keep-awake in-the-affairs
 amicorum intentus sua neglegere, nihil denegare quod dono
of-friends intent his-own to-neglect nothing to-refuse which of-a-gift
 dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum
worthy might-be for-himself a-great command an-army a-war
 novom exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. at Catoni
new he-desired where (his)-virtue to-shine-forth could but for-Cato
 studium modestiae, decoris, sed maxume severitatis erat;
the-pursuit of-restraint of-propriety but most of-severity was
 non divitiis cum divite neque factione cum factioso, sed
not with-riches with the-rich-man nor with-faction with the-factionous but
 cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente
with the-energetic in-virtue with the-modest in-self-respect with the-innocent
 abstinentia certabat; esse quam videri bonus malebat: ita,
in-self-restraint he-contended to-be than to-seem good he-preferred so
 quo minus petebat gloriam, eo magis illum sequebatur.
the less he-sought glory the more him it-followed
 Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, 55
after as I-said the-senate into Cato's opinion went
 consul optimum factu ratus noctem quae instabat
the-consul best to-do thinking the-night which was-at-hand
 antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, tresviros quae
to-forestall lest anything in-that interval should-be-attempted the-triumvirs what

ad supplicium postulabantur parare iubet. ipse praesidiis
for the-execution were-required to-prepare he-orders himself with-guards
 dispositis Lentulum in carcerem deducit; idem fit
posted Lentulus into the-prison leads-down the-same is-done
 ceteris per praetores. est in carcere locus, quod Tullianum
to-the-others by the-praetors there-is in the-prison a-place which the-Tullianum
 appellatur, ubi paululum ascenderis ad laevam, circiter
is-called where a-little you-have-climbed to the-left about
 duodecim pedes humi depressus; eum muniunt undique
twelve feet in-the-ground sunk it enclose on-all-sides
 parietes atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus iuncta; sed
walls and above a-vault of-stone arches joined but
 incultu tenebris odore foeda atque terribilis eius facies est.
by-neglect by-darkness by-stench foul and terrible its appearance is
 in eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus, vindices
into that place after let-down was Lentulus the-avengers
 rerum capitalium, quibus praeceptum erat, laqueo gulam
of-crimes capital to-whom instructed it-had-been with-a-noose (his)-throat
 fregere. ita ille patricius ex gente clarissima Corneliorum,
broke so that patrician of the-house most-illustrious of-the-Cornelii
 qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum moribus
who consular command at-Rome had-held worthy of-character
 factisque suis exitium vitae invenit. de Cethego, Statilio,
and-deeds his-own an-end of-life found on Cethegus Statilius
 Gabinio, Caepario eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.
Gabinus Caeparius in-the-same way the-penalty taken was

Catiline forms two legions from his forces and refuses the slaves who come to him. When news of the executions comes, most desert him. Trapped between Metellus Celer and Antonius, he tells his soldiers that wherever they go they must cut their way with the sword, and that they fight for their country, freedom, and life. Near Pistoria Petreius leads the attack. Catiline fights in the front line and is found far ahead of his men among the enemy dead. No freeborn citizen is taken alive, and the victory is neither joyful nor bloodless: gladness and grief mingle through the army.

Dum ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia 56
while these-things at-Rome are-done Catiline from all the-force
 quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas
which both he-himself had-brought and Manlius had-had two
 legiones instituit, cohortis pro numero militum complet.
legions forms the-coborts according-to the-number of-soldiers he-fills
 deinde, ut quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra
then as each volunteer or from the-allies into the-camp
 venerat, aequaliter distribuerat, ac brevi spatio legiones
had-come equally he-had-distributed and in-a-short time the-legions
 numero hominum expleverat, quom initio non amplius
in-number of-men he-had-filled although at-the-beginning not more
 duobus milibus habuisset. sed ex omni copia circiter pars
than-two thousands he-had-had but of all the-force about part
 quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque
a-fourth was with-military arms equipped the-rest as each
 casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii praeacutas
chance had-armed hunting-spears or lances others sharpened
 sudis portabant. sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu
stakes carried but after Antonius with (his)-army
 adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere, modo
was-approaching Catiline through the-mountains (his)-march made now

ad urbem, modo Galliam vorsus castra movere, hostibus
toward the-city now Gaul toward (his)-camp moved to-the-enemy
 occasionem pugnandi non dare. sperabat propediem magnas
an-opportunity of-fighting not gave he-hoped shortly great
 copias sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta
forces himself would-have if at-Rome (his)-allies (their)-undertakings
 patravissent. interea servitia repudiabat, quouis initio ad
had-accomplished meanwhile the-slaves be-rejected of-which at-first to
 eum magnae copiae concurrebant, opibus coniurationis
him great numbers flocked in-the-resources of-the-conspiracy
 fretus, simul alienum suis rationibus existumans
trusting at-the-same-time foreign to-his-own interests thinking
 videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.
to-seem the-cause of-citizens with slaves runaway to-have-shared

- 57 Sed postquam in castra nuntius pervenit Romae coniurationem
but after into the-camp the-news reached at-Rome the-conspiracy
 patefactam, de Lentulo et Cethego ceterisque, quos supra
disclosed about Lentulus and Cethegus and-the-rest whom above
 memoravi, supplicium sumptum, plerique, quos ad bellum
I-have-mentioned the-penalty taken most whom to war
 spes rapinarum aut novarum rerum studium illexerat,
the-hope of-plunder or of-new things the-zeal had-enticed
 dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina per montis asperos magnis
slip-away the-rest Catiline through mountains rough by-forced
 itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducit eo consilio,
marches into the-territory of-Pistoria leads-off with-this plan
 uti per tramites occulte perfugeret in Galliam Transalpinam.
that by paths secretly he-might-escape into Gaul Transalpine
 at Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro
but Quintus Metellus Celer with three legions in the-territory
 Piceno praesidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa
Picine was-on-guard from the-difficulty of-the-situation the-same those-things

existumans quae supra diximus Catilinam agitare. igitur
thinking which above we-have-said Catiline to-be-planning therefore
 ubi iter eius ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movit
when the-route his from deserters he-learned (his)-camp quickly he-moved
 ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi
and under the-very roots of-the-mountains encamped where for-him
 descensus erat in Galliam properanti. neque tamen Antonius
the-descent was into Gaul hastening nor however Antonius
 procul aberat, utpote qui magno exercitu locis aequioribus
far was-absent as-one who with-a-great army in-places more-level
 expeditus in fuga sequeretur. sed Catilina, postquam videt
unencumbered in flight was-following but Catiline after he-sees
 montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res
by-mountains and by-forces of-the-enemy himself shut-in in the-city things
 advorsas, neque fugae neque praesidi ullam spem, optimum
adverse neither of-flight nor of-protection any hope best
 factu ratus in tali re fortunam belli temptare, statuit
to-do thinking in such a-situation the-fortune of-war to-try he-resolved
 cum Antonio quam primum conflare. itaque contione
with Antonius as soon-as-possible to-engage and-so an-assembly
 advocata huiusce modi orationem habuit:
called of-this kind a-speech he-delivered
 ‘Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere 58
ascertained I hold soldiers words virtue not to-add
 neque ex ignavo strenuom neque fortem ex timido exercitum
nor from cowardly energetic nor brave from timid an-army
 oratione imperatoris fieri. quanta quousque animo
by-the-speech of-the-general to-become how-much of-each in-the-mind
 audacia natura aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere
boldness by-nature or by-habits is so-much in war to-show-itself
 solet. quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequiquam
is-wont whom neither glory nor dangers rouse in-vain

hortere: timor animi auribus officit. sed ego vos, quo
you-would-exhort fear of-mind the-ears obstructs but I you so-that
 pauca monerem, advocavi, simul uti causam mei
a-few-things I-might-advise have-summoned at-the-same-time that the-reason of-my
 consili aperirem. scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque
plan I-might-disclose you-know indeed soldiers by-the-sloth and
 ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque cladem attulerit,
cowardice of-Lentulus how-great on-himself and-on-us a-disaster he-has-brought
 quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam
and-in-what way while from the-city reinforcements I-await into Gaul
 proficisci nequiverim. nunc vero quo loco res nostrae
to-set-out I-have-been-unable now however in-what position affairs our
 sint, iuxta mecum omnes intellegitis. exercitus hostium duo,
are equally with-me all understand armies of-the-enemy two
 unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia obstant; diutius in his
one from the-city the-other from Gaul stand-in-the-way longer in these
 locis esse, si maxime animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum
places to-be if very-much the-mind should-wish of-grain and of-other
 rerum egestas prohibet; quocumque ire placet, ferro
things the-want prevents wherever to-go it-pleases with-the-sword
 iter aperiendum est. quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque
a-way to-be-opened is wherefore you I-advise that of-brave and
 parato animo sitis et, quom proelium inibitis, memineritis
ready mind you-be and when the-battle you-shall-enter you-remember
 vos divitias, decus, gloriam, praeterea libertatem atque
you riches honor glory besides liberty and
 patriam in dextris vestris portare. si vincimus, omnia nobis
fatherland in right-hands your to-carry if we-conquer all-things for-us
 tuta erunt: commeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniae
safe will-be supplies in-abundance the-towns and colonies
 patebunt; si metu cesserimus, eadem illa adversa
will-lie-open if from-fear we-yield the-same those-things adverse

fient, neque locus neque amicus quisquam teget quem
will-become neither place nor friend any will-protect him-whom
 arma non texerint. praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis
(his)-arms not shall-have-protected besides soldiers not the-same to-us
 et illis necessitudo inpendet: nos pro patria, pro libertate,
and to-them necessity impends we for fatherland for liberty
 pro vita certamus; illis supervacuaneum est pugnare pro
for life contend to-them superfluous it-is to-fight for
 potentia paucorum. quo audacius aggredimini memores
the-power of-a-few the more-boldly attack mindful
 pristinae virtutis. licuit vobis cum summa turpitudine
of-(your)-former virtue it-was-allowed to-you with the-utmost disgrace
 in exilio aetatem agere, potuistis nonnulli Romae amissis
in exile life to-spend you-could some at-Rome lost
 bonis alienas opes expectare: quia illa foeda atque
(your)-goods of-others the-resources to-await because those-things foul and
 intoleranda viris videbantur, haec sequi decrevistis. si
intolerable to-men seemed these-things to-follow you-have-decided if
 haec relinquere voltis, audacia opus est: nemo nisi victor
these-things to-abandon you-wish of-boldness need there-is no-one unless a-victor
 pace bellum mutavit. nam in fuga salutem sperare, quom
for-peace war has-exchanged for in flight safety to-hope when
 arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hostibus avorteris, ea
the-arms by-which the-body is-protected from the-enemy you-have-turned-away that
 vero dementia est. semper in proelio iis maxumum est
indeed madness is always in battle to-those the-greatest is
 periculum, qui maxime timent; audacia pro muro habetur.
the-danger who most fear boldness for a-wall is-held
 quom vos considero, milites, et quom facta vostra aestumo,
when you I-consider soldiers and when the-deeds your I-weigh
 magna me spes victoriae tenet. animus aetas virtus vostra me
great me hope of-victory holds the-spirit the-age the-virtue your me

hortantur, praeterea necessitudo, quae etiam timidos fortis facit.

encourage besides necessity which even the-timid brave makes
 nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent
for the-multitude of-the-enemy lest to-surround(-us) it-may-be-able prevent
 angustiae loci. quod si virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit,
the-narrows of-the-place but if to-virtue your fortune shall-have-begrudged
 cavete inulti animam amittatis neu capti potius sicuti
take-care unavenged (your)-life you-lose nor captured rather like
 pecora trucidemini quam virorum more pugnantes
cattle you-be-slaughtered than of-men in-the-manner fighting
 cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquantis.
a-bloody and mournful victory to-the-enemy you-should-leave

- 59 Haec ubi dixit, paululum conmoratus signa canere iubet
these-things when he-said a-little having-waited the-signals to-sound he-orders
 atque instructos ordines in locum aequom deducit. dein
and drawn-up ranks into ground level leads-down then
 remotis omnium equis, quo militibus exaequato periculo
removed of-all the-horses so-that for-the-soldiers made-equal the-danger
 animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco
the-spirit greater might-be himself on-foot the-army according-to the-ground
 atque copiis instruit. nam uti planities erat inter sinistros
and forces draws-up for as a-plain was between the-left
 montis et ab dextra rupe aspera, octo cohortis in fronte
mountains and on the-right a-cliff rough eight cohorts in the-front
 constituit, reliquarum signa in subsidio artius conlocat.
he-places of-the-rest the-standards in reserve more-closely he-positions
 ab iis centuriones, omnis lectos et evocatos, praeterea
from them the-centurions all picked and re-enlisted-veterans besides
 ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in
from the-common soldiers the-best each armed into
 primam aciem subducit. C. Manlius in dextra, Faesulanum
the-first line he-brings-up Gaius Manlius on the-right a-Faesulan

quendam in sinistra parte curare iubet. ipse cum libertis
a-certain on the-left part to-command he-orders himself with freedmen

et colonis propter aquilam adsistit, quam bello Cimbrico
and colonists near the-eagle stands which in-the-war Cimbrian

C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. at ex altera
Gaius Marius in (his)-army to-have-had was-said but on the-other

parte C. Antonius, pedibus aeger quod proelio adesse
side Gaius Antonius in-(his)-feet sick because at-the-battle to-attend

nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. ille
he-could-not to-Marcus Petreius (his)-legate the-army entrusts he

cohortis veteranas, quas tumultus causa conscripserat,
the-cohorts veteran which of-the-emergency for-the-sake he-had-enrolled

in fronte, post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat.
in the-front behind them the-remaining army in reserve places

ipse equo circumiens unum quemque nominans appellat,
himself on-horseback going-round one each by-name addresses

hortatur, rogat, ut meminerint se contra latrones inermis
encourages asks that they-remember themselves against robbers unarmed

pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis certare.
for fatherland for children for altars and hearths their-own to-contend

homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus aut
a-man military because more-than years thirty as-tribune or

praefectus aut legatus aut praetor cum magna gloria in
prefect or legate or praetor with great glory in

exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia
the-army he-had-been most themselves and-the-deeds their brave

noverat: ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.
he-knew these by-recalling of-the-soldiers the-spirits he-kindled

Sed ubi omnibus rebus exploratis Petreius tuba signum 60
but when all things explored Petreius by-trumpet the-signal

dat, cohortis paulatim incedere iubet; idem facit hostium
gives the-cohorts gradually to-advance he-orders the-same does of-the-enemy

exercitus. postquam eo ventum est, unde a ferentariis
the-army after to-there come it-was whence by the-skirmishers
 proelium committi posset, maximo clamore cum infestis
battle to-be-joined could with-the-greatest shout with hostile
 signis concurrunt; pila omittunt, gladiis res
standards they-rush-together the-javelins they-drop with-swords the-business
 geritur. veterani pristinae virtutis memores cominus acriter
is-waged the-veterans of-former virtue mindful at-close-quarters fiercely
 instare, illi haud timidi resistunt: maxuma vi certatur.
pressed they not timid resist with-the-greatest force it-is-fought
 interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie vorsari,
meanwhile Catiline with the-light-armed in the-first line moved-about
 laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis arcessere,
the-struggling aided the-fresh in-place-of the-wounded summoned
 omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem
all-things foresaw much himself fought often an-enemy
 ferire: strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul
struck of-an-energetic soldier and of-a-good general the-duties at-once
 exequabatur. Petreius ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus
he-performed Petreius when he-sees Catiline otherwise than thought
 erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem praetoriam in medios
he-had with-great force to-strive the-cohort praetorian into the-midst-of
 hostis inducit eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi
the-enemy leads-in and-them thrown-into-confusion and others elsewhere
 resistentis interficit. deinde utrimque ex lateribus ceteros
resisting kills then on-both-sides from the-flanks the-rest
 aggreditur. Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes
he-attacks Manlius and the-Faesulan among the-first fighting
 cadunt. Catilina postquam fusas copias seque cum paucis
fall Catiline after routed (his)-forces and-himself with a-few

relictum videt, memor generis atque pristinae suae dignitatis
left he-sees mindful of-(his)-birth and of-former his-own dignity
in confertissimos hostis incurrit ibique pugnans confoditur.
into the-densest enemy he-rushes and-there fighting is-stabbed
Sed confecto proelio tum vero cerneret, quanta audacia 61
but finished the-battle then indeed you-could-have-seen how-great boldness
quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. nam fere
and-how-great of-mind strength had-been in the-army of-Catiline for nearly
quem quisque vivos pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissa anima
what each alive in-fighting position had-taken that lost (his)-life
corpore tegebat. pauci autem, quos medios cohors praetoria
with-(his)-body he-covered a-few however whom in-the-middle the-cohort praetorian
disiecerat, paulo divorsius, sed omnes tamen advorsis vulneribus
had-scattered a-little more-apart but all nevertheless with-frontal wounds
conconsiderant. Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium
had-fallen Catiline indeed far from his-own among of-the-enemy
cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans ferociamque
the-corpses found was a-little still breathing and-the-ferocity
animi, quam habuerat vivos, in voltu retinens. postremo ex
of-mind which he-had-had alive in (his)-face retaining finally out-of
omni copia neque in proelio neque in fuga quisquam civis
all the-force neither in battle nor in flight any citizen
ingenuos captus est: ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae iuxta
freeborn captured was so all their-own and-the-enemy's lives equally
pepercerant. neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam
had-spared nor however the-army of-the-people Roman a-joyful
aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat. nam strenuissimus
or bloodless victory obtained had for the-most-energetic
quisque aut occiderat in proelio aut graviter vulneratus
each either had-fallen in battle or severely wounded
discesserat. multi autem, qui e castris visundi aut spoliandi
had-come-away many however who from the-camp of-viewing or of-plundering

gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera amicū alii,

for-the-sake had-gone-out turning-over the-enemy corpses a-friend some

pars hospitem aut cognatū reperiēbant; fuere item qui

others a-guest or kinsman found there-were likewise who

inimicos suos cognoscerent. ita varie per omnem

personal-enemies their-own recognized so variously throughout the-whole

exercitū laetitia, maeror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

army gladness sorrow grief and joys were-felt

SALLUST

Bellum Iugurthinum

The War with Jugurtha

Men wrongly blame their nature as weak. The mind is the guide of life, and if it pursues glory by virtue it needs no help from fortune. Beauty, wealth, and strength pass away, but the mind's works are immortal. Offices and commands are not worth seeking in these times, when they go to the unworthy. Writing history is a useful work, as the memory of great deeds, stirred by the ancestors' masks, once fired men to virtue, while now men vie with their ancestors only in wealth and extravagance.

Falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod inbecilla 1
falsely complains about nature its-own the-race human that weak
 atque aevi brevis forte potius quam virtute regatur. nam
and of-life brief by-chance rather than by-virtue it-is-ruled for
 contra reputando neque maius aliud neque praestabilius
on-the-contrary by-reflecting neither greater other nor more-excellent
 invenias magisque naturae industriam hominum quam
you-would-find and-rather to-nature industry of-men than
 vim aut tempus deesse. sed dux atque imperator vitae
strength or time to-be-lacking but the-leader and general of-life
 mortalium animus est. qui ubi ad gloriam virtutis via
of-mortals the-mind is which when to glory of-virtue by-the-way
 grassatur, abunde pollens potensque et clarus est neque
advances abundantly strong and-powerful and famous is nor
 fortuna eget, quippe quae probitatem, industriam aliasque
of-fortune has-need inasmuch-as which honesty industry and-other
 artis bonas neque dare neque eripere quoiquam potest. sin
arts good neither to-give nor to-take-away from-anyone can but-if
 captus pravis cupidinibus ad inertiam et voluptates corporis
captured by-depraved desires to sloth and the-pleasures of-the-body
 pessum datus est, perniciose lubidine paulisper usus, ubi
to-ruin given has-been by-pernicious lust for-a-little-while having-used when

per socordiam vires tempus ingenium diffluxere, naturae
through sloth strength time talent have-ebbed-away of-nature
 infirmitas accusatur: suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia
the-weakness is-accused his-own each the-fault the-authors to circumstances
 transferunt. quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset,
transfer but if in-men of-good things so-great care were
 quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura multaue etiam
with-how-great zeal alien and nothing about-to-profit and-many even
 periculosa ac perniciosa petunt, neque regerentur magis
dangerous and destructive-things they-seek not they-would-be-ruled more
 quam regerent casus et eo magnitudinis procederent,
than they-would-rule chances and to-that of-greatness they-would-advance
 ubi pro mortalibus gloria aeterni fierent.
where instead-of mortals by-glory eternal they-would-become

- 2 Nam uti genus hominum conpositum ex corpore et
for as the-race of-men composed from body and
 anima est, ita res cunctae studiaque omnia nostra corporis
soul is so affairs all and-pursuits all our of-the-body
 alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur. igitur praeclara facies,
some others of-the-soul the-nature follow therefore striking beauty
 magnae divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis et alia omnia huiusce
great riches to this strength of-body and other all-things of-this
 modi brevi dilabuntur; at ingeni egregia facinora
kind in-a-short-time slip-away but of-talent the-outstanding deeds
 sicuti anima immortalia sunt. postremo corporis et fortunae
like the-soul immortal are finally of-the-body and of-fortune
 bonorum ut initium sic finis est, omniaque orta occidunt
of-the-goods as a-beginning so an-end is and-all-things arisen perish
 et aucta senescunt: animus incorruptus, aeternus, rector
and increased grow-old the-mind incorruptible eternal ruler
 humani generis agit atque habet cuncta neque ipse habetur.
of-the-human race drives and holds all-things nor itself is-held

quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui, dediti
the more the-depravity of-those to-be-wondered-at is who given-over
 corporis gaudiis, per luxum et ignaviam aetatem agunt,
of-the-body to-pleasures through luxury and sloth (their)-life spend
 ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius neque amplius aliud
but the-talent than-which neither better nor greater other
 in natura mortalium est, incultu atque socordia torpescere
in the-nature of-mortals is by-neglect and sloth to-grow-numb
 sinunt, quom praesertim tam multae variaeque sint artes
they-allow when especially so many and-various are the-arts
 animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

of-the-mind by-which the-highest renown is-won

Verum ex iis magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura 3

but of those magistracies and commands finally all care
 rerum publicarum minime mihi hac tempestate cupiunda
of-affairs public least to-me at-this time to-be-desired
 videntur, quoniam neque virtuti honos datur neque illi, quibus
seem since neither to-virtue honor is-given nor those to-whom
 per fraudem ius fuit, tuti aut eo magis honesti sunt. nam
through fraud the-right was safe or the more honorable are for
 vi quidem regere patriam aut parentis, quamquam et
by-force indeed to-rule the-fatherland or parents although both
 possis et delicta corrigas, tamen inopportuno est, quom
you-may-be-able and faults may-correct yet harsh it-is when
 praesertim omnes rerum mutationes caedem, fugam aliaque
especially all of-affairs changes slaughter flight and-other
 hostilia portendant. frustra autem niti neque aliud se
hostile-things portend in-vain but to-strive nor other-thing oneself
 fatigando nisi odium quaerere extremae dementiae est; nisi
by-wearying except hatred to-seek of-extreme madness is unless

forte quem inhonesta et pernicioſa lubido tenet potentiae
perhaps someone a-dishonorable and pernicious lust holds to-the-power
 paucorum decus atque libertatem ſuam gratificari.

of-a-few honor and liberty his-own to-make-a-gift-of

- 4 Ceterum ex aliis negotiis, quae ingenio exercentur, in primis
but of other pursuits which by-talent are-exercised among the-first
 magno uſui eſt memoria rerum geſtarum. quouiſ de virtute
of-great use is the-record of-deeds done of-which concerning virtue
 quia multi dixere, praetereundum puto, ſimul ne per
because many have-spoken to-be-passed-over I-think at-the-same-time lest through
 insolentiam quis exiſtomet memet ſtadium meum laudando
arrogance anyone think myſelf pursuit my-own by-praising
 extollere. atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi
to-exalt and I believe there-will-be-those who because I-have-decided
 procul a re publica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili
far from the-thing public (my)-life to-spend on-so-great and-so uſeful
 labori meo nomen inertiae inponant, certe quibus maxuma
labor my the-name of-idleness will-impose ſurely to-whom the-greatest
 induſtria videtur ſalutare plebem et conviviis gratiam quaerere.
industry ſeems to-greet the-plebs and by-banquets favor to-ſeek
 qui ſi reputaverint, et quibus ego temporibus magiſtratus
who if they-ſhall-have-considered both in-what I times magiſtracies
 adeptus ſim et quales viri idem adſequi nequiverint et
obtained I-have and what-sort-of men the-same to-attain were-unable and
 poſtea quae genera hominum in ſenatum pervenerint, proſecto
afterward what ſorts of-men into the-senate have-come ſurely
 exiſtumabunt me magis merito quam ignavia iudicium animi
they-will-judge me rather on-merit than from-sloth the-judgment of-mind
 mei mutaviſſe maiuſque commodum ex otio meo quam ex
my to-have-changed and-greater benefit from leisure my than from
 aliorum negotiis rei publicae venturum. nam ſaepe ego
of-others the-activities to-the-thing public would-come for often I

audiui Q. Maxumum, P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis
have-heard Quintus Maximus Publius Scipio besides of-state
 nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere, quom maiorum
our illustrious men accustomed so to-say when of-the-ancestors
 imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad
the-masks they-gazed-at most-vehemently in-themselves the-mind to
 virtutem accendi. scilicet non ceram illam neque figuram
virtue to-be-kindled evidently not wax that nor the-shape
 tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum
so-great force in itself to-have but by-the-memory of-deeds done
 eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere neque prius
that flame in-outstanding men in the-breast to-grow nor sooner
 sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit.
to-be-calmed than virtue their the-fame and glory has-equaled
 at contra quis est omnium his moribus, quin divitiis
but on-the-contrary who is of-all in-these morals but-that in-riches
 et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum maioribus
and extravagance not in-honesty nor in-industry with ancestors
 suis contendat? etiam homines novi, qui antea per
his-own contends even men new who before through
 virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et per
virtue accustomed had-been the-nobility to-outstrip by-stealth and by
 latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia et honores
robberies rather than by-good arts to commands and honors
 nituntur; proinde quasi praetura et consulatus atque alia
strive just as-if the-praetorship and the-consulship and other
 omnia huiusce modi per se ipsa clara et magnifica
all-things of-this kind by themselves in-themselves famous and magnificent
 sint ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum qui ea sustinent
were and not so were-held as of-those who them sustain

virtus est. verum ego liberius altiusque processi, dum me
the-virtue is but I more-freely and-farther have-advanced while me
 civitatis morum piget taedetque. nunc ad inceptum redeo.
of-the-state of-the-morals it-shames and-wearies now to the-undertaking I-return

II • JUGURTHA

Sallust will write of Rome's war with Jugurtha, king of the Numidians, because it was great, savage, and of shifting fortune, and because the arrogance of the nobility was then first resisted. Masinissa had helped Rome against Carthage, and Micipsa succeeded him. Jugurtha, Micipsa's nephew, grows up strong and able and wins the Numidians' favor. Fearing him, Micipsa sends him to Numantia in the hope that he will die there; instead he wins Scipio's praise, and ambitious Romans in the army tell him that at Rome everything is for sale. Micipsa adopts him and, dying, speaks to him before his friends, his kin, and his two sons.

- 5 Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Iugurtha
the-war about-to-write I-am which the-people Roman with Jugurtha
 rege Numidarum gessit, primum quia magnum et atrox
king of-the-Numidians waged first because great and fierce
 variaque victoria fuit, dehinc quia tunc primum superbiae
and-with-varying victory it-was then because then first to-the-arrogance
 nobilitatis obviam itum est; quae contentio divina et humana
of-the-nobility to-oppose gone it-was which contest divine and human
 cuncta permiscuit eoque vecordiae processit, ut studiis
all-things confounded and-to-that of-madness advanced that to-the-strifes
 civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem faceret. sed
civil war and devastation of-Italy an-end made but
 prius quam huiusce modi rei initium expedio, pauca
before than of-this kind of-a-thing the-beginning I-set-forth a-few-things
 supra repetam, quo ad cognoscendum omnia illustra
further-back I-shall-go so-that for understanding all-things clear

magis magisque in aperto sint. bello Punico secundo,
more and-more in the-open may-be in-the-war Punic second
 quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal post magnitudinem
in-which the-leader of-the-Carthaginians Hannibal after the-greatness
 nominis Romani Italiae opes maxume adtriverat, Masinissa
of-the-name Roman of-Italy the-resources most had-worn-down Masinissa
 rex Numidarum in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione,
king of-the-Numidians into friendship received by Publius Scipio
 quoi postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et
to-whom afterward Africanus the-surname from virtue was many and
 praeclara rei militaris facinora fecerat. ob quae
illustrious of-the-affair military deeds had-done on-account-of which
 victis Carthaginiensibus et capto Syphace, quouis in
the-vanquished Carthaginians and captured Syphax whose in
 Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus,
Africa great and wide the-rule was-strong the-people Roman
 quascumque urbis et agros manu ceperat, regi dono
whatever cities and lands by-force it-had-taken to-the-king as-a-gift
 dedit. igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis
gave therefore the-friendship of-Masinissa good and honorable for-us
 permansit. sed imperi vitaeque eius finis idem fuit. dein
remained but of-the-rule and-life his the-end the-same was then
 Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit Mastanabale et Gulusa
Micipsa (his)-son the-kingdom alone obtained Mastanabal and Gulusa
 fratribus morbo absumptis. is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem
(his)-brothers by-disease carried-off he Adherbal and Hiempsal
 ex sese genuit Iugurthamque filium Mastanabalis fratris,
from himself begot and-Jugurtha the-son of-Mastanabal (his)-brother
 quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum
whom Masinissa because sprung from a-concubine he-was private-citizen
 dereliquerat, eodem cultu quo liberos suos domi habuit.
had-left in-the-same style as children his-own at-home he-kept

- 6 Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie,
who when first he-grew-up strong in-strength of-handsome appearance
 sed multo maxume ingenio validus, non se luxu neque
but by-far most in-talent powerful not himself to-luxury nor
 inertiae corrupundum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius
to-idleness to-be-corrupted gave but as the-custom of-race that
 est, equitare, iaculari; cursu cum aequalibus certare
is he-rode he-threw-the-javelin in-running with (his)-peers he-contended
 et, quom omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse;
and though all in-glory he-surpassed to-all nevertheless dear he-was
 ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque
to this most-of the-time in hunting he-spent the-lion and
 alias feras primus aut in primis ferire: plurimum facere,
other beasts first or among the-first he-struck most he-did
 minimum ipse de se loqui. quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi
least himself about himself spoke at-which things Micipsa although
 initio laetus fuerat, existumans virtutem Iugurthae regno
at-first glad he-had-been thinking the-virtue of-Jugurtha to-kingdom
 suo gloriae fore, tamen, postquam hominem adulescentem
his-own a-glory would-be yet after the-man young
 exacta sua aetate et parvis liberis magis magisque crescere
finished his-own age and small children more and-more to-grow
 intellegit, vehementer eo negotio permotus multa cum
he-understands violently by-that business disturbed many-things with
 animo suoolvebat. terrebat eum natura mortalium avida
mind his-own he-turned-over frightened him the-nature of-mortals greedy
 imperi et praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem, praeterea
of-power and headlong for satisfying of-the-mind the-desire besides
 opportunitas suae liberorumque aetatis, quae etiam mediocris
the-opportunity of-his-own and-of-(his)-children age which even ordinary
 viros spe praedae transvorsos agit, ad hoc studia Numidarum
men by-hope of-booty astray drives to this the-zeal of-the-Numidians

in Iugurtham accensa, ex quibus, si talem virum dolis
toward Jugurtha kindled from which if such a-man by-treachery
 interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.
he-had-killed lest some sedition or war might-arise anxious he-was
 His difficultatibus circumventus ubi videt neque per vim 7
by-these difficulties beset when he-sees neither by force
 neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum
nor by-plots to-be-overwhelmed to-be-able a-man so welcome
 popularibus, quod erat Iugurtha manu promptus et adpetens
to-(his)-countrymen as was Jugurtha with-hand ready and eager
 gloriae militaris, statuit eum obiectare periculis et eo
for-glory military he-decided him to-expose to-dangers and in-that
 modo fortunam temptare. igitur bello Numantino Micipsa,
way fortune to-try therefore in-the-war Numantine Micipsa
 quom populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia
when to-the-people Roman of-cavalry and of-infantry auxiliaries
 mitteret, sperans vel ostentando virtutem vel hostium
he-was-sending hoping either by-displaying (his)-virtue or of-the-enemy
 saevitia facile eum occasurum, praefecit Numidis, quos
by-cruelty easily him would-perish he-put-in-command-of the-Numidians whom
 in Hispaniam mittebat. sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus
into Spain he-was-sending but that thing far otherwise than thought
 erat, evenit. nam Iugurtha, ut erat inpigro atque acri
he-had turned-out for Jugurtha as he-was of-energetic and keen
 ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis
talent when the-nature of-Publius Scipio who then for-the-Romans
 imperator erat, et morem hostium cognovit, multo labore
general was and the-manner of-the-enemy he-learned by-much toil
 multaue cura, praeterea modestissime parendo et saepe
and-much care besides most-modestly by-obeying and often
 obviam eundo periculis in tantam claritudinem brevi
to-meet by-going dangers into such-great renown in-a-short-time

pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo
had-come that to-ours greatly dear to-the-Numantines a-very-great
 terrori esset. ac sane, quod difficillimum in primis est,
terror be-was and indeed what most-difficult among the-first is
 et proelio strenuos erat et bonus consilio, quorum alterum
both in-battle energetic be-was and good in-counsel of-which the-one
 ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem
from foresight fear the-other from boldness rashness
 adferre plerumque solet. igitur imperator omnis fere res
to-bring generally is-wont therefore the-general all almost things
 asperas per Iugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis
harsh through Jugurtha did among friends he-held more
 magisque eum in dies amplecti, quippe quois neque
and-more him day-by day embraced inasmuch-as whose neither
 consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. huc adcedebat
plan nor undertaking any in-vain was to-this was-added
 munificentia animi et ingeni sollertia, quis rebus sibi
generosity of-mind and of-talent shrewdness by-which things to-himself
 multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia coniunxerat.

- 8 Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi
at-that time in the-army our were several new-men
 atque nobiles, quibus divitiae bono honestoque potiores
and nobles to-whom riches than-the-good and-honorable preferable
 erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam
were factious at-home powerful among the-allies famous more than
 honesti, qui Iugurthae non mediocre animum pollicitando
honorable who in-Jugurtha no ordinary spirit by-promising
 accendebant, si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore uti solus
kindled if Micipsa the-king should-die it-would-be that alone
 imperi Numidiae potiretur: in ipso maxumam
of-the-rule of-Numidia he-would-gain-possession in himself the-greatest

virtutem, Romae omnia venalia esse. sed postquam Numantia

virtue at-Rome all-things for-sale to-be but after Numantia

deleta P. Scipio dimittere auxilia et ipse revorti

destroyed Publius Scipio to-dismiss the-auxiliaries and himself to-return

domum decrevit, donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro

home decided rewarded and praised magnificently before

contione Iugurtham in praetorium abduxit ibique secreto

the-assembly Jugurtha into the-general's-tent he-led-off and-there secretly

monuit, ut potius publice quam privatim amicitiam populi

warned that rather publicly than privately the-friendship of-the-people

Romani coleret neu quibus largiri insuesceret:

Roman he-should-cultivate nor to-some to-give he-should-grow-accustomed

periculose a paucis emi quod multorum esset. si

dangerously from a-few to-be-bought what of-many was if

permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et

to-persevere he-wished in his-own arts of-its-own-accord to-him both

gloriam et regnum venturum; sin properantius pergeret,

glory and a-kingdom would-come but-if too-hastily he-pressed-on

suamet ipsum pecunia praecipitem casurum.

by-his-own himself money headlong would-fall

Sic locutus cum litteris eum, quas Micipsae redderet,

so having-spoken with a-letter him which to-Micipsa he-should-deliver

dimisit. earum sententia haec erat: 'Iugurthae tui bello

he-dismissed of-it the-substance this was of-Jugurtha your in-the-war

Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit, quam rem tibi certo

Numantine by-far the-greatest virtue has-been which thing to-you certainly

scio gaudio esse. nobis ob merita sua carus est;

I-know a-joy to-be to-us on-account-of merits his-own dear he-is

ut idem senatui et populo Romano sit, summa ope

that the-same to-the-senate and the-people Roman he-may-be with-utmost effort

nitemur. tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. en habes

we-shall-strive you indeed for our friendship I-congratulate behold you-have

virum dignum te atque avo suo Masinissa.' igitur rex,
a-man worthy of-you and of-grandfather his Masinissa therefore the-king
 ubi ea quae fama acceperat ex litteris imperatoris ita
when those-things which by-report he-had-received from the-letter of-the-general so
 esse cognovit, quom virtute tum gratia viri permotus
to-be learned both by-the-virtue and by-the-influence of-the-man moved
 flexit animum suom et Iugurtham beneficiis vincere aggressus
he-bent the-mind his-own and Iugurtha by-benefits to-win-over undertaken
 est statimque eum adoptavit et testamento pariter cum filiis
has and-immediately him adopted and by-will equally with (his)-sons
 heredem instituit. sed ipse paucos post annos morbo atque
heir appointed but he-himself a-few after years by-disease and
 aetate confectus quom sibi finem vitae adesse intellexeret,
age worn-out when for-himself the-end of-life to-be-near he-understood
 coram amicis et cognatis itemque Adherbale et Hiempsale
in-the-presence-of friends and kinsmen and-likewise Adherbal and Hiempsal
 filiis dicitur huiusce modi verba cum Iugurtha habuisse:
(his)-sons is-said of-this kind words with Iugurtha to-have-held

III • MICIPSA'S LAST WORDS

Micipsa reminds Jugurtha that he took him in as an orphan and loved him as a son. He asks him to cherish Adherbal and Hiempsal: concord makes small things grow, and discord destroys the greatest. Neither armies nor treasure guard a kingdom, but friends. After the king's death the three princes meet. Hiempsal, despising Jugurtha's low birth, sits so as to keep him from the middle seat of honor and is barely persuaded to move, and when Jugurtha proposes that the last five years' acts be annulled, Hiempsal agrees, since that would annul Jugurtha's own adoption. Jugurtha, stung, resolves to carry out his plan by any means.

'Parvom ego te, Iugurtha, amisso patre, sine spe, sine 10
small I you Jugurtha lost (your)-father without hope without
 opibus in meum regnum accepi, existumans non minus me
resources into my kingdom received thinking not less me
 tibi quam liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum
to-you than to-children if I-had-begotten(-you) on-account-of (my)-benefits dear
 fore. neque ea res falsum me habuit. nam, ut alia magna
would-be nor that thing false me held for that other great
 et egregia tua omittam, novissime rediens Numantia
and outstanding-things your I-may-omit most-recently returning from-Numantia
 meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti tuaque
and-me and-kingdom my with-glory you-have-honored and-by-your
 virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti. in
virtue to-us the-Romans from friends most-friendly you-have-made in
 Hispania nomen familiae renovatum est. postremo, quod
Spain the-name of-(our)-family renewed has-been finally what
 difficillimum inter mortalis est, gloria invidiam vicisti.
most-difficult among mortals is by-glory envy you-have-conquered
 nunc, quoniam mihi natura finem vitae facit, per hanc
now since to-me nature the-end of-life makes by this
 dexteram, per regni fidem moneo obtestorque te, uti hos,
right-hand by of-the-kingdom the-loyalty I-warn and-implore you that these
 qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros
who to-you by-birth kinsmen by-kindness my brothers are dear
 habeas neu malis alienos adiungere quam sanguine coniunctos
you-hold nor prefer strangers to-attach than by-blood joined
 retinere. non exercitus neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt,
to-keep not armies nor treasures the-bulwarks of-a-kingdom are
 verum amici, quos neque armis cogere neque auro parare
but friends whom neither by-arms to-compel nor by-gold to-procure
 queas: officio et fide pariuntur. quis autem amior quam
can-you by-duty and loyalty they-are-won who however more-friendly than

frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis
a-brother to-a-brother or what stranger faithful will-you-find if to-your-own
 hostis fueris? equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum,
an-enemy you-shall-have-been indeed I to-you a-kingdom hand-over firm
 si boni eritis, sin mali, inbecillum. nam concordia parvae
if good you-will-be but-if bad weak for by-concord small
 res crescunt, discordia maxumae dilabuntur. ceterum ante
things grow by-discord the-greatest fall-apart but before
 hos te, Iugurtha, qui aetate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter
these you Jugurtha who in-age and wisdom superior are lest otherwise
 quid eveniat, providere decet. nam in omni certamine qui
anything turn-out to-foresee it-befits for in every contest he-who
 opulentior est, etiam si accipit iniuriam, tamen, quia plus
wealthier is even if he-receives a-wrong yet because more
 potest, facere videtur. vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite,
he-can to-do-it seems you however Adherbal and Hiempsal cultivate
 observate talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem et enitimini,
observe such this man imitate (his)-virtue and strive
 ne ego meliores liberos sumpsisse videar quam genuisse.'

- 11 Ad ea Iugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum
lest I better children to-have-adopted seem than to-have-begotten
 intellegebat et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro
understood and himself far otherwise in-mind was-turning yet according-to
 tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur.
the-occasion kindly replied Micipsa a-few after days dies
 postquam illi more regio iusta magnifice fecerant, reguli
after they by-custom royal the-rites magnificently had-performed the-princes
 in unum convenerunt, ut inter se de cunctis negotiis
into one came-together that among themselves about all affairs
 disceptarent. sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis erat, natura
they-might-decide but Hiempsal who the-youngest of them was by-nature

ferox et iam antea ignobilitatem Iugurthae, quia materno
fierce and already before the-low-birth of-Iugurtha because on-the-mother's
 genere inpar erat, despiciens, dextra Adherbalem adsedit, ne
side unequal he-was despising on-the-right Adherbal sat-beside lest
 medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur,
in-the-middle of the-three which among the-Numidians as-an-honor is-held
 Iugurtha foret. dein tamen, ut aetati concederet, fatigatus a
Iugurtha should-be then however that to-age he-should-yield wearied by
 fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. ibi quom
(his)-brother scarcely to the-side other brought-over was there when
 multa de administrando imperio disserent, Iugurtha
many-things about administering the-rule they-were-discussing Iugurtha
 inter alias res iacit oportere quinquenni consulta et decreta
among other things throws-out it-behooved of-the-five-years the-resolutions and decrees
 omnia rescindi, nam per ea tempora confectum annis
all to-be-annulled for during those times worn-out by-years
 Micipsam parum animo valuisse. tum idem Hiempsal
Micipsa too-little in-mind to-have-been-strong then the-same Hiempsal
 placere sibi respondit, nam ipsum illum tribus proxumis
(that-it)-pleased to-him replied for himself that-man in-the-three last
 annis adoptione in regnum pervenisse. quod verbum in
years by-adoption into the-kingdom to-have-come which word into
 pectus Iugurthae altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit.
the-breast of-Iugurtha deeper than anyone thought had sank
 itaque ex eo tempore ira et metu anxius moliri, parare
and-so from that time by-anger and fear anxious he-schemed he-prepared
 atque ea modo cum animo habere, quibus Hiempsal
and those-things only with (his)-mind he-held by-which Hiempsal
 per dolum caperetur. quae ubi tardius procedunt neque
through treachery might-be-caught which when too-slowly they-proceed nor
 lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.
is-softened (his)-mind fierce he-resolved in-any way the-undertaking to-accomplish

At the first meeting the princes agree to divide the treasure and the kingdom. A lictor of Jugurtha's, in whose house at Thirmida Hiempsal is staying, lets soldiers in by night with false keys, and they find Hiempsal hiding in a slave woman's hut and kill him. The Numidians split, and Adherbal, though he has the larger following, is defeated in battle and flees to the Roman province and then to Rome. Jugurtha sends envoys with gold, and many senators are won over by his gifts. The senate hears both sides, and Adherbal speaks.

- 12 Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi,
at-the-first meeting which by the-princes held above I-mentioned
 propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros
because-of the-disagreement it-had-been-decided to-be-divided the-treasures
 finisque imperi singulis constitui. itaque tempus ad
and-the-boundaries of-the-rule for-each to-be-set and-so a-time for
 utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam
each thing is-fixed but earlier for the-money
 distribuendam. reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris
distributing the-princes meanwhile into places near to-the-treasures
 alius alio concessere. sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmida
one elsewhere withdrew but Hiempsal in the-town of-Thirmida
 forte eius domo utebatur, qui proximus lictor Iugurthae
by-chance of-that-man house used who nearest lictor of-Jugurtha
 carus acceptusque ei semper fuerat. quem ille casu
dear and-welcome to-him always had-been whom he by-chance
 ministrum oblatum promissis onerat inpellitque, uti tamquam
an-agent offered with-promises loads and-drives that as-if
 sua visens domum eat, portarum clavis adulterinas
his-own-things visiting home he-should-go of-the-gates keys counterfeit
 paret — nam verae ad Hiempsalem referebantur — ceterum,
he-should-procure for the-real to Hiempsal were-brought but

ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu
when the-matter should-require that-he himself with a-great band
 venturum. Numida mandata brevi conficit atque, uti doctus
would-come the-Numidian the-instructions quickly carries-out and as instructed
 erat, noctu Iugurthae milites introducit. qui postquam in
he-had-been by-night Jugurtha's soldiers leads-in who after into
 aedis inrupere, divorsi regem quaerere, dormientis alios alios
the-house burst-in dispersed the-king they-sought sleeping some others
 occurrentis interficere, scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere,
meeting-them they-killed they-searched places hidden closed-things they-broke-open
 strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere, quom interim Hiempsal
with-din and uproar all-things they-confounded when meanwhile Hiempsal
 reperitur occultans se tugurio mulieris ancillae, quo initio
is-found bidding himself in-the-but of-a-woman slave where at-first
 pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidae caput eius,
terrified and ignorant of-the-place he-had-fled the-Numidians the-head his
 uti iussi erant, ad Iugurtham referunt.

as ordered they-had-been to Jugurtha bring
 Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi 13
but the-report of-so-great a-crime through all Africa quickly
 divulgatur. Adherbalem omnisque, qui sub imperio Micipsae
is-spread Adherbal and-all who under the-rule of-Micipsa
 fuerant, metus invadit. in duas partis discedunt Numidae:
had-been fear invades into two parts they-separate the-Numidians
 plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello
the-more Adherbal follow but him the-other in-war
 meliores. igitur Iugurtha quam maximas potest copias armat,
the-better therefore Jugurtha as the-greatest he-can forces arms
 urbis partim vi alias voluntate imperio suo adiungit,
cities partly by-force others by-consent to-rule his-own adds
 omni Numidiae imperare parat. Adherbal tametsi Romam
all Numidia to-rule he-prepares Adherbal although to-Rome

legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de caede fratris
envoys he-had-sent who the-senate should-inform about the-murder of-(his)-brother
 et fortunis suis, tamen fretus multitudine militum parabat
and fortunes his-own yet trusting in-the-multitude of-soldiers was-preparing
 armis contendere. sed ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex
by-arms to-contend but when the-matter to the-contest came defeated from
 proelio profugit in provinciam ac deinde Romam contendit.
the-battle he-fled into the-province and then to-Rome hastens
 tum Iugurtha patris consiliis, postquam omnis Numidia
then Jugurtha accomplished (his)-plans after all Numidia
 potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans timere
he-possessed in leisure the-crime his-own with (his)-mind reflecting he-feared
 populum Romanum neque advorsus iram eius usquam nisi
the-people Roman nor against the-anger its anywhere except
 in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua spem habere. itaque
in the-avarice of-the-nobility and money his-own hope he-had and-so
 paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam legatos
in-a-few days with gold and silver much to-Rome envoys
 mittit, quis praecipit, primum uti veteres amicos muneribus
he-sends to-whom he-instructs first that the-old friends with-gifts
 expleant, deinde novos adquirent, postremo quaecumque
they-should-satisfy then new-ones should-acquire finally whatever
 possint largiundo parare ne cunctentur. sed ubi Romam
they-can by-lavishing to-procure not they-should-delay but when to-Rome
 legati venere et ex praecepto regis hospitibus aliisque,
the-envoys came and by the-instruction of-the-king to-guest-friends and-others
 quorum ea tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat, magna
whose at-that time in the-senate authority prevailed great
 munera misere, tanta conmutatio incessit, ut ex maxuma
gifts sent so-great a-change came-about that from the-greatest
 invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Iugurtha veniret.
odium into the-favor and good-will of-the-nobility Jugurtha came

quorum pars spe, alii praemio inducti singulos ex senatu
of-whom part by-hope others by-reward induced individuals of the-senate
ambiundo nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur.
by-canvassing strove lest more-severely against him it-should-be-decided
igitur ubi legati satis confidunt, die constituto senatus
therefore when the-envoys enough are-confident on-a-day fixed the-senate
utrisque datur. tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus:
to-both is-given then that-Adherbal in-this way had-spoken we-have-received

V • THE SPEECH OF ADHERBAL

Adherbal reminds the senators that Micipsa told him to hold Numidia only as its steward for the Roman people, to count the senators as his kin, and to look for his army, wealth, and defense in their friendship. Now Jugurtha, in contempt of their authority, has driven him from his kingdom, and his brother has been murdered. He has no refuge but Rome. He begs them, by their children, their parents, and the majesty of the Roman people, not to let the kingdom of Numidia, which is theirs, waste away through crime and his family's blood.

‘Patres conscripti, Micipsa pater meus moriens mihi 14
fathers conscript Micipsa father my dying to-me
praecepit, uti regni Numidiae tantummodo procurationem
instructed that of-the-kingdom of-Numidia only the-stewardship
existimarem meam, ceterum ius et imperium eius
I-should-think mine but the-right and the-command of-it
penes vos esse; simul eniterer domi militiaeque
in-the-hands-of you to-be at-the-same-time I-should-strive at-home and-in-war
quam maximo usui esse populo Romano; vos mihi
as greatest of-use to-be to-the-people Roman you to-me
cognatorum, vos adfinium loco ducerem: si ea
of-kinsmen you of-relatives in-the-place I-should-hold if those-things

fecissem, in vostra amicitia exercitum divitias munimenta
I-had-done in your friendship an-army riches bulwarks
 regni me habiturum. quae quom praecepta parentis mei
of-the-kingdom me would-have which when the-instructions of-parent my
 agitare, Iugurtha, homo omnium quos terra sustinet
I-was-carrying-out Jugurtha a-man of-all whom the-earth sustains
 sceleratissimus, contempto imperio vostro Masinissae me
most-criminal despised command your of-Masinissa me
 nepotem et iam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi
the-grandson and already from the-root an-ally and friend of-the-people
 Romani regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. atque ego,
Roman from-kingdom and-fortunes all has-expelled and I
 patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram,
fathers conscript since to-that of-miseries about-to-come I-was
 vellem potius ob mea quam ob maiorum
I-would-wish rather on-account-of my-own than on-account-of of-ancestors
 meorum beneficia posse me a vobis auxilium petere, ac
my benefits to-be-able me from you help to-ask and
 maxume deberi mihi beneficia a populo Romano, quibus
most to-be-owed to-me benefits by the-people Roman which
 non egerem, secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti
not I-might-need next those-things if to-be-desired they-were that
 debitis uterer. sed quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa
owed-ones I-might-use but since too-little safe by itself in-itself
 probitas est neque mihi in manu fuit, Iugurtha qualis
honesty is nor to-me in the-hand was Jugurtha of-what-sort
 foret, ad vos confugi, patres conscripti, quibus, quod
he-would-be to you I-have-fled fathers conscript to-whom what
 mihi miserrimum est, cogor prius oneri quam usui esse.
to-me most-wretched is I-am-forced sooner a-burden than of-use to-be
 ceteri reges aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti
the-other kings either by-war conquered into friendship by you received

sunt aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vostram
have-been or in their-own doubtful circumstances alliance your
 adpetiverunt; familia nostra cum populo Romano bello
have-sought family our with the-people Roman in-the-war
 Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit, quo tempore magis
Carthaginian friendship established at-which time more
 fides eius quam fortuna petunda erat. quorum progeniem
the-good-faith its than the-fortune to-be-sought was whose offspring
 vos, patres conscripti, nolite pati me nepotem Masinissae
you fathers conscript do-not allow me the-grandson of-Masinissa
 frustra a vobis auxilium petere. si ad impetrandum
in-vain from you help to-ask if for obtaining
 nihil causae haberem praeter miserandam fortunam, quod
nothing of-cause I-had except pitiable fortune that
 paulo ante rex genere fama atque copiis potens, nunc
a-little before a-king in-birth in-fame and in-resources powerful now
 deformatus aerumnis, inops alienas opes expecto, tamen
disfigured by-sorrows needy of-others the-resources I-await yet
 erat maiestatis populi Romani prohibere iniuriam neque
it-was of-the-majesty of-the-people Roman to-prevent wrong nor
 pati quousquam regnum per scelus crescere. verum
to-allow anyone's kingdom through crime to-grow but
 ego iis finibus eiectus sum, quos maioribus meis
I from-those borders cast-out am which to-ancestors my
 populus Romanus dedit, unde pater et avos meus
the-people Roman gave whence father and grandfather my
 una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginiensis. vostra
together with-you drove-out Syphax and the-Carthaginians your
 beneficia mihi erepta sunt, patres conscripti, vos in mea
benefits from-me snatched-away are fathers conscript you in my
 iniuria despecti estis. eheu me miserum! hucine, Micipsa
wrong despised are alas me wretched to-this Micipsa

pater, beneficia tua evasere, ut, quem tu parem cum
father benefits your have-turned-out that whom you equal with
 liberis tuis regnique participem fecisti, is potissimum
children your and-of-the-kingdom partner made he above-all
 stirpis tuae extincor sit? numquamne ergo familia nostra
of-stock your the-destroyer should-be never then family our
 qujeta erit? semperne in sanguine ferro fuga vorsabitur?
at-rest will-be always in blood the-sword fight will-it-dwell
 dum Carthaginenses incolumes fuere, iure omnia saeva
while the-Carthaginians unharmed were rightly all-things savage
 patiebamur: hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis
we-endured the-enemy at the-side you friends far-off hope all
 in armis erat. postquam illa pestis ex Africa eiecta est,
in arms was after that plague from Africa cast-out was
 laeti pacem agitabamus, quippe quis hostis nullus erat,
glad peace we-spent inasmuch-as to-whom enemy none was
 nisi forte quem vos iussissetis. ecce autem ex improviso
unless perhaps whom you had-ordered behold however out-of the-unforeseen
 Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia scelere atque superbia sese
Jugurtha with-intolerable boldness crime and arrogance himself
 efferens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto
carrying brother my and the-same kinsman his-own killed
 primum regnum eius sceleris sui praedam fecit; post
first the-kingdom his of-crime his-own the-booty made afterward
 ubi me isdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus quam vim
when me by-the-same tricks he-cannot capture nothing less than force
 aut bellum expectantem in imperio vostro, sicuti videtis,
or war expecting in rule your as you-see
 extorrem patria domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis
banished from-fatherland from-home needy and covered with-miseries
 effecit, ut ubivis tutius quam in meo regno essem.
he-has-made(-me) that anywhere more-safely than in my kingdom I-should-be

ego sic existumabam, patres conscripti, uti praedicantem
I so thought fathers conscript as declaring
 audiveram patrem meum, qui vostram amicitiam diligenter
I-had-heard father my who your friendship diligently
 colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum ex omnibus
cultivated they much toil to-undertake but of all
 maxume tutos esse. quod in familia nostra fuit, praestitit, uti
most safe to-be what in family our was it-has-ensured that
 in omnibus bellis adesset vobis; nos uti per otium tuti
in all wars it-was-present with-you we that through leisure safe
 simus, in vostra manu est, patres conscripti. pater nos duos
we-may-be in your hand it-is fathers conscript father us two
 fratres reliquit, tertium Iugurtham beneficiis suis ratus est
brothers left a-third Jugurtha by-benefits his-own thought he-has
 coniunctum nobis fore. alter eorum necatus est, alterius
joined to-us would-be one of-them murdered is of-the-other
 ipse ego manus inpias vix effugi. quid agam? aut
myself I the-hands impious scarcely have-escaped what should-I-do or
 quo potissimum infelix adcedam? generis praesidia omnia
where above-all unhappy should-I-go of-(my)-family the-supports all
 extincta sunt. pater, uti necesse erat, naturae concessit.
extinct are (my)-father as necessary it-was to-nature yielded
 fratri, quem minume decuit, propinquos per scelus
from-(my)-brother whom least it-befitted a-kinsman through crime
 vitam eripuit. affinis amicos propinquos ceteros meos
life snatched-away relatives friends kinsmen the-rest my
 alium alia clades oppressit: capti ab Iugurtha pars in
one another disaster has-overwhelmed captured by Jugurtha part onto
 crucem acti, pars bestiis obiecti sunt, pauci, quibus relicta
the-cross driven part to-beasts thrown are a-few to-whom left
 est anima, clausi in tenebris cum maerore et luctu morte
is life shut-up in darkness with sorrow and grief than-death

gravio^rem vitam exigunt. si omnia, quae aut amisi aut ex
heavier a-life pass if all-things which either I-have-lost or from
 necessariis advorsa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si
friends adverse made have-been unharmed remained yet if
 quid ex inproviso mali accidisset, vos inplorarem, patres
anything out-of the-unforeseen of-evil had-happened you I-would-implore fathers
 conscripti, quibus pro magnitudine imperi ius et iniurias
conscript to-whom for the-greatness of-the-empire right and wrongs
 omnis curae esse decet. nunc vero exul patria domo,
all a-care to-be it-befits now however an-exile from-fatherland from-home
 solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens quo adcedam
alone and of-all honorable things in-need where should-I-go
 aut quos appellem? nationesne an reges, qui omnes familiae
or whom should-I-call-on nations or kings who all to-family
 nostrae ob vostram amicitiam infesti sunt? an quoquam
our on-account-of your friendship hostile are or anywhere
 mihi adire licet, ubi non maiorum meorum hostilia
to-me to-approach is-it-allowed where not of-ancestors my hostile
 monumenta plurima sint? aut quisquam nostri misereri
monuments very-many are or anyone us pity
 potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? postremo Masinissa
can who at-some-time to-you an-enemy has-been finally Masinissa
 nos ita instituit, patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus
us so trained fathers conscript that-not anyone we-should-cultivate
 nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne foedera nova
except the-people Roman that-not alliances nor treaties new
 acciperemus: abunde magna praesidia nobis in vostra amicitia
we-should-accept abundantly great protections for-us in your friendship
 fore; si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una occidundum
would-be if for-this empire fortune should-change together to-perish
 nobis esse. virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et
for-us to-be by-virtue and the-gods willing great you-are and

opulenti, omnia secunda et oboedientia sunt: quo facilius
wealthy all-things favorable and obedient are whereby more-easily
 sociorum iniurias curare licet. tantum illud vereor, ne
of-allies the-wrongs to-attend-to it-is-allowed only that I-fear lest
 quos privata amicitia Iugurthae parum cognita transvorsos
some private friendship with-Jugurtha too-little known astray
 agat. quos ego audio maxuma ope niti ambire fatigare
should-drive who I hear with-the-greatest effort strive canvass weary
 vos singulos, ne quid de absente incognita causa statuatis;
you individually lest anything about one-absent untried the-case you-decide
 fingere me verba et fugam simulare, quoi licuerit in
to-invent me words and flight to-feign to-whom it-was-allowed in
 regno manere. quod utinam illum, quouis inpio facinore
the-kingdom to-remain which would-that him by-whose impious crime
 in has miserias proiectus sum, eadem haec simulantem
into these miseries hurled I-am the-same these-things feigning
 videam, et aliquando aut apud vos aut apud deos immortalis
I-may-see and at-last either among you or among the-gods immortal
 rerum humanarum cura oriatur: ne ille, qui nunc sceleribus
of-affairs human a-care may-arise truly he who now by-crimes
 suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus malis excruciat
his-own fierce and illustrious is by-all evils tortured
 inpietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis
of-impiety toward father our of-brother my of-the-murder
 mearumque miseriarum gravis poenas reddat. iam iam, frater
and-of-my miseries heavy penalties should-pay now now brother
 animo meo carissime, quamquam tibi inmaturo et unde
to-mind my dearest although from-you prematurely and whence
 minime decuit vita erepta est, tamen laetandum magis
least it-befitted life snatched-away was yet to-be-rejoiced-at more
 quam dolendum puto casum tuom. non enim regnum, sed
than to-be-grieved I-think fate your not for a-kingdom but

fugam exilium egestatem et omnis has quae me premunt
flight exile poverty and all these which me press
 aerumnas cum anima simul amisisti. at ego infelix, in
sorrows with life at-the-same-time you-have-lost but I unhappy into
 tanta mala praecipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum
such-great evils hurled from ancestral kingdom of-affairs human
 spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam tuasne iniurias
a-spectacle I-present uncertain what I-should-do your wrongs
 persequar ipse auxili egens an regno consulam, quoniam
should-I-pursue myself of-help in-need or for-the-kingdom should-I-consult whose
 vitae necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. utinam emori
of-life and-death the-power on resources of-others hangs would-that to-die
 fortunis meis honestus exitus esset neu iure contemptus
for-fortunes my an-honorable end were nor rightly despised
 viderer, si defessus malis iniuriae concessissem. nunc neque
might-I-seem if worn-out by-evils to-wrong I-had-yielded now neither
 vivere lubet neque mori licet sine dedecore. patres
to-live it-pleases nor to-die it-is-allowed without disgrace fathers
 conscripti, per vos, per liberos atque parentis vestros, per
conscript by you by children and parents your by
 maiestatem populi Romani, subvenite mihi misero, ite
the-majesty of-the-people Roman help me wretched go
 obviam iniuriae, nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod vostrum
to-meet the-wrong do-not allow the-kingdom of-Numidia which yours
 est, per scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae tabescere.
is through crime and blood of-family our to-waste-away

Jugurtha's envoys, trusting in bribes more than in their case, answer briefly that Hiempsal was killed for his cruelty and that Adherbal started the war. A large part of the senate, corrupted, favors Jugurtha; a few, led by Aemilius Scaurus, urge help for Adherbal, Scaurus holding back his greed because the bribery is notorious. Jugurtha's party prevails. Ten commissioners under Lucius Opimius, most of them won by Jugurtha's gifts, divide Numidia. Jugurtha receives the richer part next to Mauretania, and Adherbal the part with more harbors and buildings.

Postquam rex finem loquundi fecit, legati Iugurthae 15
after the-king an-end of-speaking made the-envoys of-Jugurtha
 largitione magis quam causa freti paucis respondent:
on-largesse more than on-(their)-case relying briefly reply
 Hiempsalem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis
Hiempsal on-account-of cruelty his-own by the-Numidians
 interfectum, Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem,
killed Adherbal of-bis-own-accord war making
 postquam superatus sit, queri, quod iniuriam facere
after defeated he-had-been to-complain because wrong to-do
 nequivisset. Iugurtham ab senatu petere, ne se
he-had-been-unable Jugurtha from the-senate to-ask that-not him
 alium putarent ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu
other they-should-think than at-Numantia known he-had-been nor
 verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent. deinde utrique
the-words of-an-enemy before deeds his they-should-put then both
 curia egrediuntur. senatus statim consulitur. fautores
from-the-senate-house go-out the-senate at-once is-consulted the-partisans
 legatorum, praeterea senatus magna pars gratia depravata
of-the-envoys besides of-the-senate a-great part by-favor corrupted
 Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Iugurthae virtutem extollere
of-Adherbal the-words they-scorned of-Jugurtha the-virtue they-extolled

laudibus; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno
with-praises with-influence with-voice finally in-all ways for another's
 scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitebantur. at
crime and disgrace their-own as-if for glory they-strove but
 contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequom divitiis carius
on-the-contrary a-few to-whom the-good and fair than-riches dearer
 erat, subveniundum Adherbali et Hiempsalis mortem severe
was aid-must-be-brought to-Adherbal and of-Hiemsal the-death severely
 vindicandam censebant, sed ex omnibus maxume Aemilius
to-be-avenged proposed but of all most Aemilius
 Scaurus, homo nobilis inpiger factiosus, avidus potentiae
Scaurus a-man noble energetic factious greedy of-power
 honoris divitiarum, ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. is
of-office of-riches but vices his-own cleverly concealing he
 postquam videt regis largitionem famosam inpudentemque,
after he-sees of-the-king the-largesse notorious and-shameless
 veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam
fearing what in such a-matter is-wont lest defiled license odium
 accenderet, animum a consueta lubricine continuit.

should-kindle (bis)-mind from accustomed lust restrained

- 16 Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quae vero pretium aut
prevailed however in the-senate part that which to-the-truth price or
 gratiam anteferebat. decretum fit, uti decem legati regnum,
favor preferred a-decree is-made that ten envoys the-kingdom
 quod Micipsa obtinuerat, inter Iugurtham et Adherbalem
which Micipsa had-held between Jugurtha and Adherbal
 dividerent. quouis legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo
should-divide of-which embassy the-head was Lucius Opimius a-man
 clarus et tum in senatu potens, quia consul C. Graccho et
famous and then in the-senate powerful because as-consul Gaius Gracchus and
 M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis acerrume victoriam nobilitatis in
Marcus Fulvius Flaccus killed most-harsbly the-victory of-the-nobility over

plebem exercuerat. eum Iugurtha tametsi Romae in inimicis
the-plebs he-had-exercised him Jugurtha although at-Rome among enemies
 habuerat, tamen accuratissime recepit, dando et pollicendo
he-had-counted yet most-carefully received by-giving and by-promising
 multa perfecit, uti fama, fide, postremo omnibus
many-things he-brought-about that to-reputation to-good-faith finally to-all
 suis rebus commodum regis anteferet. reliquos legatos
his-own things the-interest of-the-king he-preferred the-remaining envoys
 eadem via aggressus plerosque capit, paucis carior fides quam
by-the-same way attacking most he-takes to-a-few dearer good-faith than
 pecunia fuit. in divisione, quae pars Numidiae Mauretaniam
money was in the-division which part of-Numidia Mauretania
 attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Iugurthae traditur; illam
touches in-land and-men richer to-Jugurtha is-handed-over that
 alteram specie quam usu potiore, quae portuosior
other in-appearance than in-use better which more-provided-with-harbors
 et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.
and with-buildings more adorned was Adherbal possessed

VII • AFRICA AND ITS PEOPLES

Sallust describes the situation of Africa and its peoples. Most count it as a third part of the world, a few as part of Europe. Its sea is savage and harborless, its land fertile in grain but poor in trees, and its people healthy and long-lived. The first inhabitants were Gaetulians and Libyans. Then, by the Punic books said to be King Hiempsal's, Medes, Persians, and Armenians from Hercules' army, which broke up after his death in Spain, crossed to Africa and, mixing with the natives, became the Numidians and the Moors. Later Phoenicians founded cities on the coast.

- 17 Res postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere
the-matter to-demand seems of-Africa the-situation in-a-few-words to-set-forth
 et eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit,
and those nations with-which to-us war or friendship has-been
 attingere. sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem aut
to-touch-on but what places and peoples on-account-of heat or
 asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de iis
harshness likewise solitudes less frequented are about them
 haud facile compertum narraverim. cetera quam paucissimis
not easily ascertained could-I-relate the-rest as in-fewest-words
 absolvam. in divisione orbis terrae plerique in parte tertia
I-shall-finish in the-division of-the-circle of-the-earth most in the-part third
 Africam posuere, pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse,
Africa placed a-few only Asia and Europe to-be
 sed Africam in Europa. ea finis habet ab occidente fretum
but Africa in Europe it boundaries has on the-west the-strait
 nostri maris et Oceani, ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem,
of-our sea and of-Ocean on the-rising of-the-sun a-sloping expanse
 quem locum Catabathmon incolae appellant. mare saevom,
which place Catabathmos the-inhabitants call the-sea savage
 inportuosum; ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori
barborless the-land for-crops fertile good for-cattle for-trees
 infecundus; caelo terraque penuria aquarum. genus hominum
unfruitful in-sky and-land a-lack of-waters the-race of-men
 salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum; ac plerosque senectus
of-healthy body swift enduring of-toils and most old-age
 dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere, nam morbus
dissolves unless who by-the-sword or by-beasts have-perished for disease
 haud saepe quemquam superat; ad hoc malefici generis
not often anyone overcomes to this of-harmful kind
 pluruma animalia. sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint
very-many animals but what mortals at-first Africa held

quique postea adcesserint aut quo modo inter se
and-who afterward came or in-what way among themselves
 permixti sint, quamquam ab ea fama, quae plerosque
mixed they-are although from that report which most
 obtinet, divorsum est, tamen, uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis
holds different it-is yet as from the-books Punic which of-King
 Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est utique rem
Hiempsal were-said interpreted to-us it-was and-as the-matter
 sese habere cultores eius terrae putant, quam paucissimis
itself to-stand the-cultivators of-that land think as in-fewest-words
 dicam. ceterum fides eius rei penes auctores erit.
I-shall-tell but the-trustworthiness of-that thing with the-authors will-be
 Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi incultique, 18
Africa at-first held the-Gaetulians and Libyans rough and-uncultured
 quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum
whose food was flesh of-wild-beasts and on-the-ground fodder
 uti pecoribus. ii neque moribus neque lege aut imperio
as for-cattle they neither by-custom nor by-law or by-command
 quousquam regebantur: vagi palantes quas nox coegerat
of-anyone were-ruled wandering straying whatever night had-compelled
 sedes habebant. sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti
dwelling they-had but after in Spain Hercules as
 Afri putant, interiit, exercitus eius, compositus ex variis
the-Africans think perished the-army his composed of various
 gentibus, amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque
nations lost (its)-leader and everywhere many for-himself each
 imperium petentibus brevi dilabatur. ex eo numero
command seeking in-a-short-time falls-apart of that number
 Medi, Persae et Armenii navibus in Africam transvecti
the-Medes Persians and Armenians by-ships into Africa carried-across
 proximos nostro mari locos occupavere, sed Persae intra
the-nearest to-our sea places occupied but the-Persians toward

Oceanum magis, iique alveos navium invorsos pro tuguriis
the-Ocean more and-they the-hulls of-ships inverted for huts
 habuere, quia neque materia in agris neque ab Hispanis
had because neither timber in the-fields nor from the-Spaniards
 emundi aut mutandi copia erat: mare magnum et ignara
of-buying or of-exchanging the-means was the-sea great and an-unknown
 lingua commercio prohibebant. ii paulatim per conubia
language from-commerce prevented they little-by-little through intermarriage
 Gaetulos secum miscuere et, quia saepe temptantes agros
the-Gaetulians with-themselves mixed and because often trying lands
 alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Nomadas
one then another places had-sought themselves they-themselves Nomads
 appellavere. ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium,
called but still the-buildings of-the-Numidians rustic
 quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus, tecta quasi
which mapalia they call oblong with-curved sides roofed like
 navium carinae sunt. Medis autem et Armeniis adcessere
of-ships the-keels are to-the-Medes however and Armenians joined
 Libyes — nam ii propius mare Africum agitabant, Gaetuli
the-Libys for they nearer the-sea African lived the-Gaetulians
 sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus —, iique mature
under the-sun more not far from the-beats and-they early
 oppida habuere; nam freto divisi ab Hispania mutare
towns had for by-the-strait divided from Spain to-exchange
 res inter se instituerant. nomen eorum paulatim Libyes
goods among themselves they-had-begun the-name their little-by-little the-Libys
 corrumpere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis appellantes.
corrupted in-barbarian tongue Moors instead-of Medes calling
 sed res Persarum brevi adolevit, ac postea nomine
but the-state of-the-Persians quickly grew and afterward under-the-name
 Numidae, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi,
Numidians because-of (their)-numbers from (their)-parents having-separated

possedere ea loca, quae proxuma Carthagine Numidia
took-possession-of those places which nearest to-Carthage Numidia
 appellatur. deinde utrique alteris freti finitimos armis
is-called then both on-the-others relying (their)-neighbors by-arms
 aut metu sub imperium suum coegere, nomen gloriamque
or by-fear under rule their-own compelled name and-glory
 sibi addidere, magis ii, qui ad nostrum mare processerant,
to-themselves added more those who to our sea had-advanced
 quia Libyes quam Gaetuli minus bellicose. denique Africae
because the-Libyans than the-Gaetulians less warlike finally of-Africa
 pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est, victi
the-part lower most by the-Numidians possessed is the-conquered
 omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.
all into the-race and-name of-the-rulers passed
 Postea Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia,
afterward the-Phoenicians some of-the-multitude at-home of-reducing for-the-sake
 pars imperi cupidine sollicitata plebe et aliis novarum rerum
part of-empire by-desire stirred-up the-plebs and others for-new things
 avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumentum, Leptim aliasque urbis in
eager Hippo Hadrumentum Leptis and-other cities on
 ora maritima condidere; eaeque brevi multum auctae, pars
the-coast maritime founded and-they quickly much increased part
 originibus suis praesidio, aliae decori fuere. nam de
to-the-founders their-own a-protection others an-ornament were for about
 Carthagine silere melius puto quam parum dicere, quoniam
Carthage to-be-silent better I-think than too-little to-say since
 alio properare tempus monet. igitur ad Catabathmon,
elsewhere to-hasten time warns therefore toward Catabathmos
 qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari prima
which place Egypt from Africa divides with-following sea first
 Cyrene est, colonia Theraeon, ac deinceps duae Syrtes interque
Cyrene is a-colony of-the-Theraeans and next two Syrtes and-between

eas Leptis, deinde Philaenon arae, quem locum Aegyptum
them Leptis then of-the-Philaeni the-altars which place Egypt
 vorsus finem imperi habuere Carthaginienses, post aliae
toward the-boundary of-(their)-empire held the-Carthaginians after other
 Punicae urbes. cetera loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidae
Punic cities the-other places as-far as Mauretaniam the-Numidians
 tenent, proxumi Hispania Mauri sunt. super Numidiam
hold nearest to-Spain the-Moors are beyond Numidia
 Gaetulios accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos
the-Gaetulians we-have-beard partly in huts others more-roughly wandering
 agitare, post eos Aethiops esse, dehinc loca exusta solis
to-live after them the-Ethiopians to-be then places burnt-up of-the-sun
 ardoribus. igitur bello Iugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida
by-the-beats therefore in-the-war Jugurthine most of the-Punic towns
 et finis Carthaginiensium, quos novissime habuerant,
and the-territory of-the-Carthaginians which most-recently they-had-held
 populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat; Gaetulorum
the-people Roman through magistrates administered of-the-Gaetulians
 magna pars et Numidae usque ad flumen Muluccham sub
a-great part and the-Numidians as-far as the-river Muluccha under
 Iugurtha erant; Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat,
Jugurtha were over-the-Moors all king Bocchus ruled
 praeter nomen cetera ignarus populi Romani itemque nobis
except the-name the-rest ignorant of-the-people Roman and-likewise to-us
 neque bello neque pace antea cognitus. de Africa et eius
neither in-war nor in-peace before known about Africa and its
 incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.
inhabitants for the-needs of-the-matter enough said

Believing everything at Rome is for sale, Jugurtha invades Adherbal's kingdom and besieges him in Cirta. A first Roman embassy of three young men achieves nothing. Adherbal smuggles a letter to the senate begging for help, and a second embassy of senior nobles, Scaurus among them, achieves nothing either. The Italians in the town, trusting in Rome's name, persuade him to surrender with his life guaranteed. Jugurtha tortures Adherbal to death and kills all the adult Numidians and traders he finds armed.

Postquam diviso regno legati Africa decessere et 20
 after divided the-kingdom the-envoys from-Africa departed and
 Jugurtha contra timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum
 Jugurtha contrary-to the-fear of-(his)-mind the-rewards of-crime obtained
 sese videt, certum esse ratus, quod ex amicis apud
 himself sees certain to-be thinking what from friends at
 Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul
 Numantia he-had-heard all-things at-Rome for-sale to-be at-the-same-time
 et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paulo ante
 and by-their promises inflamed whom a-little before
 muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit.
 with-gifts he-had-satisfied on the-kingdom of-Adherbal (his)-mind he-fixes
 ipse acer, bellicosus; at is quem petebat quietus, inbellis,
 he-himself keen warlike but he whom he-was-attacking peaceable unwarlike
 placido ingenio, opportunus iniuriae, metuens magis quam
 of-mild nature exposed to-wrong fearing rather than
 metuendus. igitur ex inproviso finis eius cum magna
 to-be-feared therefore out-of the-unforeseen the-territory his with a-great
 manu invadit, multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia praeda
 band he-invades many mortals with cattle and other booty
 capit, aedificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu
 he-takes buildings he-burns most places in-hostile-fashion with the-cavalry

adcedit, deinde cum omni multitudine in regnum suum
he-approaches then with all the-multitude into kingdom his-own
 convortit, existumans Adherbalem dolore permotum iniurias
he-turns thinking Adherbal by-resentment moved wrongs
 suas manu vindicaturum eamque rem belli causam fore. at
his-own by-force would-avenge and-that thing of-war the-cause would-be but
 ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat et amicitia
he because neither himself equal in-arms he-thought and in-the-friendship
 populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos
of-the-people Roman more than in-the-Numidians trusting he-was envoys
 ad Iugurtham de iniuriis questum misit. qui tametsi
to Jugurtha about the-wrongs to-complain sent who although
 contumeliosa dicta rettulerant, prius tamen omnia pati
insulting words had-brought-back sooner however all-things to-endure
 decrevit quam bellum sumere, quia temptatum antea secus
he-decided than war to-take-up because tried before otherwise
 cesserat. neque eo magis cupido Iugurthae minuebatur,
it-had-turned-out nor the more the-desire of-Jugurtha was-lessened
 quippe qui totum eius regnum animo iam invaserat. itaque
inasmuch-as he-who the-whole his kingdom in-mind already had-invaded and-so
 non uti antea cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu
not as before with a-plundering band but a-great army
 comparato bellum gerere coepit et aperte totius Numidiae
assembled war to-wage he-began and openly of-all Numidia
 imperium petere. ceterum, qua pergebat, urbis agros vastare,
the-command to-seek but where he-went cities lands he-laid-waste
 praedas agere, suis animum hostibus terrorem augere.
plunder he-drove to-his-own-men spirit to-the-enemy terror he-increased

21 Adherbal ubi intellegit eo processum, uti regnum aut
Adherbal when he-understands to-that it-had-come that the-kingdom either
 relinquendum esset aut armis retinendum, necessario copias
to-be-abandoned was or by-arms to-be-held necessarily forces

parat et Iugurthae obuius procedit. interim haud longe a
he-prepares and to-Iugurtha to-meet advances meanwhile not far from
 mari prope Cirtam oppidum utriusque exercitus consedit et,
the-sea near Cirta the-town of-each the-army encamped and
 quia diei extremum erat, proelium non inceptum. sed ubi
because of-the-day the-end it-was battle not begun but when
 plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine milites
the-greater-part of-the-night advanced dim even then the-light the-soldiers
 Iugurthini signo dato castra hostium invadunt, semisomnos
Jugurthine the-signal given the-camp of-the-enemy invade half-asleep
 partim, alios arma sumentis fugant funduntque. Adherbal cum
some others arms taking they-rout and-scatter Adherbal with
 paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et ni multitudo togatorum
a-few cavalry to-Cirta fled and unless the-multitude of-toga-wearers
 fuisset, quae Numidas insequentis moenibus prohibuit, uno die
had-been which the-Numidians pursuing from-the-walls kept-off in-one day
 inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum foret.
between two kings begun and finished the-war would-have-been
 igitur Iugurtha oppidum circumsegit, vineis turribusque et
therefore Jugurtha the-town besieged with-sheds and-towers and
 machinis omnium generum expugnare aggreditur, maxime
engines of-all kinds to-storm undertakes most
 festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos ante proelium
hastening the-time of-the-envoys to-forestall whom before the-battle
 factum ab Adherbale Romam missos audiverat. sed postquam
fought by Adherbal to-Rome sent he-had-heard but after
 senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adulescentes in
the-senate about the-war their heard three young-men into
 Africam legantur, qui ambos reges adeant, senatus
Africa are-sent-as-envoys who both kings should-approach of-the-senate
 populique Romani verbis nuntiant velle et censere eos
and-people Roman in-the-words announce to-wish and to-propose them

ab armis discedere, de controversiis suis iure potius
from arms to-withdraw about disputes their-own by-law rather
 quam bello disceptare: ita seque illisque dignum esse.
than by-war to-settle so both-of-themselves and-of-them worthy to-be

- 22 Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis quod
the-envoys into Africa hastening come the more because
 Romae, dum proficisci parant, de proelio facto et
at-Rome while to-set-out they-prepare about the-battle fought and
 oppugnatione Cirtae audiebatur; sed is rumor clemens erat.
the-siege of-Cirta it-was-heard but that rumor mild was
 quorum Iugurtha accepta oratione respondit sibi neque
whose Jugurtha received the-speech replied to-himself neither
 maius quicquam neque carius auctoritate senatus esse.
greater anything nor dearer than-the-authority of-the-senate to-be
 ab adulescentia ita se enisum, ut ab optumo quoque
from youth so himself to-have-striven that by the-best each
 probaretur; virtute, non malitia P. Scipioni, summo
he-might-be-approved by-virtue not by-malice to-Publius Scipio a-very-great
 viro, placuisse; ob eadem artis a Micipsa, non
man to-have-pleased on-account-of the-same arts by Micipsa not
 penuria liberorum in regnum adoptatum esse. ceterum,
for-want of-children into the-kingdom adopted to-have-been but
 quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum
the more-things well and energetically he-had-done the mind
 suum iniuriam minus tolerare. Adherbalem dolis vitae
his wrong less to-endure Adherbal by-tricks against-life
 suae insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, scelere eius obviam
his-own to-have-plotted which when he-had-discovered to-crime his to-meet
 isse. populum Romanum neque recte neque pro bono
to-have-gone the-people Roman nor rightly nor for good
 facturum, si ab iure gentium sese prohibuerit. postremo de
would-act if from the-law of-nations him it-should-keep finally about

omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum. ita utrique
all things envoys to-Rome shortly he-would-send so both
 digrediuntur. Adherbalis appellandi copia non fuit.

separate of-Adherbal of-addressing the-opportunity not was

Iugurtha ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est neque

23

Jugurtha when them from-Africa to-have-departed thought has nor

propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest,

because-of of-the-place the-nature Cirta by-arms to-storm can

vallo atque fossa moenia circumdat, turris extruit easque

with-a-rampart and ditch the-walls he-surrounds towers he-builds and-them

praesidiis firmat; praeterea dies noctisque aut per vim aut

with-garrisons he-strengthens besides day and-night either by force or

dolis temptare; defensoribus moenium praemia modo, modo

by-tricks tried to-the-defenders of-the-walls rewards now now

formidinem ostentare; suos hortando ad virtutem adrigere;

terror displayed his-own-men by-exhorting to virtue roused

prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal ubi intellegit omnis

altogether intent all-things prepared Adherbal when he-understands all

suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxili spem

his fortunes on the-edge placed the-enemy hostile of-help hope

nullam, penuria rerum necessariorum bellum trahi non

none by-the-want of-things necessary the-war to-be-drawn-out not

posse, ex iis, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxime

to-be-able from those who together to-Cirta had-fled two most

inpigros delegit; eos multa pollicendo ac miserando casum

energetic he-chose them many-things by-promising and by-lamenting fate

suom confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad

his-own he-encourages that through the-enemy's fortifications by-night to

proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent.

the-nearest sea then to-Rome they-should-proceed

- 24 Numidae paucis diebus iussa efficiunt. litterae Adherbalis
the-Numidians in-a-few days the-orders carry-out the-letter of-Adherbal
 in senatu recitatae, quarum sententia haec fuit: 'Non mea
in the-senate was-read of-which the-substance this was not by-my
 culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, patres conscripti, sed
fault often to you to-beg I-send fathers conscript but
 vis Iugurthae subigit, quem tanta lubido extinguendi
the-violence of-Iugurtha compels whom such-great a-lust of-destroying
 me invasit, ut neque vos neque deos immortalis in
me has-invaded that neither you nor the-gods immortal in
 animo habeat, sanguinem meum quam omnia malit. itaque
mind he-holds blood my than all-things he-prefers and-so
 quintum iam mensem socius et amicus populi Romani
for-the-fifth now month ally and friend of-the-people Roman
 armis obsessus teneor; neque mihi Micipsae patris mei
by-arms besieged I-am-held nor me of-Micipsa father my
 beneficia neque vostra decreta auxiliantur; ferro an fame
the-benefits nor your decrees help by-the-sword or by-hunger
 acrius urgear, incertus sum. plura de Iugurtha
more-sharply I-may-be-pressed uncertain I-am more about Iugurtha
 scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea, et iam antea expertus
to-write dissuades me fortune my and already before experienced
 sum parum fidei miseris esse; nisi tamen intellego illum
I-have too-little of-credit to-the-wretched to-be except however I-understand him
 supra quam ego sum petere neque simul amicitiam
beyond what I am to-aim nor at-the-same-time friendship
 vostram et regnum meum sperare. utrum gravius existumet,
your and kingdom my to-hope which heavier he-thinks
 nemini occultum est. nam initio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem
to-no-one hidden is for at-first he-killed Hiempsal brother
 meum, deinde patrio regno me expulit. quae sane
my then from-ancestral kingdom me he-expelled which indeed

fuerint nostrae iniuriae, nihil ad vos. verum nunc vostrum
may-have-been our wrongs nothing to you but now your
 regnum armis tenet; me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis
kingdom by-arms he-holds me whom you as-general over-the-Numidians
 posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit,
placed shut-in he-besieges of-the-envoys the-words how-much he-has-valued
 pericula mea declarant. quid est reliquom nisi vis vostra,
dangers my declare what is left except force your
 quo moveri possit? nam ego quidem vellem, et haec,
by-which to-be-moved he-can for I indeed would-wish both these-things
 quae scribo, et illa, quae antea in senatu questus sum, vana
which I-write and those which before in the-senate complained I-have empty
 forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. sed
were rather than misery my credence to-words should-give but
 quoniam eo natus sum, ut Iugurthae scelerum ostentui
since to-that born I-am that of-Jugurtha of-the-crimes for-a-display
 essem, non iam mortem neque aerumnas, tantummodo
I-should-be not now death nor sorrows only
 inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. regno
of-the-enemy the-command and the-tortures of-the-body I-beg-to-avert for-the-kingdom
 Numidiae, quod vostrum est, uti lubet, consulite; me manibus
of-Numidia which yours is as it-pleases take-counsel me from-bands
 inpiis eripite, per maiestatem imperi, per amicitiae fidem,
impious snatch by the-majesty of-the-empire by of-friendship the-good-faith
 si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissae.
if any among you memory remains of-grandfather my Masinissa
 His litteris recitatis fuere qui exercitum in Africam
this letter read there-were who an-army into Africa
 mittendum censerent et quam primum Adherbali
to-be-sent proposed and as soon-as-possible Adherbal
 subveniendum; de Iugurtha interim uti consuleretur,
to-be-helped about Jugurtha meanwhile that it-should-be-deliberated

quoniam legatis non paruisset. sed ab isdem illis regis
since the-envoys not he-had-obeyed but by the-same those of-the-king
 fautoribus summa ope enisum, ne tale decretum fieret. ita
partisans with-utmost effort it-was-striven lest such a-decree should-be-made so
 bonum publicum, uti in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia
the-good public as in most affairs is-wont by-private favor
 devictum. legantur tamen in Africam maiores natu nobiles,
overcome are-sent-as-envoys however into Africa older by-birth nobles
 amplis honoribus usi. in quis fuit M. Scaurus, de
great honors having-held among whom was Marcus Scaurus about
 quo supra memoravimus, consularis et tum senatus princeps.
whom above we-have-spoken a-consular and then of-the-senate the-leader
 ii, quod res in invidia erat, simul et ab Numidis
they because the-matter in odium was at-the-same-time and by the-Numidians
 obsecrati, triduo navem ascendere. dein brevi Uticam adpulsi
besought in-three-days the-ship they-boarded then shortly at-Utica landed
 litteras ad Iugurtham mittunt: quam ocissime ad provinciam
a-letter to Jugurtha send as quickly-as-possible to the-province
 adcedat, seque ad eum ab senatu missos. ille ubi
he-should-come and-that-they to him by the-senate sent he when
 accepit homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae pollere
he-heard men famous whose authority at-Rome to-be-strong
 audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse, primo conmotus
he-had-heard against undertaking his-own to-have-come at-first disturbed
 metu atque lubidine divorsus agitabatur: timebat iram
by-fear and by-lust in-different-directions was-driven he-feared the-anger
 senatus, ni paruisset legatis; porro animus cupidine
of-the-senate unless he-should-obey the-envoys on-the-other-hand (his)-mind by-desire
 caecus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. vicit tamen in
blinded to the-undertaken crime was-burrying(-him) prevailed however in
 avido ingenio pravum consilium. igitur exercitu circumdato
greedy nature the-depraved counsel therefore (his)-army placed-around

summa vi Cirtam inrumpere nititur, maxume sperans
with-utmost force Cirta to-break-into he-strives most hoping
 diducta manu hostium aut vi aut dolis sese casum
divided the-band of-the-enemy either by-force or by-tricks himself a-chance
 victoriae inventurum. quod ubi secus procedit neque quod
of-victory would-find which when otherwise it-proceeds nor what
 intenderat efficere potest, ut, prius quam legatos conveniret,
he-had-intended to-accomplish he-can that before than the-envoys he-should-meet
 Adherbalis potiretur, ne amplius morando Scaurum,
of-Adherbal he-might-gain-possession lest further by-delaying Scaurus
 quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus
whom most he-feared he-should-inflame with a-few cavalry
 in provinciam venit. ac tametsi senati verbis graves
into the-province he-came and although in-the-senate's words heavy
 minae nuntiabantur, quod ab oppugnatione non desisteret,
threats were-announced because from the-siege not he-desisted
 multa tamen oratione consumpta legati frustra discessere.
much however speech consumed the-envoys in-vain departed
 Ea postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum 26
these-things after at-Cirta heard were the-Italians by-whose
 virtute moenia defensabantur, confisi deditione facta propter
virtue the-walls were-defended trusting a-surrender made because-of
 magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore,
the-greatness of-the-people Roman unharmed themselves would-be
 Adherbali suadent, uti seque et oppidum Iugurthae
to-Adherbal urge that both-himself and the-town to-Jugurtha
 tradat, tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur; de
he-should-hand-over only from him life he-should-bargain-for about
 ceteris senatui curae fore. at ille, tametsi omnia potiora
the-rest to-the-senate a-care it-would-be but he although all-things preferable
 fide Iugurthae rebatur, tamen, quia penes
than-the-good-faith of-Jugurtha he-thought yet because in-the-hands-of

eosdem, si advorsaretur, cogundi potestas erat, ita,
the-same-men if he-should-oppose of-compelling the-power was so
 uti censuerant Italici, deditionem facit. Iugurtha in
as had-proposed the-Italians surrender he-makes Jugurtha among
 primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat, deinde omnis puberes
the-first Adherbal tortured kills then all the-adult
 Numidas atque negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatus
Numidians and traders indiscriminately as each armed
 obvius fuerat, interficit.
in-the-way had-been he-kills

IX · BESTIA'S PEACE

At Rome Gaius Memmius, tribune-elect, rouses the people, and the senate, fearing them, makes Numidia a consular province and votes an army. Numidia falls to the consul Lucius Bestia, who chooses nobles as his staff, Scaurus among them. Jugurtha's envoys are ordered out of Italy. Bestia begins the war vigorously, but his mind, sick with avarice, is easily turned by Jugurtha's money, and Scaurus is drawn in too. Jugurtha settles the terms secretly with Bestia and Scaurus and is received into surrender, handing over thirty elephants, cattle, many horses, and a little silver, and peace is made.

- 27 Quod postquam Romae cognitum est et res in senatu
which after at-Rome learned it-was and the-matter in the-senate
 agitari coepta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando
to-be-debated began the-same those agents of-the-king by-interrupting
 ac saepe gratia, interdum iurgiis trahundo tempus
and often by-influence sometimes by-quarrels by-dragging-out the-time
 atrocitatem facti leniebant. ac ni C. Memmius
the-atrocity of-the-deed softened and unless Gaius Memmius
 tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer et infestus potentiae
tribune of-the-plebs designate a-man keen and hostile to-the-power

nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset id agi, ut
of-the-nobility the-people Roman had-informed that to-be-aimed-at that
 per paucos factiosos Iugurthae scelus condonaretur, profecto
through a-few factious-men of-Jugurtha the-crime should-be-pardoned surely
 omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa foret:
all odium by-postponing the-deliberations dissipated would-have-been
 tanta vis gratiae atque pecuniae regis erat. sed
so-great the-force of-the-influence and of-the-money of-the-king was but
 ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, lege
when the-senate of-(its)-fault from-consciousness the-people fears by-the-law
 Sempronia provinciae futuris consulibus Numidia atque
Sempronian as-provinces for-the-future consuls Numidia and
 Italia decretae; consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica L.
Italy were-decreed consuls were-declared Publius Scipio Nasica Lucius
 Bestia Calpurnius; Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit.
Bestia Calpurnius to-Calpurnius Numidia to-Scipio Italy fell
 deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur;
then an-army which into Africa should-be-carried is-enrolled
 stipendium aliaque, quae bello usui forent, decernuntur.
pay and-other-things which for-war of-use might-be are-decreed
 At Iugurtha contra spem nuntio accepto, quippe quoi
but Jugurtha contrary-to hope the-news received inasmuch-as to-whom
 Romae omnia venire in animo haeserat, filium et cum eo
at-Rome all-things to-be-for-sale in mind had-stuck (his)-son and with him
 duos familiaris ad senatum legatos mittit iisque uti illis,
two intimates to the-senate as-envoys sends and-to-them as to-those
 quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, praecipit, omnis mortalis
whom Hiempsal killed be-had-sent he-instructs all mortals
 pecunia aggrediantur. qui postquam Romam adventabant,
with-money they-should-attack who after to-Rome they-were-approaching
 senatus a Bestia consultus est, placeretne legatos Iugurthae
the-senate by Bestia consulted was whether-it-pleased the-envoys of-jugurtha

28

recipi moenibus, iique decrevere, nisi regnum ipsumque
to-be-received within-the-walls and-they decreed unless the-kingdom and-himself
 deditum venissent, uti in diebus proxumis decem Italia
to-surrender they-had-come that within days the-next ten from-Italy
 decederent. consul Numidis ex senatus decreto nuntiari
they-should-depart the-consul to-the-Numidians by of-the-senate the-decree to-be-announced
 iubet. ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. interim
orders so unfinished the-business they home depart meanwhile
 Calpurnius parato exercitu legat sibi homines nobilis
Calpurnius prepared (his)-army chooses-as-legates for-himself men noble
 factiosos, quorum auctoritate quae deliquisset munita
factionous by-whose authority what he-might-have-done-wrong protected
 fore sperabat. in quis fuit Scaurus, quouis de natura
would-be he-hoped among whom was Scaurus of-whose about nature
 et habitu supra memoravimus. nam in consule nostro multae
and character above we-have-told for in consul our many
 bonaeque artes et animi et corporis erant, quas omnis
and-good arts both of-mind and of-body were which all
 avaritia praepediebat: patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis
avarice hampered enduring of-toils of-keen talent enough
 providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula et
foreseeing of-war not ignorant most-steadfast against dangers and
 insidias. sed legiones per Italiam Regium atque inde Siciliam,
plots but the-legions through Italy to-Regium and thence to-Sicily
 porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvectae. igitur Calpurnius
further from Sicily into Africa were-carried-over therefore Calpurnius
 initio paratis commeatibus acriter Numidiam ingressus est,
at-first prepared supplies keenly Numidia entered has
 multosque mortalis et urbis aliquot pugnando cepit.
and-many mortals and cities several by-fighting took

Sed ubi Iugurtha per legatos pecunia temptare bellique, 29
but when Jugurtha through envoys with-money to-tempt and-of-the-war
 quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere coepit, animus aeger
which he-was-conducting the-harshness to-show began (his)-mind sick
 avaritia facile convorsus est. ceterum socius et administer
with-avarice easily turned was but as-ally and agent
 omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus, qui tametsi a
of-all the-plans is-taken-on Scaurus who although from
 principio plerisque ex factione eius corruptis acerrume
the-beginning most of the-faction his corrupted most-keenly
 regem inpuernerat, tamen magnitudine pecuniae a bono
the-king had-attacked yet by-the-greatness of-the-money from the-good
 honestoque in pravom abstractus est. sed Iugurtha primo
and-honorable to depravity drawn-away was but Jugurtha at-first
 tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existumans sese aliquid
only of-war a-delay was-buying thinking himself something
 interim Romae pretio aut gratia effecturum. postea vero quam
meanwhile at-Rome by-price or by-favor would-accomplish afterward however when
 participem negoti Scaurum accepit, in maxumam spem
as-partner of-the-business Scaurus he-received into the-greatest hope
 adductus recuperandae pacis statuit cum iis de omnibus
brought of-recovering peace he-resolved with them about all
 pactionibus praesens agere. ceterum interea fidei causa
the-terms in-person to-negotiate but meanwhile of-good-faith for-the-sake
 mittitur a consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum Iugurthae
is-sent by the-consul Sextius the-quaestor into the-town of-Jugurtha
 Vagam. quouis rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod
Vaga of-which thing the-pretext was the-receipt of-grain which
 Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat, quoniam deditionis
Calpurnius openly from-the-envoys had-demanded since of-the-surrender
 mora indutiae agitabantur. igitur rex, uti constituerat,
during-the-delay a-truce was-observed therefore the-king as he-had-arranged

in castra venit, ac pauca praesenti consilio locutus de
 into the-camp came and a-few-things to-the-present council having-spoken about
 invidia facti sui atque uti in deditionem acciperetur,
 the-odium of-the-deed his and that into surrender he-should-be-received
 reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit. dein postero die
 the-rest with Bestia and Scaurus secretly settles then on-the-next day
 quasi per saturam sententiis exquisitis in deditionem accipitur.
 as-if by a-medley the-opinions sought into surrender he-is-received
 sed, uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephanti triginta,
 but as before the-council ordered it-had-been elephants thirty
 pecus atque equi multi cum parvo argenti pondere quaestori
 cattle and horses many with a-small of-silver weight to-the-quaestor
 traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos
 are-handed-over Calpurnius to-Rome for magistrates electing
 proficiscitur. in Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabantur.
 sets-out in Numidia and army our peace was-kept

X • THE SPEECH OF MEMMIUS

When the deal becomes known, Memmius addresses the people. The nobility has plundered the treasury and made kings and peoples pay tribute to a few, while the plebs, whose ancestors twice seceded for their rights, endured it in silence. After the Gracchi were killed, the plebs were hunted by inquiries and put to death in prison. He calls them not to arms but to inquiries and to Jugurtha's own evidence: if his surrender is real he will obey their orders, and if he scorns them they will see what sort of peace this is.

30 Postquam res in Africa gestas quoque modo actae
 after the-things in Africa done and-in-what way conducted
 forent fama divulgavit, Romae per omnis locos et
 they-had-been rumor spread at-Rome through all places and

conventus de facto consulis agitari. apud plebem
gatherings about the-deed of-the-consul it-was-debated among the-plebs
 gravis invidia, patres solliciti erant: probarentne
heavy odium the-fathers anxious were whether-they-should-approve
 tantum flagitium an decretum consulis subverterent, parum
so-great a-shame or the-decree of-the-consul they-should-overturn too-little
 constabat. ac maxume eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor
it-was-clear and most them the-power of-Scaurus because he the-author
 et socius Bestiae ferebatur, a vero bonoque impediēbat. at
and partner of-Bestia was-reported from the-true and-good hindered but
 C. Memmius, quouis de libertate ingeni et odio potentiae
Gaius Memmius whose about the-freedom of-nature and hatred of-the-power
 nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras
of-the-nobility above we-have-spoken amid the-hesitation and delays
 senatus contionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari, monere,
of-the-senate by-assemblies the-people to avenging urged warned
 ne rem publicam, ne libertatem suam desererent, multa
lest the-thing public lest the-liberty their-own they-should-abandon many
 superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere; prorsus
arrogant and cruel deeds of-the-nobility showed altogether
 intentus omni modo plebis animum incendebat. sed quoniam
intent in-every way of-the-plebs the-mind he-inflamed but since
 ea tempestate Romae Memmi facundia clara pollensque
at-that time at-Rome of-Memmius the-eloquence famous and-powerful
 fuit, decere existumavi unam ex tam multis orationem
was it-befitted I-thought one out-of so many speech
 eius perscribere, ac potissimum ea dicam, quae in
his to-write-out and above-all those-things I-shall-tell which in
 contione post reditum Bestiae huiusce modi verbis disseruit:
the-assembly after the-return of-Bestia of-this kind in-words he-discoursed

31 'Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium
many-things me dissuade from you Quirites unless the-zeal
 rei publicae omnia superet: opes factionis, vostra
for-the-thing public all-things should-surpass the-resources of-the-faction your
 patientia, ius nullum, ac maxume quod innocentiae plus
patience right none and most that for-innocence more
 periculi quam honoris est. nam illa quidem piget
of-danger than of-honor there-is for those-things indeed it-shames
 dicere, his annis quindecim quam ludibrio fueritis
to-say in-these years fifteen how a-plaything you-have-been
 superbiae paucorum, quam foede quamque inulti perierint
to-the-arrogance of-a-few how foully and-how unavenged have-perished
 vostri defensores, ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque socordia
your defenders how in-you the-mind by cowardice and sloth
 corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem obnoxiiis inimicis
corrupted is who not now even at-(your)-mercy with-enemies
 exurgitis atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus decet terrori
you-rise-up and even now you-fear those to-whom it-befits a-terror
 esse. sed quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obviam ire
to-be but although these-things such are yet to-meet to-go
 factionis potentiae animus subigit. certe ego libertatem,
of-the-faction the-power (my)-mind compels certainly I the-liberty
 quae mihi a parente meo tradita est, experiar. verum id
which to-me by parent my handed-down has-been shall-try but that
 frustra an ob rem faciam, in vostra manu situm est, Quirites.
in-vain or for profit I-do in your hand placed is Quirites
 neque ego vos hortor, quod saepe maiores vostri fecere, uti
nor I you urge what often ancestors your did that
 contra iniurias armati eatis. nihil vi, nihil secessione
against wrongs armed you-should-go nothing of-force nothing of-secession
 opus est; necesse est suomet ipsi more praecipites
need there-is necessary it-is by-their-own themselves manner headlong

eant. occiso Ti. Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant,
they-should-go killed Tiberius Gracchus who a-kingship to-prepare they-said
 in plebem Romanam quaestiones habitae sunt; post C.
against the-plebs Roman inquiries held were after of-Gaius
 Gracchi et C. Fulvi caedem item vostri ordinis multi
Gracchus and of-Gaius Fulvius the-slaughter likewise of-your order many
 mortales in carcere necati sunt: utriusque cladis non lex,
mortals in prison killed were of-each disaster not the-law
 verum lubido eorum finem fecit. sed sane fuerit
but the-lust their an-end made but granted it-may-have-been
 regni paratio plebi sua restituere; quicquid sine
of-a-kingship the-preparation to-the-plebs its-own to-restore whatever without
 sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, iure factum sit.
the-blood of-citizens to-be-avenged cannot rightly done may-it-be
 superioribus annis taciti indignabamini aerarium expilari,
in-former years silently you-were-indignant the-treasury to-be-plundered
 reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere,
kings and peoples free to-a-few nobles tribute to-pay
 penes eosdem et summam gloriam et maximas divitias
in-the-hands-of the-same both the-highest glory and the-greatest riches
 esse. tamen haec talia facinora impune suscepisse parum
to-be yet these such deeds with-impunity to-have-undertaken too-little
 habuere, itaque postremo leges, maiestas vostra, divina et
they-held and-so finally the-laws majesty your divine and
 humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. neque eos qui ea
human all-things to-the-enemy handed-over are nor them who those-things
 fecere pudet aut paenitet, sed incedunt per ora vostra
did does-it-shame or repent but they-stride through the-faces your
 magnifici, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos
magnificent priesthoods and consulships part triumphs their-own
 ostentantes; proinde quasi ea honori, non praedae habeant.
displaying just as-if them as-an-honor not as-plunder they-had

servi aere parati iniusta imperia dominorum non perferunt;
slaves with-money bought unjust commands of-masters do-not endure
 vos, Quirites, in imperio nati aequo animo servitutem
you Quirites in empire born with-calm mind slavery
 toleratis? at qui sunt ii, qui rem publicam occupavere?
endure but who are they who the-thing public have-seized
 homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia,
men most-criminal with-bloody hands with-monstrous avarice
 nocentissimi et idem superbissimi, quibus fides decus
most-guilty and the-same most-arrogant to-whom good-faith honor
 pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui
piety finally the-honorable and dishonorable all-things for-gain
 sunt. pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quaestiones
are part of-them to-have-killed tribunes of-the-plebs others inquiries
 iniustas, plerique eadem in vos fecisse pro munimento
unjust most slaughter against you to-have-made for a-bulwark
 habent. ita quam quisque pessime fecit, tam maxime
bold so as each worst has-done so most
 tutus est. metum ab scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram
safe he-is fear from crime their-own to cowardice your
 transtulere, quos omnis eadem cupere, eadem
they-have-transferred whom all the-same-things to-desire the-same-things
 odisse, eadem metuere in unum coegit. sed haec
to-hate the-same-things to-fear into one has-brought-together but this
 inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est. quod si tam vos
among the-good friendship among the-bad faction is but if as-much you
 libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi
of-liberty care had as they to tyranny inflamed
 sunt, profecto neque res publica sicuti nunc vastaretur
are surely neither the-thing public as now would-be-laid-waste
 et beneficia vestra penes optimos, non audacissimos
and the-benefits your in-the-hands-of the-best not the-most-audacious

forent. maiores vestri parandi iuris et maiestatis constituendae
would-be ancestors your of-procuring rights and majesty of-establishing
 gratia bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere;
for-the-sake twice by secession armed the-Aventine occupied
 vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, nonne summa
you for liberty which from them you-have-received will-you-not with-utmost
 ope nitimini? atque eo vehementius, quo maius dedecus
effort strive and so-much more-vehemently as greater a-disgrace
 est parta amittere quam omnino non paravisse. dicet
it-is things-won to-lose than at-all not to-have-won will-say
 aliquis 'quid igitur censes?' vindicandum in eos, qui
someone what then do-you-propose to-be-punished against those who
 hosti prodidere rem publicam, non manu neque vi,
to-the-enemy have-betrayed the-thing public not by-hand nor by-force
 quod magis vos fecisse quam illis accidisse indignum
which more you to-have-done than to-them to-have-happened unworthy
 est, verum quaestionibus et indicio ipsius Iugurthae. qui
is but by-inquiries and by-the-evidence of-himself of-Jugurtha who
 si dediticius est, profecto iussis vestris oboediens erit;
if a-surrendered-man he-is surely orders your obedient will-be
 sin ea contemnit, scilicet existumabitis, qualis illa pax aut
but-if them he-scorns evidently you-will-judge what-sort that peace or
 deditio sit, ex qua ad Iugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad
surrender is from which to Jugurtha of-crimes impunity to
 paucos potentis maxumae divitiae, ad rem publicam damna
a-few powerful-men the-greatest riches to the-thing public losses
 atque dedecora pervenerint; nisi forte nondum etiam vos
and disgraces have-come unless perhaps not-yet even you
 dominationis eorum satietas tenet et illa quam haec tempora
of-domination their satiety holds and those than these times
 magis placent, quom regna provinciae leges iura iudicia bella
more please when kingdoms provinces laws rights courts wars

atque paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes
and peaces finally divine and human all-things in-the-hands-of
 paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est populus Romanus, invicti
a-few were you however this is the-people Roman unconquered
 ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis
by enemies generals of-all nations enough you-thought
 animam retinere. nam servitutem quidem quis vostrum
life to-keep for slavery indeed who of-you
 recusare audebat? atque ego tametsi viro flagitiosissimum
to-refuse dared and I although for-a-man most-shameful
 existumo impune iniuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus
I-think with-impunity a-wrong to-have-received yet you to-men
 sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo
most-criminal to-pardon since citizens they-are with-calm mind
 paterer, ni misericordia in perniciem casura esset. nam
I-would-allow unless pity into ruin about-to-fall were for
 et illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est impune
both to-them as-much of-ruthlessness they-have too-little it-is with-impunity
 male fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur, et
ill to-have-done unless then of-doing the-license is-snatched-away and
 vobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, quom intelletis aut
for-you eternal anxiety will-remain when you-will-understand either
 serviundum esse aut per manus libertatem retinendam.
to-be-slaves you-must or by hand liberty to-be-kept
 nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes est? dominari
for of-good-faith indeed or of-concord what hope is to-rule
 illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi iniurias, vos prohibere;
they wish you free to-be to-do they wrongs you to-prevent
 postremo sociis nostris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis
finally allies our like enemies enemies as allies
 utuntur. potestne in tam divorsis mentibus pax aut amicitia
they-treat can in so different minds peace or friendship

esse? quare moneo hortorque vos, ne tantum scelus
be wherefore I-warn and-urge you lest so-great a-crime
 inpunitum omittatis. non peculatus aerari factus est
unpunished you-let-pass not embezzlement of-the-treasury done has-been
 neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae, quae quamquam
nor by force from-the-allies snatched moneys which although
 gravia sunt, tamen consuetudine iam pro nihilo habentur;
grievous they-are yet by-habit now as nothing are-held
 hosti acerrumo prodita senatus auctoritas, proditum
to-an-enemy most-fierce betrayed of-the-senate the-authority betrayed
 imperium vestrum est; domi militiaeque res publica
the-empire your has-been at-home and-in-war the-thing public
 venalis fuit. quae nisi quaesita erunt, nisi vindicatum
for-sale was which unless investigated shall-have-been unless punishment-taken
 in noxios, quid erit reliquum, nisi ut illis qui ea
on the-guilty what will-be left except that to-those who those-things
 fecere oboedientes vivamus? nam impune quae lubet
did obedient we-should-live for with-impunity what-things it-pleases
 facere, id est regem esse. neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor,
to-do that is king to-be nor I you Quirites urge
 ut malitis civis vestros perperam quam recte fecisse,
that you-should-prefer citizens your wrongly than rightly to-have-acted
 sed ne ignoscendo malis bonos perditum eatis. ad
but lest by-pardoning to-the-bad the-good to-ruin you-should-go to
 hoc in re publica multo praestat benefici quam malefici
this in the-thing public much it-is-better of-a-benefit than of-an-injury
 inmemorem esse: bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi
forgetful to-be the-good-man only more-sluggish becomes when
 negligas, at malus improbior. ad hoc si iniuriae non sint,
you-neglect-him but the-bad more-wicked to this if wrongs not there-be
 haud saepe auxilii egeas.
not often of-help would-you-need

Memmius persuades the people, and the praetor Lucius Cassius brings Jugurtha to Rome under the state's guarantee. Meanwhile the officers left in Numidia sell elephants and deserters to Jugurtha and plunder the pacified districts. When Memmius questions the king before the people, a bribed tribune, Gaius Baebius, forbids him to answer. Massiva, a grandson of Masinissa who seeks the throne, is murdered by an assassin whom Bomilcar hires on Jugurtha's orders. Ordered out of Italy, Jugurtha is said to have looked back at Rome and called it a city for sale, soon to perish if it finds a buyer.

- 32 Haec atque alia huiusmodi saepe dicundo Memmius
these-things and other-things of-this-kind often by-saying Memmius
 populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum praetor erat,
the-people persuades that Lucius Cassius who then praetor was
 ad Iugurtham mitteretur eumque interposita fide publica
to Jugurtha should-be-sent and-him interposed the-pledge public
 Romam duceret, quo facilius indicio regis Scauri
to-Rome should-bring so-that more-easily by-the-evidence of-the-king of-Scaurus
 et reliquorum, quos pecuniae captae arcessebat, delicta
and of-the-rest whom of-money taken he-was-accusing the-faults
 patefierent. dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia
might-be-disclosed while these-things at-Rome are-done those-who in Numidia
 relictī a Bestia exercitui praeerant, secuti morem
left by Bestia the-army commanded having-followed the-custom
 imperatoris sui plurima et flagitiosissima facinora fecere.
of-the-general their-own very-many and most-shameful deeds did
 fuere qui auro corrupti elephantos Iugurthae traderent, alii
there-were who by-gold corrupted the-elephants to-Jugurtha handed-over others
 perfugas vendere, pars ex pacatis praedas agebant: tanta
deserters sold part from the-pacified plunder drove so-great
 vis avaritiae in animos eorum veluti tabes invaserat.
the-force of-avarice into the-minds their like a-wasting bad-invaded

at Cassius praetor perlata rogatione a C. Memmio ac
but Cassius the-praetor carried the-bill by Gaius Memmius and
 perculsa omni nobilitate ad Iugurtham proficiscitur eique
struck-with-dismay all the-nobility to Jugurtha sets-out and-to-him
 timido et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis persuadet,
fearful and from conscience distrustful of-affairs his-own persuades
 quoniam se populo Romano dedisset, ne vim quam
since himself to-the-people Roman he-had-surrendered not the-force than
 misericordiam eius experiri mallet. privatim praeterea
the-mercy its to-try he-should-prefer privately besides
 fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris quam publicam
pledge his-own he-interposes which he not of-less than the-public
 ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.
valued such at-that time the-reputation about Cassius was
 Igitur Iugurtha contra decus regium cultu quam maxime 33
therefore Jugurtha contrary-to the-dignity royal in-dress as most
 miserabili cum Cassio Romam venit. ac tametsi in ipso magna
pitiable with Cassius to-Rome comes and although in himself great
 vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia
force of-mind was encouraged by all by-whose power
 aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quae supra diximus, C.
or crime all those-things he-had-done which above we-have-told Gaius
 Baebium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, quoque
Baebius a-tribune of-the-plebs at-great price he-procures by-whose
 inpudentia contra ius et iniurias omnis munitus foret. at
impudence against right and wrongs all protected he-might-be but
 C. Memmius advocata contione, quamquam regi infesta
Gaius Memmius having-called an-assembly although to-the-king hostile
 plebes erat et pars in vincula duci iubebat, pars, nisi
the-plebs was and part into chains him-to-be-led ordered part unless
 socios sceleris sui aperiret, more maiorum de hoste
the-allies of-crime his he-should-disclose by-the-custom of-the-ancestors on an-enemy

supplicium sumi, dignitati quam irae magis consulens
the-penalty to-be-taken for-dignity than for-anger more consulting
 sedare motus et animos eorum mollire, postremo
calmed the-disturbances and the-minds their softened finally
 confirmare fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore.
affirmed the-pledge public through himself inviolate would-be
 post ubi silentium coepit, producto Iugurtha verba facit,
afterward when silence began brought-forward Jugurtha a-speech he-makes
 Romae Numidiaequae facinora eius memorat, scelera in
at-Rome and-in-Numidia the-deeds his he-recounts the-crimes against
 patrem fratresque ostendit. quibus iuvantibus quibusque
father and-brothers he-shows with-whom helping and-with-whom
 ministris ea egerit, quamquam intellegat populus
as-agents those-things he-has-done although understands the-people
 Romanus, tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere.
Roman yet to-wish evident-things more from him to-have
 si verum aperiatur, in fide et clementia populi
if the-truth he-should-disclose in the-good-faith and clemency of-the-people
 Romani magnam spem illi sitam; sin reticeat, non
Roman great hope for-him placed but-if he-should-keep-silent not
 sociis saluti fore, sed se suasque spes corrupturum.
to-(his)-allies for-safety would-be but himself and-bis-own hopes to-be-about-to-ruin
 Deinde ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit et Iugurtha
then when Memmius of-speaking an-end made and Jugurtha
 respondere iussus est, C. Baebius tribunus plebis, quem
to-reply ordered was Gaius Baebius tribune of-the-plebs whom
 pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere iubet, ac
by-money corrupted above we-have-said the-king to-be-silent orders and
 tametsi multitudo, quae in contione aderat, vehementer accensa
although the-multitude which in the-assembly was-present violently inflamed
 terrebatur eum clamore, voltu, saepe impetu atque aliis omnibus,
terrified him by-shouting by-looks often by-rushes and by-other all-things

quae ira fieri amat, vicit tamen inpuidentia. ita populus
which anger to-be-done loves prevailed however the-impudence so the-people
 ludibrio habitus ex contione discedit; Iugurthae Bestiaeque
as-a-plaything held from the-assembly departs to-Jugurtha and-to-Bestia
 et ceteris, quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi augescunt.
and to-the-others whom that inquiry harassed the-spirits grow
 Erat ea tempestate Romae Numida quidam nomine 35
there-was at-that time at-Rome a-Numidian certain by-name
 Massiva, Gulussae filius, Masinissae nepos, qui, quia in
Massiva of-Gulussa the-son of-Masinissa grandson who because in
 dissensione regum Iugurthae advorsus fuerat, dedita Cirta
the-dissension of-the-kings to-Jugurtha opposed he-had-been surrendered Cirta
 et Adherbale interfecto profugus ex patria abierat.
and Adherbal killed a-fugitive from (his)-fatherland had-gone-away
 huic Sp. Albinus, qui proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q.
to-him Spurius Albinus who the-next year after Bestia with Quintus
 Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe
Minucius Rufus the-consulship held persuades since from the-stock
 Masinissae sit Iugurthamque ob scelera invidia cum
of-Masinissa he-is and-Jugurtha on-account-of (his)-crimes odium with
 metu urgeat, regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. avidus
fear presses the-kingdom of-Numidia from the-senate he-should-seek eager
 consul belli gerundi movere quam senescere omnia malebat.
the-consul of-war of-waging to-stir than to-grow-old all-things preferred
 ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evenerat. quae
to-himself as-province Numidia to-Minucius Macedonia had-fallen which
 postquam Massiva agitare coepit neque Iugurthae in amicis
after Massiva to-set-in-motion began nor for-Jugurtha in friends
 satis praesidi est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala
enough of-protection is because of-them one (his)-conscience another bad
 fama et timor impendebat, Bomilcari, proximo ac maxime
reputation and fear hindered to-Bomilcar nearest and most

fido sibi, imperat, pretio, sicuti multa confecerat,
faithful to-himself he-orders for-a-price as many-things he-had-accomplished
 insidiatores Massivæ paret ac maxume occulte, sin id
assassins for-Massiva he-should-procure and most secretly but-if that
 parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat. Bomilcar
too-little succeed in-any way the-Numidian he-should-kill Bomilcar
 mature regis mandata exequitur et per homines talis
promptly of-the-king the-orders carries-out and through men of-such
 negoti artifices itinera egressusque eius, postremo loca
business the-masters the-routes and-comings-out his finally the-places
 atque tempora cuncta explorat. deinde, ubi res postulabat,
and times all he-explores then when the-matter required
 insidias tendit. igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad caedem
an-ambush he-lays therefore one of that number who for the-slaughter
 parati erant, paulo inconsultius Massivam aggredditur. illum
prepared were a-little too-rashly Massiva attacks him
 obtruncat, sed ipse deprehensus multis hortantibus et in
he-cuts-down but himself caught many urging and among
 primis Albino consule indicium profitetur. fit reus
the-first Albinus the-consul evidence declares becomes a-defendant
 magis ex aequo bonoque quam ex iure gentium Bomilcar,
rather from the-fair and-good than from the-law of-nations Bomilcar
 comes eius, qui Romam fide publica venerat. at
the-companion of-him who to-Rome on-the-pledge public had-come but
 Iugurtha manifestus tanti sceleris non prius omisit contra
Jugurtha clearly-guilty of-so-great a-crime not sooner ceased against
 verum niti, quam animadvortit supra gratiam atque pecuniam
the-truth to-strive than he-perceived beyond favor and money
 suam invidiam facti esse. igitur, quamquam in priore
his-own the-odium of-the-deed to-be therefore although in the-former
 actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat, regno magis
trial of friends fifty sureties he-had-given for-the-kingdom more

quam vadibus consulens clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem
than for-the-sureties consulting secretly into Numidia Bomilcar
 dimittit, veritus, ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet
he-dismisses fearing lest the-rest-of (his)-countrymen fear should-invade
 parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumptum foret.
of-obeying himself if on him the-penalty taken should-have-been
 et ipse paucis diebus eodem profectus est, iussus a
and he-himself in-a-few days to-the-same-place set-out has ordered by
 senatu Italia decedere. sed postquam Roma egressus est,
the-senate from-Italy to-depart but after from-Rome gone-out he-has
 fertur saepe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse 'urbem
he-is-reported often there silently looking-back finally to-have-said a-city
 venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit.'
for-sale and soon to-perish if a-buyer it-shall-have-found

XII • THE DISGRACE AT SUTHUL

The consul Spurius Albinus renews the war in haste, but Jugurtha keeps drawing it out with feigned offers of surrender, and when the elections come near Albinus returns to Rome, leaving his brother Aulus in command. In winter Aulus tries to take the treasury town of Suthul. Jugurtha draws him away by pretending to negotiate, bribes centurions and cavalry to desert, and attacks the camp by night. The Romans are sent under the yoke and ordered to leave Numidia within ten days. At Rome the senate decrees that no treaty can be made without its order and the people's. Albinus finds the army so demoralized that he decides to attempt nothing.

Interim Albinus renovato bello commeatum, stipendium 36
meanwhile Albinus renewed the-war supplies pay
 aliaque, quae militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam
and-other-things which for-the-soldiers of-use might-be hastens into Africa
 portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod
to-carry and at-once himself set-out so-that before the-elections which

tempus haud longe aberat, armis aut deditione aut quovis
time not far was-distant by-arms or by-surrender or in-any
 modo bellum conficeret. at contra Iugurtha trahere
way the-war he-might-finish but on-the-contrary Jugurtha dragged-out
 omnia et alias, deinde alias morae causas facere; polliceri
all-things and one then another of-delay causes made promised
 deditionem ac deinde metum simulare; cedere instanti et
surrender and then fear feigned yielded to-him-pressing and
 paulo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo,
a-little after lest his-own should-lose-confidence pressed so of-war now
 modo pacis mora consulem ludificare. ac fuere qui tum
now of-peace by-the-delay the-consul mocked and there-were who then
 Albinum haud ignarum consili regis existimarent neque
Albinus not unaware of-the-plan of-the-king thought nor
 ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum socordia
from such-great haste so easily drawn-out the-war by-sloth
 magis quam dolo crederent. sed postquam dilapso
rather than by-craft believed but after having-slipped-away
 tempore comitiorum dies adventabat, Albinus Aulo fratre
the-time of-the-elections the-day approached Albinus Aulus (his)-brother
 in castris pro praetore relicto Romam decessit.
in the-camp in-place-of praetor left to-Rome departed

- 37 Ea tempestate Romae seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter res
at-that time at-Rome by-seditions tribunician atrociously the-thing
 publica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius tribuni
public was-agitated Publius Lucullus and Lucius Annius tribunes
 plebis resistentibus collegis continuare magistratum
of-the-plebs resisting (their)-colleagues to-continue (their)-magistracy
 nitebantur, quae dissensio totius anni comitia impediabat.
strove which dissension of-the-whole year the-elections hindered
 ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro praetore
by-that delay into hope brought Aulus whom in-place-of praetor

in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiundi belli
in the-camp left above we-have-said either of-finishing the-war
 aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniae capiundae milites
or by-the-terror of-the-army from the-king of-money of-getting the-soldiers
 mense Ianuario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat,
in-the-month of-January from winter-quarters into an-expedition calls-out
 magnisque itineribus hieme aspera pervenit ad oppidum
and-by-forced marches in-winter harsh arrives at the-town
 Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. quod quamquam et
of-Suthul where of-the-king the-treasures were which although both
 saevitia temporis et opportunitate loci neque capi
by-the-harshness of-the-season and by-the-position of-the-place neither to-be-taken
 neque obsideri poterat — nam circum murum situm in
nor to-be-besieged could for around the-wall placed on
 praerupti montis extremo planities limosa hiemalibus aquis
of-a-sheer mountain the-edge a-plain muddy with-winter waters
 paludem fecerat —, tamen aut simulandi gratia, quo
a-marsh had-made yet either of-feigning for-the-sake so-that
 regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus ob
to-the-king fear he-might-add or by-desire blinded on-account-of
 thesauros oppidi potiundi vineas agere, aggerem
the-treasures of-the-town of-gaining-possession sheds to-move a-mound
 iacere aliaque, quae incepto usui forent, properare.
to-throw-up and-other-things which for-the-undertaking of-use might-be he-hastened
 At Iugurtha cognita vanitate atque inperitia legati subdole 38
but Jugurtha learned the-vanity and inexperience of-the-legate craftily
 eius augere amentiam, missitare supplicantis legatos, ipse
his increased the-folly kept-sending suppliant envoys himself
 quasi vitabundus per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum
as-if avoiding-battle through wooded places and paths (his)-army
 ductare. denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti relicto
led finally Aulus by-hope of-a-bargain he-drove that having-left

Suthule in abditas regiones sese veluti cedentem insequeretur:

Suthul into remote regions him as-if retreating he-should-follow
 ita delicta occultiora fuere. interea per homines callidos
so (bis)-offenses more-bidden were meanwhile through men crafty
 diu noctuque exercitum temptabat, centuriones ducesque
day and-night the-army he-tempted centurions and-commanders
 turmarum, partim uti transfugerent, corrumpere, alii signo
of-squadrons partly that they-should-desert he-corrupted others the-signal
 dato locum uti desererent. quae postquam ex
given (their)-post that they-should-abandon which after according-to
 sententia instruit, intempesta nocte de inproviso multitudine
(bis)-wish he-arranges at-dead of-night out-of the-unforeseen with-a-multitude
 Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. milites Romani, perculsi
of-Numidians Aulus's camp he-surrounds the-soldiers Roman struck
 tumultu insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars
by-an-uproar unaccustomed arms took some others themselves hid part
 territos confirmare, trepidare omnibus locis. vis magna
the-terrified encouraged trembled in-all places the-force great
 hostium, caelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum, periculum
of-the-enemy the-sky by-night and clouds darkened the-danger
 anceps; postremo fugere an manere tutius foret, in incerto
two-edged finally to-flee or to-stay safer would-be in uncertainty
 erat. sed ex eo numero, quos paulo ante corruptos diximus,
it-was but of that number whom a-little before corrupted we-have-said
 cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum et paucis
a-cohort one of-Ligurians with two squadrons of-Thracians and a-few
 gregariis militibus transiere ad regem, et centurio primi
common soldiers crossed-over to the-king and the-centurion of-the-first
 pili tertiae legionis per munitionem, quam uti defenderet
spear of-the-third legion through the-fortification which that he-should-defend
 acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit, eaque Numidae
he-had-received a-place to-the-enemy of-entering gave and-by-it the-Numidians

cuncti inrupere. nostri foeda fuga, plerique abiectis armis,
all burst-in ours in-shameful flight most thrown-away (their)-arms
 proximum collem occupaverunt. nox atque praeda castrorum
the-nearest hill occupied night and the-plunder of-the-camp
 hostis, quo minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. deinde
the-enemy whereby less the-victory they-might-use delayed have then
 Iugurtha postero die cum Aulo in conloquio verba facit:
Jugurtha on-the-next day with Aulus in a-conference words makes
 tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame et ferro clausum
although himself with the-army by-hunger and by-sword shut-in
 teneret, tamen se memorem humanarum rerum, si secum
he-held yet himself mindful of-human things if with-him
 foedus faceret, incolumis omnis sub iugum missurum;
a-treaty he-should-make unharmed all under the-yoke would-send
 praeterea uti diebus decem Numidia decederet. quae
besides that within-days ten from-Numidia he-should-depart which
 quamquam gravia et flagiti plena erant, tamen, quia mortis
although grievous and of-disgrace full were yet because of-death
 metu mutabantur, sicuti regi lubuerat, pax convenit.
by-the-fear they-were-exchanged as to-the-king it-had-pleased peace was-agreed
 Sed ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, metus atque maeror 39
but when these-things at-Rome discovered were fear and grief
 civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloria imperi, pars
the-state invaded part grieved for the-glory of-the-empire part
 insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati; Aulo omnes
inexperienced of-things warlike feared for-liberty to-Aulus all
 infesti, ac maxime qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, quod
hostile and most those-who in-war often distinguished had-been because
 armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat.
armed by-disgrace rather than by-hand safety he-had-sought
 ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris
on-account-of these-things the-consul Albinus from the-offense of-(his)-brother

invidiam ac deinde periculum timens senatum de foedere
odium and then danger fearing the-senate about the-treaty
 consulebat, et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere,
consulted and yet meanwhile for-the-army reinforcements enrolled
 ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcessere, denique
from the-allies and the-name Latin auxiliaries summoned finally
 omnibus modis festinare. senatus ita, uti par fuerat,
in-all ways hastened the-senate so as right it-had-been
 decernit suo atque populi iniussu nullum potuisse
decrees its-own and of-the-people without-order no to-have-been-able
 foedus fieri. consul impeditus a tribunis plebis, ne
treaty to-be-made the-consul prevented by the-tribunes of-the-plebs lest
 quas paraverat copias secum portaret, paucis diebus in
what he-had-prepared forces with-himself he-should-take in-a-few days into
 Africam proficiscitur; nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat,
Africa sets-out for the-whole army as had-been-agreed
 Numidia deductus in provincia hiemabat. postquam eo
from-Numidia withdrawn in the-province was-wintering after there
 venit, quamquam persequi Iugurtham et mederi fraternae
he-came although to-pursue Jugurtha and to-heal (his)-brother's
 invidiae animo ardebat, cognitis militibus, quos praeter
odium in-mind he-burned having-learned-about the-soldiers whom besides
 fugam soluto imperio licentia atque lascivia corruperat, ex
flight loosened command license and wantonness had-corrupted from
 copia rerum statuit sibi nihil agitandum.
the-state of-things he-decided for-himself nothing to-be-attempted

The tribune Gaius Mamilius carries a law for an inquiry into those who took Jugurtha's money, and the inquiry is conducted harshly, driven by rumor and the passion of the plebs. Sallust explains the origin of the parties: after Carthage fell, prosperity bred insolence, and the nobility and the people pulled the state apart. The nobility, the stronger, held the treasury, provinces, and triumphs. When Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus tried to free the people, they were killed. But, he says, it is time to return to his subject.

Interim Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis 40
 meanwhile at-Rome Gaius Mamilius Limetanus tribune of-the-plebs
 rogationem ad populum promulgat, uti quaereretur in
 a-bill to the-people proposes that inquiry-should-be-made against
 eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglexisset,
 those whose by-the-counsel Jugurtha of-the-senate the-decrees had-neglected
 quique ab eo in legionibus aut imperiis pecunias accepissent,
 and-who from him in embassies or commands moneys had-received
 qui elephantos quique perfugas tradidissent, item qui de
 who the-elephants and-who the-deserters had-handed-over likewise who about
 pace aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent. huic rogationi
 peace or war with the-enemy agreements had-made to-this bill
 partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula
 some conscious to-themselves others from of-party odium dangers
 metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin
 fearing since openly to-resist not they-could but-that
 illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per
 those-things and other such-things to-please to-them they-should-confess secretly through
 amicos ac maxime per homines nominis Latini et socios
 friends and most through men of-the-name Latin and allies
 Italicos impedimenta parabant. sed plebes incredibile memoratu
 Italian obstacles prepared but the-plebs incredible to-relate

est quam intenta fuerit quantaque vi rogationem iusserit,
it-is how intent it-was and-with-how-great force the-bill it-ordered
 magis odio nobilitatis, quoi mala illa parabantur, quam
more from-hatred of-the-nobility for-which evils those were-being-prepared than
 cura rei publicae: tanta lubido in partibus erat. igitur
from-care of-the-thing public so-great the-lust in the-parties was therefore
 ceteris metu percussis M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae
the-others by-fear struck Marcus Scaurus whom legate of-Bestia
 fuisse supra docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis et suorum
to-have-been above we-have-shown amid the-joy of-the-plebs and of-his-own-(side)
 fugam, trepida etiam tum civitate, quom ex Mamilia rogatione
the-flight alarmed still then the-state when from the-Mamilian bill
 tres quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo
three investigators were-being-elected had-brought-about that he-himself in that
 numero crearetur. sed quaestio exercita aspere violenterque
number should-be-chosen but the-inquiry conducted harshly and-violently
 ex rumore et lubricine plebis: uti saepe nobilitatem, sic
from rumor and lust of-the-plebs as often the-nobility so
 ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.
at-that time the-plebs from favorable things insolence had-seized
 41 Ceterum mos partium et factionum ac deinde omnium
but the-custom of-parties and of-factions and then of-all
 malarum artium paucis ante annis Romae ortus est otio
bad arts a-few before years at-Rome arisen has from-leisure
 atque abundantia earum rerum, quae prima mortales ducunt.
and abundance of-those things which first mortals reckon
 nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus
for before Carthage destroyed the-people and the-senate Roman
 placide modesteque inter se rem publicam tractabant,
peaceably and-modestly among themselves the-thing public managed
 neque gloriae neque dominationis certamen inter civis
neither of-glory nor of-domination a-contest among the-citizens

erat: metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat.
was fear of-the-enemy in good arts the-state kept
 sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, scilicet ea, quae
but when that dread from-minds departed evidently those-things which
 res secundae amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. ita
things favorable love wantonness and pride came-in so
 quod in advorsis rebus optaverant otium, postquam
what in adverse circumstances they-had-wished-for leisure after
 adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque fuit. namque coepere
obtained they-have harsher and-more-bitter it-was for began
 nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubricum vortere,
the-nobility (its)-dignity the-people (its)-liberty into lust to-turn
 sibi quisque ducere trahere rapere. ita omnia in duas
for-himself each took dragged seized so all-things into two
 partis abstracta sunt, res publica, quae media fuerat,
parts torn-away were the-thing public which in-the-middle had-been
 dilacerata. ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat, plebis
(was)-torn-apart but the-nobility by-faction more was-strong of-the-plebs
 vis soluta atque dispersa in multitudine minus poterat.
strength loose and scattered in the-multitude less was-able
 paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur; penes
of-a-few by-the-will of-war and-at-home it-was-conducted in-the-hands-of
 eosdem aerarium provinciae magistratus gloriae triumphique
the-same the-treasury provinces magistracies glories and-triumphs
 erant; populus militia atque inopia urgebatur; praedas bellicas
were the-people by-service and by-want was-pressed the-plunder of-war
 imperatores cum paucis diripiebant: interea parentes aut
the-generals with a-few seized meanwhile the-parents or
 parvi liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori confinis
small children of-the-soldiers as each to-a-more-powerful-man neighbor
 erat, sedibus pellebantur. ita cum potentia avaritia sine
was from-(their)-homes were-driven so with power avarice without

modo modestiaque invadere, polluere et vastare omnia, nihil
measure and-restraint invaded polluted and laid-waste all-things nothing
 pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praecipitavit.
of-account nor sacred held until itself on-its-own it-hurled-headlong
 nam ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt, qui veram
for when first from the-nobility found were who the-true
 gloriam iniustae potentiae anteponebant, moveri civitas et
glory to-unjust power preferred to-be-moved the-state and
 dissensio civilis quasi permixtio terrae oriri coepit.
dissension civil like an-upheaval of-the-earth to-arise began

- 42 Nam postquam Ti. et C. Gracchus, quorum maiores
for after Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus whose ancestors
 Punico atque aliis bellis multum rei publicae addiderant,
in-the-Punic and other wars much to-the-thing public had-added
 vindicare plebem in libertatem et paucorum scelera patefacere
to-claim the-plebs into liberty and of-the-few the-crimes to-disclose
 coepere, nobilitas noxia atque eo perculsa modo per
began the-nobility guilty and therefore struck now through
 socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos,
the-allies and the-name Latin sometimes through the-knights Roman
 quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum
whom the-hope of-alliance from the-plebs had-separated of-the-Gracchi
 actionibus obviam ierat; et primo Tiberium, dein paucos
to-the-actions in-the-way had-gone and first Tiberius then a-few
 post annos eadem ingredientem Gaium, tribunum alterum,
after years the-same-things undertaking Gaius tribune the-one
 alterum triumvirum coloniis deducundis, cum M. Fulvio
the-other triumvir for-colonies to-be-founded with Marcus Fulvius
 Flacco ferro necaverat. et sane Gracchis cupidine victoriae
Flaccus by-the-sword had-killed and indeed to-the-Gracchi from-desire of-victory
 haud satis moderatus animus fuit. sed bono vinci
not enough moderate the-mind was but for-a-good-man to-be-conquered

satius est quam malo more iniuriam vincere. igitur ea victoria
better it-is than by-bad means a-wrong to-conquer therefore that victory
 nobilitas ex lubidine sua usa multos mortalis
the-nobility according-to lust its-own having-used many mortals
 ferro aut fuga extinxit plusque in reliquom sibi timoris
by-sword or by-exile destroyed and-more for the-future for-itself of-fear
 quam potentiae addidit. quae res plerumque magnas civitatis
than of-power added which thing often great states
 pessum dedit, dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo et
to-ruin has-given while the-ones the-others to-conquer in-any way and
 victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. sed de studiis partium
the-conquered more-bitterly to-avenge wish but about the-strife of-parties
 et omnis civitatis moribus si singillatim aut pro
and of-the-whole state the-morals if one-by-one or according-to
 magnitudine parem disserere, tempus quam res
the-greatness I-should-prepare to-discourse time than the-matter
 maturius me deseret. quam ob rem ad inceptum redeo.
sooner me will-desert which on-account-of thing to the-undertaking I-return

XIV • METELLUS TAKES COMMAND

Numidia falls to the consul Metellus, an energetic man whose reputation, though he opposes the popular party, is unblemished. He finds the army in Africa weak, cowardly, and undisciplined. He restores the old discipline: no one may sell bread or cooked food in the camp, camp followers are sent away, and no common soldier may keep a slave or a pack animal. He moves camp daily, fortifies it with a rampart and a ditch, posts frequent watches, and goes round them himself with his legates. By preventing faults rather than punishing them he soon makes the army strong.

- 43 Post Auli foedus exercitusque nostri foedam fugam
after of-Aulus the-treaty and-of-the-army our the-shameful flight
 Metellus et Silanus consules designati provincias inter se
Metellus and Silanus consuls designate the-provinces among themselves
 partiverant, Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro et,
had-divided and-to-Metellus Numidia had-fallen a-keen man and
 quamquam advorso populi partium, fama tamen aequabili
although hostile of-the-people to-the-party of-reputation yet even
 et inviolata. is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia
and unviolated he when first (his)-magistracy entered-upon has other
 omnia sibi cum collega ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus
all-things for-himself with (his)-colleague thinking to the-war which about-to-wage
 erat, animum intendit. igitur diffidens veteri exercitui milites
he-was (his)-mind turns therefore distrusting the-old army soldiers
 scribere, praesidia undique arcessere, arma tela equos et
he-enrolled auxiliaries from-everywhere he-summoned arms weapons horses and
 cetera instrumenta militiae parare, ad hoc commeatum affatim,
the-other equipment of-war he-prepared to this supplies abundantly
 denique omnia, quae in bello vario et multarum rerum egenti
finally all-things which in a-war varied and of-many things needing
 usui esse solent. ceterum ad ea patranda senatus auctoritate,
of-use to-be are-wont but for those accomplishing by-the-senate's authority
 socii nomenque Latinum et reges ultro auxilia
the-allies and-the-name Latin and kings of-their-own-accord auxiliaries
 mittundo, postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur.
by-sending finally the-whole state with-utmost zeal strove
 itaque ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis conpositisque
and-so according-to (his)-wish all things prepared and-arranged
 in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium quom propter
into Numidia he-sets-out with-great hope of-the-citizens both because-of
 artis bonas tum maxume quod advorsum divitias invictum
(his)-arts good and most because against riches an-unconquered

animum gerebat et avaritia magistratuum ante id tempus
mind he-bore and by-the-avarice of-the-magistrates before that time
 in Numidia nostrae opes contusae hostiumque auctae erant.
in Numidia our resources crushed and-the-enemy's increased had-been
 Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur a Sp. 44
but when into Africa he-came the-army to-him is-banded-over by Spurius
 Albino proconsule iners inbellis, neque periculi neque laboris
Albinus the-proconsul sluggish unwarlike neither of-danger nor of-toil
 patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, praedator ex
enduring with-the-tongue than with-the-hand readier a-plunderer from
 sociis et ipse praeda hostium, sine imperio et modestia
the-allies and itself the-prey of-the-enemy without command and restraint
 habitus. ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis
kept so to-the-general new more from bad morals of-anxiety
 quam ex copia militum auxilii aut spei bonae adcedebat.
than from the-supply of-soldiers of-help or of-hope good was-added
 statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et aestivorum tempus
resolved however Metellus although both of-the-summer the-time
 comitorum mora imminuerat et expectatione eventus
of-the-elections the-delay had-diminished and by-the-expectation of-the-outcome
 civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum attingere,
of-the-citizens the-minds intent he-thought not sooner the-war to-touch
 quam maiorum disciplina milites laborare coegisset. nam
than by-the-ancestors' discipline the-soldiers to-toil he-had-compelled for
 Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade perculsus,
Albinus of-Aulus of-(his)-brother and-of-the-army by-the-disaster struck
 postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis
after he-had-decided not to-go-out from-the-province as-much of-time
 aestivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris
of-summer in command he-was generally the-soldiers in-stationary camps
 habebat, nisi quom odor aut pabuli egestas locum mutare
held except when the-stench or of-fodder the-want the-place to-change

subegerat. sed neque muniebantur, neque more militari vigiliae
had-forced but neither were-fortified nor by-custom military the-watches
 deducebantur; uti quoique lubebat, ab signis aberat;
were-posted as to-each it-pleased from the-standards he-was-absent
 lixae permixti cum militibus diu noctuque vagabantur, et
camp-followers mingled with the-soldiers day and-night wandered and
 palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum
straying the-fields laid-waste villas stormed of-cattle and slaves
 praedas certantes agere eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino
the-plunder vying drove and-these exchanged with the-traders for-wine
 advecticio et aliis talibus; praeterea frumentum publice datum
imported and other such-things besides the-grain publicly given
 vendere, panem in dies mercari; postremo quaecumque
sold bread day-by day bought finally whatever
 dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaequae probra,
to-be-said or to-be-imagined can of-sloth and-of-luxury the-disgraces
 ea in illo exercitu cuncta fuere et alia amplius.
those in that army all were and other-things more

45 Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus quam in rebus
but in that difficulty Metellus not less than in affairs
 hostilibus magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior:
hostile a-great and wise man to-have-been I-find
 tanta temperantia inter ambitionem saevitiamque
with-such-great restraint between ambition and-cruelty
 moderatum. namque edicto primum adiumenta ignaviae
tempered for by-edict first the-aids of-sloth
 sustulisse: ne quisquam in castris panem aut quem
to-have-removed that-not anyone in the-camp bread or any
 alium cibum coctum venderet, ne lixae exercitum
other food cooked should-sell that-not camp-followers the-army
 sequerentur, ne miles hastatus aut gregarius in castris
should-follow that-not a-soldier of-the-line or common in the-camp

neve in agmine servom aut iumentum haberet; ceteris arte
 nor on the-march a-slave or beast-of-burden should-have for-the-rest strictly
 modum statuisset. praeterea transvorsis itineribus cottidie castra
 a-limit to-have-set besides by-cross routes daily the-camp
 movere, iuxta ac si hostes adessent vallo atque fossa
 he-moved just as if the-enemy were-present with-rampart and ditch
 munire, vigilias crebras ponere et eas ipse cum legatis
 he-fortified watches frequent he-posted and them he-himself with the-legates
 circumire; item in agmine in primis modo, modo in
 went-round likewise on the-march among the-first now now among
 postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quispiam ordine
 the-last often in the-middle he-was-present lest anyone from-the-ranks
 egrederetur, ut cum signis frequentes incederent, miles
 should-step-out that with the-standards in-close-order they-should-advance the-soldier
 cibum et arma portaret. ita prohibendo a delictis magis
 (his)-food and arms should-carry so by-keeping(-them) from offenses more
 quam vindicando exercitum brevi confirmavit.
 than by-punishing the-army in-a-short-time be-strengthened

XV • THE BATTLE OF THE MUTHUL

Jugurtha sends envoys offering surrender, and Metellus wins them over with many promises to hand the king over, alive or dead, while he advances and garrisons Vaga. By the river Muthul Jugurtha attacks the Roman column from a hill, and the fighting runs confused until evening, when the legions climb the hill and rout the Numidians; meanwhile, near the river, Rutilius scatters Bomilcar's infantry and elephants. Jugurtha gathers a larger but feebler army, and Metellus turns from pitched battle to laying the rich country waste, while the king harries his stragglers.

46 Interea Iugurtha, ubi quae Metellus agebat ex nuntiis
meanwhile Jugurtha when what Metellus was-doing from messengers
 accepit, simul de innocentia eius certior Roma factus,
he-learned at-the-same-time about the-integrity his informed from-Rome made
 diffidere suis rebus ac tum demum veram deditionem
lost-confidence in-his-own affairs and then at-last a-true surrender
 facere conatus est. igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciiis
to-make tried has therefore envoys to the-consul with suppliant-tokens
 mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent,
he-sends who only for-himself and-(his)-children life should-ask
 alia omnia dederent populo Romano. sed Metello iam
other all-things should-surrender to-the-people Roman but to-Metellus already
 antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum,
before by-experience known it-was the-race of-Numidians faithless
 ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse. itaque legatos
of-nature fickle for-new things eager to-be and-so the-envoys
 alium ab alio divorsos aggreditur ac paulatim temptando,
one from another separately he-approaches and little-by-little by-sounding
 postquam opportunos sibi cognovit, multa pollicendo
after suitable to-himself he-learned many-things by-promising
 persuadet, uti Iugurtham maxime vivom, sin id parum
he-persuades that Jugurtha especially alive but-if that too-little
 procedat, necatum sibi traderent. ceterum palam quae
succeed killed to-him they-should-hand-over but openly what-things
 ex voluntate forent regi nuntiari iubet. deinde
according-to the-wish might-be to-the-king to-be-announced he-orders then
 ipse paucis diebus intento atque infesto exercitu in
himself in-a-few days with-an-alert and hostile army into
 Numidiam procedit, ubi contra belli faciem tuguria
Numidia advances where contrary-to of-war the-appearance huts
 plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant. ex
full of-men cattle and-cultivators in the-fields were from

oppidis et mapalibus praefecti regis obvii procedebant
the-towns and buts the-prefects of-the-king to-meet-him came-forward
 parati frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremo omnia
ready grain to-give supplies to-carry finally all-things
 quae imperarentur facere. neque Metellus idcirco minus,
which might-be-ordered to-do nor Metellus on-that-account less
 sed pariter ac si hostes adessent munito agmine incedere,
but equally as if the-enemy were-present with-fortified column advanced
 late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere et
widely explored all those of-surrender signs for-show believed and
 insidiis locum temptari. itaque ipse cum expeditis
for-an-ambush an-opportunity to-be-sought and-so himself with the-light-armed
 cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta
cohorts likewise of-slingers and of-archers with-a-chosen
 manu apud primos erat, in postremo C. Marius legatus
band among the-first was in the-rear Gaius Marius the-legate
 cum equitibus curabat, in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites
with the-cavalry commanded on each flank the-auxiliary cavalry
 tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium dispertiverat, ut
to-the-tribunes of-the-legions and to-the-prefects of-the-cohorts he-had-distributed so-that
 cum iis permixti velites, quocumque adcederent, equitatus
with them mingled the-skirmishers wherever they-approached the-cavalry
 hostium propulsarent. nam in Iugurtha tantus dolus tantaque
of-the-enemy might-repel for in Jugurtha so-great cunning and-so-great
 peritia locorum et militiae erat, ut, absens an praesens, pacem
knowledge of-places and of-warfare was that absent or present peace
 an bellum gerens perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.
or war waging more-destructive he-was in doubt it-was-beld
 Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, 47
there-was not far from that route by-which Metellus was-marching
 oppidum Numidarum nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium
a-town of-the-Numidians by-name Vaga a-market of-goods for-sale

totius regni maxume celebratum, ubi et incolere et
of-the-whole kingdom most frequented where both to-dwell and
 mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. huc
to-trade had-become-accustomed of-Italian race many mortals hither
 consul, simul temptandi gratia, si paterentur, et
the-consul at-the-same-time of-testing for-the-sake if they-would-submit and
 ob opportunitates loci, praesidium inposuit. praeterea
on-account-of the-advantages of-the-place a-garrison placed besides
 imperavit frumentum et alia, quae bello usui forent,
he-ordered grain and other-things which for-war of-use might-be
 conportare, ratus, id quod res monebat, frequentiam
to-bring-together thinking that which the-situation suggested the-crowd
 negotiatorum et commeatu iuvaturam exercitum et iam
of-traders both with-supplies would-help the-army and already
 paratis rebus munimento fore. inter haec negotia Iugurtha
prepared for-the-things as-a-safeguard would-be amid these affairs Jugurtha
 impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, praeter
more-earnestly now envoys as-suppliants sent peace begged except
 suam liberorumque vitam omnia Metello dedere. quos item
his-own and-(his)-children's life all-things to-Metellus surrendered whom likewise
 uti priores consul illectos ad prodicionem domum dimittebat,
as the-former the-consul enticed to treachery home dismissed
 regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere neque
to-the-king peace which he-asked neither refused nor
 polliceri et inter eas moras promissa legatorum expectare.
promised and amid those delays the-promises of-the-envoys awaited

48 Iugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis conposuit ac se
Jugurtha when of-Metellus the-words with the-deeds compared and himself
 suis artibus temptari animadvortit, quippe quoi verbis
by-his-own arts to-be-tried perceived inasmuch-as to-whom in-words
 pax nuntiabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrumum erat, urbs
peace was-announced but in-fact war most-harsh was a-city

maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium
very-great alienated the-land by-the-enemy known the-minds of-(his)-countrymen
 temptati, coactus rerum necessitudine statuit armis
tempted forced of-circumstances by-the-necessity decided by-arms
 certare. igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriae
to-contend therefore explored of-the-enemy the-route into hope of-victory
 adductus ex opportunitate loci, quam maxumas potest
led from the-advantage of-the-place as greatest he-can
 copias omnium generum parat ac per tramites occultos
forces of-all kinds he-prepares and by paths bidden
 exercitum Metelli antevenit. erat in ea parte Numidia,
the-army of-Metellus forestalls there-was in that part of-Numidia
 quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a
which Adherbal in the-division had-possessed a-river rising from
 meridie nomine Muthul, a quo aberat mons ferme milia
the-south by-name Muthul from which was-distant a-mountain about miles
 viginti tractu pari, vastus ab natura et humano cultu. sed
twenty in-course parallel desolate by nature and human cultivation but
 ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in inmensum pertingens,
from its middle as-it-were a-hill arose into the-distance reaching
 vestitus oleastro ac murtetis aliisque generibus arborum,
clothed with-wild-olive and myrtle-thickets and-other kinds of-trees
 quae humi arido atque harenoso gignuntur. media autem
which in-soil dry and sandy are-produced the-middle however
 planities deserta penuria aquae praeter flumini propinqua loca;
plain deserted by-want of-water except to-the-river the-nearby places
 ea consita arbustis pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.
these planted with-sbrubs with-cattle and cultivators were-frequented
 Igitur in eo colle, quem transverso itinere porrectum
therefore on that hill which crosswise to-the-route extended
 docuimus, Iugurtha extenuata suorum acie consedit. elephantis
we-have-shown Jugurtha thinned-out of-bis-own the-line took-position the-elephants

et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit
and a-part of-the-forces of-infantry Bomilcar be-put-in-command-of
 eumque edocet quae ageret. ipse propior montem cum
and-him instructs what be-should-do himself nearer the-mountain with
 omni equitatu et peditibus delectis suos conlocat. dein
all the-cavalry and infantry chosen his-own-men be-places then
 singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens monet atque
individual squadrons and companies going-round he-warns and
 obtestatur, uti memores pristinae virtutis et victoriae sese
implores that mindful of-former virtue and victory themselves
 regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant: cum
and-kingdom their-own from of-the-Romans the-avarice they-should-defend with
 iis certamen fore, quos antea victos sub iugum miserint;
those the-contest would-be whom before conquered under the-yoke they-had-sent
 ducem illis, non animum mutatum; quae ab imperatore
the-leader for-them not the-spirit changed what by a-general
 decuerint omnia suis provisa, locum superiorem, ut
were-fitting all for-his-own provided the-place higher that
 prudentes cum inperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus aut rudes
the-prudent with the-unskilled not the-fewer with the-more or the-raw
 cum belli melioribus manum consererent. proinde parati
with of-war the-better hand should-join accordingly ready
 intentique essent signo dato Romanos invadere: illum
and-intent they-should-be the-signal given the-Romans to-attack that
 diem aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum aut
day either all toils and victories would-confirm or
 maxumarum aerumnarum initium fore. ad hoc viritum,
of-the-greatest sorrows the-beginning would-be to this man-by-man
 uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore
as each on-account-of military deed with-money or with-honor
 extulerat, conmonere benefici sui et eum ipsum alios
he-had-exalted he-reminded of-benefit his and him himself to-the-others

ostentare, postremo pro quouisque ingenio pollicendo
he-displayed finally according-to of-each the-nature by-promising
 minitando obtestando alium alio modo excitare, quom
by-threatening by-imploing one in-another way he-roused when
 interim Metellus ignarus hostium monte degrediens
meanwhile Metellus unaware of-the-enemy from-the-mountain descending
 cum exercitu conspicatur. primo dubius, quidnam insolita
with the-army is-seen first doubtful what the-unusual
 facies ostenderet — nam inter virgulta equi Numidaeque
appearance might-show for among the-bushes horses and-Numidians
 consederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum et
had-settled nor wholly bidden by-the-lowness of-the-trees and
 tamen incerti, quidnam esset, quom natura loci tum
yet uncertain what it-was both by-the-nature of-the-place and
 dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati —, dein brevi
by-trickery themselves and the-standards military concealed then shortly
 cognitis insidiis paulisper agmen constituit. ibi conmutatis
perceived the-ambush for-a-little-while the-column he-halted there changed
 ordinibus in dextro latere, quod proximum hostis erat,
the-ranks on the-right flank which nearest to-the-enemy was
 triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit, inter manipulos funditores
with-threefold reserves the-line he-drew-up between the-companies the-slingers
 et sagittarios dispertit, equitatum omnem in cornibus locat,
and archers he-distributes the-cavalry all on the-wings places
 ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus aciem, sicuti
and a-few-words according-to the-time the-soldiers having-exhorted the-line as
 instruxerat, transvorsis principiis in planum deducit.
he-had-drawn-it-up with-transverse front-ranks into the-plain leads-down
 Sed ubi Numidas quietos neque colle degredi animadvortit, 50
but when the-Numidians quiet nor from-the-hill descending he-perceived
 veritus ex anni tempore et inopia aquae, ne siti
fearing from of-the-year the-season and the-want of-water lest by-thirst

conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis
should-be-exhausted the-army Rutilius the-legate with light-armed
 cohortibus et parte equitum praemisit ad flumen, uti locum
cohorts and part of-the-cavalry he-sent-ahead to the-river that a-place
 castris antecaperet, existumans hostis crebro impetu et
for-a-camp he-might-seize-first thinking the-enemy by-frequent attack and
 transvorsis proeliis iter suum remoratorios et, quoniam armis
flank battles march his would-delay and since in-arms
 diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum temptaturos.
they-distrusted the-weariness and thirst of-the-soldiers would-try
 deinde ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte
then himself according-to the-situation and place as from-the-mountain
 descenderat, paulatim procedere, Marium post principia habere,
he-had-descended little-by-little advanced Marius behind the-front kept
 ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes
himself with of-the-left wing the-cavalry was which in the-column the-leaders
 facti erant. at Iugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos
become had but Jugurtha when the-bindmost column of-Metellus the-first
 suos praetergressum videt, praesidio quasi duum milium
his-own-men passed he-sees with-a-force about of-two thousand
 peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat, ne
infantry the-mountain he-occupies by-which Metellus had-descended lest
 forte cedentibus adversariis receptui ac post munimento
perhaps to-the-retreating adversaries for-a-refuge and afterward for-a-bulwark
 foret. dein repente signo dato hostis invadit. Numidae alii
it-should-be then suddenly the-signal given the-enemy he-attacks the-Numidians some
 postremos caedere, pars a sinistra ac dextra temptare, infensi
the-rearmost cut-down part on the-left and right assailed hostile
 adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines
were-at-hand and pressed-on in-all places of-the-Romans the-ranks
 conturbare. quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii
threw-into-confusion of-whom even those-who with-firmer minds to-meet

hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto proelio ipsi modo
the-enemy had-been mocked by-the-uncertain battle themselves only
 eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriundi aut conserundi
from-afar were-wounded nor in-return of-striking or of-joining
 manum copia erat. ante iam docti ab Iugurtha equites,
hands the-opportunity was before already instructed by Jugurtha the-cavalry
 ubi Romanorum turma insequi coeperat, non confertim
when of-the-Romans a-squadron to-pursue had-begun not in-close-order
 neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam
nor into one-place themselves withdrew but one elsewhere as
 maxume divorsi. ita numero priores, si ab persequendo hostis
most scattered thus in-number superior if from pursuing the-enemy
 detertere nequiverant, disiectos ab tergo aut lateribus
to-deter they-had-been-unable the-scattered from the-rear or the-flanks
 circumveniebant; sin opportunior fugae collis quam campi
they-surrounded but-if more-suitable for-flight the-hill than the-plains
 fuerat, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta
had-been there indeed accustomed of-the-Numidians the-horses easily among the-bushes
 evadere, nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.
escaped ours the-roughness and unfamiliarity of-the-place held-back
 Ceterum facies totius negoti varia, incerta, foeda atque 51
but the-face of-the-whole affair varied uncertain foul and
 miserabilis: dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi; neque
pitiable scattered from their-own part yielded others pursued neither
 signa neque ordines observare; ubi quemque periculum
standards nor ranks they-observed where each danger
 ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare; arma tela, equi viri,
had-seized there he-resisted and repelled arms weapons horses men
 hostes atque cives permixti; nihil consilio neque imperio
enemies and citizens mingled nothing by-plan nor by-command
 agi, fors omnia regere. itaque multum diei processerat,
was-done chance all-things ruled and-so much of-the-day had-advanced

quom etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. denique omnibus
when even then the-outcome in doubt was finally all
 labore et aestu languidis Metellus, ubi videt Numidas minus
by-toil and heat exhausted Metellus when he-sees the-Numidians less
 instare, paulatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit
to-press little-by-little the-soldiers into one he-brings-together the-ranks he-restores
 et cohortis legionarias quattuor advorsum pedites hostium
and cohorts legionary four against the-infantry of-the-enemy
 conlocat. eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa consederat.
he-places of-them a-great part on-higher ground weary had-sat-down
 simul orare et hortari milites, ne deficerent neu
at-the-same-time he-begged and exhorted the-soldiers that-not they-should-fail nor
 paterentur hostis fugientis vincere: neque illis castra esse
allow the-enemy fleeing to-conquer neither for-them a-camp to-be
 neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes tenderent; in
nor bulwark any to-which retreating they-might-head in
 armis omnia sita. sed ne Iugurtha quidem interea quietus
arms all-things placed but not Jugurtha even meanwhile quiet
 erat: circumire, hortari; renovare proelium et ipse cum
was went-round exhorted renewed the-battle and himself with
 delectis temptare omnia; subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis
chosen-men tried everything aided his-own on-the-enemy wavering
 instare, quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.
pressed whom firm he-had-learned from-afar by-fighting held-back
 52 Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant,
in-that way among themselves two generals very-great men contended
 ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. nam Metello
themselves equal but in-resources unequal for to-Metellus
 virtus militum erat, locus advorsus; Iugurthae alia omnia
the-virtue of-the-soldiers was the-ground unfavorable to-Jugurtha other all-things
 praeter milites opportuna. denique Romani, ubi intellegunt
except the-soldiers favorable finally the-Romans when they-understand

neque sibi perflugium esse neque ab hoste copiam
neither for-themselves a-refuge to-be nor from the-enemy the-opportunity
pugnandi fieri — et iam die vesper erat —, advorso
of-fighting to-be-given and already of-the-day evening was up-the-facing
colle, sicuti praeceptum fuerat, evadunt. amisso loco
hill as instructed it-had-been they-climb lost the-place
Numidae fusi fugatique; pauci interiire, plerosque velocitas
the-Numidians routed and-put-to-flight a-few perished most speed
et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. interea Bomilcar, quem
and the-region to-the-enemy unknown protected have meanwhile Bomilcar whom
elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium praefectum ab
over-the-elephants and a-part of-the-forces of-infantry placed-in-command by
Iugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius praetergressus est,
Jugurtha above we-have-said when him Rutilius passed has
paulatim suos in aequom locum deducit ac, dum legatus ad
little-by-little his-own into level ground leads-down and while the-legate to
flumen, quo praemissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti
the-river to-which sent-ahead he-had-been hastening proceeds quietly as
res postulabat, aciem exornat neque remittit, quid ubique
the-situation required the-line he-arranges nor does-be- cease what everywhere
hostis ageret, explorare. postquam Rutilium consedis-
the-enemy was-doing to-explore after Rutilius to-have-encamped
iam et animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Iugurthae
already and in-mind free he-learned and-at-the-same-time from Jugurtha's
proelio clamorem augeri, veritus, ne legatus cognita re
battle the-shouting to-increase fearing lest the-legate learned the-matter
laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti
to-struggling his-own for-help should-be the-line which distrusting the-virtue
militum arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri officeret,
of-(his)-soldiers closely he-had-drawn-up so-that the-enemy's route it-might-obstruct
latius porrigit eoque modo ad Rutili castra procedit.
more-widely he-extends and-in-that way to Rutilius's camp he-advances

- 53 Romani ex inproviso pulveris vim magnam animadvortunt;
the-Romans out-of the-unforeseen of-dust a-cloud great perceive
 nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. et
for the-view the-land with-shrubs planted blocked and
 primo rati humum aridam vento agitari, post ubi
at-first thinking the-soil dry by-the-wind to-be-stirred afterward when
 aequabilem manere et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque
steady to-remain and as the-line moved more and-more
 adpropinquare vident, cognita re properantes arma capiunt
to-approach they-see learned the-matter hastening arms they-take
 ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. deinde ubi
and before the-camp as it-was-ordered they-take-position then when
 propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore concurritur.
nearer come it-was on-both-sides with-great shouting they-charge
 Numidae tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium
the-Numidians only held-out while in the-elephants help
 putant, postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum atque
they-think after them entangled by-the-branches of-the-trees and
 ita disiectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt, ac plerique
so scattered to-be-surrounded they-see flight they-make and most
 abiectis armis collis aut noctis, quae iam aderat,
thrown-away (their)-arms of-the-hill or of-the-night which already was-at-hand
 auxilio integri abeunt. elephanti quattuor capti, reliqui
by-the-help unharmed go-off elephants four were-captured the-rest
 omnes numero quadraginta interfecti. at Romani, quamquam
all in-number forty killed but the-Romans although
 itinere atque opere castrorum et proelio fessi laetique
by-the-march and the-work of-the-camp and the-battle weary and-glad
 erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur,
were yet because Metellus longer than-expected was-delaying
 instructi intentique obviam procedunt; nam dolus
drawn-up and-intent to-meet-him advance for the-cunning

Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. ac primo
of-the-Numidians nothing slack nor relaxed allowed and at-first
 obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant,
in-dark night after not far from each-other they-were
 strepitu velut hostes adventare, alteri apud alteros formidinem
with-noise as-if enemies approached the-one among the-others fear
 simul et tumultum facere; et paene inprudencia
at-the-same-time and uproar made and almost by-imprudence
 admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi equites
committed a-crime pitiable unless on-both-sides sent-ahead cavalry
 rem exploravissent. igitur pro metu repente gaudium
the-matter had-explored therefore instead-of fear suddenly joy
 mutatur: milites alius alium laeti appellant, acta edocent
is-changed the-soldiers one another glad address deeds they-tell
 atque audiunt, sua quisque fortia facta ad caelum fert.
and bear their-own each brave deeds to the-sky bears
 quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in victoria vel
inasmuch-as affairs human so themselves hold in victory even
 ignavis gloriari licet, advorsae res etiam bonos detrectant.
for-cowards to-boast it-is-allowed adverse affairs even the-good disparage
 Metellus in isdem castris quatrduom moratus saucios cum 54
Metellus in the-same camp for-four-days having-stayed the-wounded with
 cura reficit, meritos in proeliis more militiae donat,
care restores the-deserving in the-battles by-the-custom of-soldiering rewards
 univorsos in contione laudat atque agit gratias, hortatur, ad
all-together in the-assembly praises and gives thanks exhorts for
 cetera, quae levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro
the-rest which light-things are an-equal spirit they-should-bear for
 victoria satis iam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda
victory enough already had-been-fought the-remaining toils for plunder
 fore. tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Iugurtha
would-be yet meanwhile deserters and others suitable Jugurtha

ubi gentium aut quid agitare, cum paucisne esset an
where of-the-world or what he-was-doing with a-few-whether he-was or
 exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret, exploratum misit.
an-army had how himself conquered he-conducted to-explore he-sent
 at ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat
but he himself into places wooded and by-nature fortified had-withdrawn
 ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem,
and-there he-was-collecting an-army in-number of-men larger
 sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis quam
but dull and-weak of-the-field and of-cattle more than
 belli cultorem. id ea gratia eveniebat, quod praeter regios
of-war a-cultivator that for-this reason came-about because except the-royal
 equites nemo omnium Numida ex fuga regem sequitur. quo
cavalry no-one of-all Numidian after flight the-king follows where
 quousque animus fert, eo discedunt, neque id flagitium
of-each the-mind carries there they-depart nor this a-disgrace
 militiae ducitur: ita se mores habent. igitur Metellus,
of-soldiering is-held so themselves the-customs have therefore Metellus
 ubi videt etiam tum regis animum ferocem esse, bellum
when he-sees even then the-king's mind fierce to-be the-war
 renovari, quod nisi ex illius lubidine geri non
to-be-renewed which unless according-to his pleasure to-be-waged not
 posset, praeterea iniquom certamen sibi cum hostibus,
could besides unequal the-contest for-himself with the-enemy
 minore detrimento illos vinci quam suos vincere,
by-a-smaller loss them to-be-conquered than his-own to-conquer
 statuit non proeliis neque in acie sed alio more bellum
he-decided not by-battles nor in line but in-another manner the-war
 gerendum. itaque in loca Numidiae opulentissima pergit,
to-be-waged and-so into the-places of-Numidia most-wealthy he-proceeds
 agros vastat, multa castella et oppida temere munita aut
the-fields he-lays-waste many forts and towns rashly fortified or

sine praesidio capit incenditque, puberes interfici iubet alia
without garrison he-takes and-burns the-adults to-be-killed he-orders other
 omnia militum praedam esse. ea formidine multi mortales
all-things of-the-soldiers the-plunder to-be by-that terror many mortals
 Romanis dediti; obsides; frumentum et alia, quae
to-the-Romans surrendered hostages grain and other-things which
 usui forent, affatim praebita; ubicumque res postulabat,
of-use might-be abundantly supplied wherever the-situation required
 praesidium inpositum. quae negotia multo magis quam
a-garrison placed which affairs much more than
 proelium male pugnatum ab suis regem terrebant; quippe,
a-battle badly fought by his-own the-king terrified inasmuch-as
 quouis spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogeatur et, qui
whose hope all in flight placed was to-follow he-was-forced and who
 sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. tamen
his-own places to-defend had-been-unable in others' war to-wage yet
 ex copia quod optimum videbatur consilium capit: exercitum
from the-means what best seemed a-plan he-takes the-army
 plerumque in isdem locis opperiri iubet, ipse cum delectis
for-the-most-part in the-same places to-wait he-orders himself with chosen
 equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et aviis itineribus
cavalry Metellus follows by-nightly and pathless routes
 ignoratus Romanos palantis repente aggreditur. eorum plerique
unobserved the-Romans straggling suddenly attacks of-them most
 inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur, nemo omnium intactus
unarmed fall many are-captured no-one of-all untouched
 profugit, et Numidae, prius quam ex castris subveniretur,
escapes and the-Numidians before than from the-camp help-could-come
 sicuti iussi erant, in proximos collis discedunt.
as ordered they-had-been into the-nearest hills withdraw

Rome rejoices at Metellus's success. He lays waste the country while Jugurtha harasses his columns. Metellus besieges Zama. Jugurtha attacks Marius's foragers at Sicca and then breaks into the Roman camp, and Marius drives him out. The siege fails, and Metellus goes into winter quarters. He works on Bomilcar to betray his king. Bomilcar persuades Jugurtha to surrender, and Metellus's council demands silver, elephants, horses, arms, and the deserters, but the king, summoned to Tisidium, takes up the war again.

- 55 Interim Romae gaudium ingens ortum cognitis Metelli rebus,
meanwhile at-Rome joy huge arisen learned of-Metellus the-deeds
ut seque et exercitum more maiorum gereret, in
how both-himself and the-army by-the-custom of-the-ancestors he-conducted in
advorso loco victor tamen virtute fuisset, hostium agro
unfavorable ground victor nevertheless by-virtue he-had-been of-the-enemy's territory
potiretur, Iugurtham magnificum ex Albini socordia spem
he-was-master Jugurtha boastful from Albinus's sloth the-hope
salutis in solitudine aut fuga coegisset habere. itaque senatus
of-safety in solitude or flight he-had-forced to-have and-so the-senate
ob ea feliciter acta dis immortalibus supplicia
on-account-of these-things successfully done to-the-gods immortal thanksgivings
decernere; civitas, trepida antea et sollicita de belli
decreed the-state alarmed before and anxious about of-the-war
eventu, laeta agere; de Metello fama praeclara esse. igitur
the-outcome joyful behaved about Metellus the-fame glorious was therefore
eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare,
the more-intent for victory he-strove in-all ways he-hastened
cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret,
he-took-care however lest-anywhere to-the-enemy exposed he-should-become
meminisse post gloriam invidiam sequi. ita, quo clarior
he-remembered after glory envy to-follow so the more-famous

erat, eo magis anxius erat, neque post insidias Iugurthae
he-was the more anxious he-was nor after the-ambush of-Jugurtha
 effuso exercitu praedari; ubi frumento aut pabulo opus
with-scattered army he-plundered when of-grain or of-fodder need
 erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu praesidium agitabant;
was cohorts with all the-cavalry guard kept
 exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. sed igni
of-the-army part himself the-rest Marius led but by-fire
 magis quam praeda ager vastabatur. duobus locis haud longe
more than by-plunder the-land was-laid-waste in-two places not far
 inter se castra faciebant; ubi vi opus erat, cuncti
between themselves camps they-made when of-force need was all
 aderant; ceterum, quo fuga atque formido latius cresceret,
were-present but so-that flight and terror more-widely might-grow
 divorsi agebant. eo tempore Iugurtha per collis sequi,
separately they-operated at-that time Jugurtha through the-hills followed
 tempus aut locum pugnae quaerere, qua venturum hostem
the-time or place of-battle sought where would-come the-enemy
 audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat,
he-had-heard the-fodder and of-waters the-springs of-which the-lack was
 corrumpere, modo se Metello interdum Mario ostendere,
spoiled now himself to-Metellus at-times to-Marius showed
 postremos in agmine temptare ac statim in collis regredi,
the-last in the-column tested and at-once into the-hills returned
 rursus aliis, post aliis minitari, neque proelium facere neque
again to-some after to-others threatened nor battle made nor
 otium pati, tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.
rest allowed only the-enemy from (his)-undertaking kept-back
 Romanus imperator ubi se dolis fatigari videt neque
the-Roman general when himself by-tricks to-be-worn-out he-sees nor
 ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam et in
by the-enemy the-opportunity of-fighting to-be-given a-city great and in

ea parte, qua sita erat, arcem regni nomine Zamam
that part in-which situated it-was the-citadel of-the-kingdom by-name Zama
 statuit oppugnare, ratus, id quod negotium poscebat, Iugurtham
decided to-attack thinking that which the-business demanded Jugurtha
 laborantibus suis auxilio venturum ibique proelium fore.
to-struggling his-own-men for-help would-come and-there a-battle would-be
 at ille, quae parabantur a perfugis edoctus, magnis
but he what-things were-being-prepared by deserters informed by-forced
 itineribus Metellum antevenit. oppidanos hortatur, moenia
marches Metellus forestalls the-townsmen he-urges the-walls
 defendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis
they-should-defend added as-help the-deserters which kind of the-forces
 regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmissimum erat; praeterea
of-the-king because to-deceive it-could-not most-steadfast was besides
 pollicetur in tempore semet cum exercitu adfore. ita compositis
he-promises in time himself with an-army to-be-present so arranged
 rebus in loca quam maxime occulta discedit, ac post
things into places as most hidden he-withdraws and after
 paulo cognoscit Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis
a-little he-learns Marius from the-march for-foraging with a-few
 cohortibus Siccam missum, quod oppidum primum omnium
cohorts to-Sicca sent which town first of-all
 post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. eo cum delectis
after the-bad battle from the-king had-revolted there with chosen
 equitibus noctu pergit et iam egredientibus Romanis in porta
cavalry by-night he-goes and already to-the-going-out Romans in the-gate
 pugnam facit, simul magna voce Siccensis hortatur,
battle he-makes at-the-same-time with-a-great voice the-Siccans he-urges
 uti cohortis ab tergo circumveniant: fortunam illis praeclari
that the-cohorts from the-rear they-should-surround fortune to-them of-a-glorious
 facinoris casum dare; si id fecerint, postea sese in regno,
deed an-opportunity to-give if that they-did afterward himself in the-kingdom

illos in libertate sine metu aetatem acturos. ac ni Marius
them in liberty without fear (their)-life would-spend and unless Marius
 signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto
the-standards to-advance and to-get-out from-the-town had-bastened surely
 cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent:
all or a-great part of-the-Siccans (their)-allegiance would-have-changed
 tanta mobilitate sese Numidae gerunt. sed milites
with-such-great fickleness themselves the-Numidians conduct but the-soldiers
 Iugurthini, paulisper ab rege sustentati, postquam maiore
Jugurthine for-a-little-while by the-king sustained after with-greater
 vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis profugi discedunt.
force the-enemy press a-few lost as-fugitives depart
 Marius ad Zamam pervenit. id oppidum, in campo situm, 57
Marius to Zama came that town on a-plain situated
 magis opere quam natura munitum erat, nullius idoneae
more by-work than by-nature fortified was of-no suitable
 rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. igitur Metellus pro
thing needing in-arms and-men rich therefore Metellus according-to
 tempore atque loco paratis rebus cuncta moenia exercitu
the-time and place prepared things all the-walls with-the-army
 circumvenit, legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret.
surrounds to-the-legates he-orders where each should-command
 deinde signo dato undique simul clamor ingens oritur,
then the-signal given on-all-sides at-once a-shout huge arises
 neque ea res Numidas terret: infensi intentique sine
nor that thing the-Numidians terrifies hostile and-intent without
 tumultu manent, proelium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio
tumult they-remain the-battle is-begun the-Romans according-to nature
 quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare, alii
each part from-afar with-sling-bullet or stones fought others
 succedere ac murum modo subfodere modo scalis aggredi,
advanced and the-wall now undermined now with-ladders attacked

cupere proelium in manibus facere. contra ea oppidani in
desired the-battle at hands to-make against that the-townsmen on
 proximos saxa volvere, sudis, pila, praeterea picem sulphure
the-nearest rocks rolled stakes javelins besides pitch with-sulfur
 et taeda mixtam ardentia mittere. sed ne illos quidem,
and with-torch mixed burning threw but not them even
 qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat; nam
who far-off had-remained the-fear of-mind enough had-protected for
 plerosque iacula tormentis aut manu emissa vulnerabant,
most javelins by-engines or by-hand discharged wounded
 parique periculo sed fama inpari boni atque ignavi erant.
and-equal in-danger but in-fame unequal the-good and cowardly were

- 58 Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Iugurtha ex inproviso
while at Zama so it-is-fought Jugurtha out-of the-unforeseen
 castra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis qui in
the-camp of-the-enemy with a-great band invades slackened those-who on
 praesidio erant et omnia magis quam proelium expectantibus
guard were and all-things rather than battle expecting
 portam inrumpit. at nostri repentino metu perculsi sibi
the-gate he-breaks-into but ours by-sudden fear struck for-himself
 quisque pro moribus consulunt; alii fugere, alii arma
each according-to temperaments take-counsel some fled others arms
 capere; magna pars vulnerati aut occisi. ceterum ex omni
took a-great part wounded or killed but of all
 multitudine non amplius quadraginta memores nominis
the-multitude not more-than forty mindful of-the-name
 Romani grege facto locum cepere paulo quam alii editiorem,
Roman a-band formed a-place took a-little than others higher
 neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt, sed tela
nor thence with-the-greatest force to-be-driven-off could but weapons
 eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrari;
from-a-far thrown threw-back few among more less missed

sin Numidae propius adcessissent, ibi vero virtutem
but-if the-Numidians nearer had-approached there indeed (their)-virtue
 ostendere et eos maxuma vi caedere, fundere atque
showed and them with-the-greatest force cut-down routed and
 fugare. interim Metellus quom acerrume rem gereret,
put-to-flight meanwhile Metellus when most-fiercely the-action he-was-waging
 clamorem hostilem a tergo accepit, dein convorso equo
a-shout hostile from the-rear heard then turned (his)-horse
 animadvortit fugam ad se vorsum fieri, quae res
he-perceived flight to himself toward to-be-made which thing
 indicabat popularis esse. igitur equitatum omnem ad castra
showed countrymen to-be therefore the-cavalry all to the-camp
 propere misit ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus
quickly he-sent and immediately Gaius Marius with the-cohorts
 sociorum, eumque lacrumans per amicitiam perque rem
of-the-allies and-him weeping by friendship and-by the-thing
 publicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in
public he-beseches that-not any disgrace to-remain in
 exercitu victore neve hostis inultos abire sinat. ille
the-army victorious nor the-enemy unavenged to-go-off he-should-allow he
 brevi mandata efficit. at Iugurtha munimento castrorum
quickly the-orders carries-out but Jugurtha by-the-fortification of-the-camp
 impeditus, quom alii super vallum praecipitarentur, alii in
hindered when some over the-rampart were-hurled-headlong others in
 angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent, multis amissis
the-narrows themselves to-themselves hastening obstructed many lost
 in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus infecto negotio,
into places fortified himself withdrew Metellus unaccomplished the-business
 postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.
after night was-at-hand into the-camp with the-army returns

- 59 Igitur postero die, prius quam ad oppugnandum egrederetur,
therefore on-the-next day before than for attacking he-went-out
 equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat,
the-cavalry all in that part where of-the-king the-approach was
 pro castris agitare iubet, portas et proxuma loca tribunis
before the-camp to-patrol he-orders the-gates and the-nearest places to-the-tribunes
 dispertit, deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum atque uti superiore
he-distributes then himself goes to the-town and as on-the-previous
 die murum aggreditur. interim Iugurtha ex occulto repente
day the-wall attacks meanwhile Jugurtha from hiding suddenly
 nostros invadit: qui in proxumo locati fuerant, paulisper
ours he-attacks those-who in the-nearest-place posted had-been for-a-little-while
 territi perturbantur, reliqui cito subveniunt. neque diutius
terrified are-thrown-into-confusion the-rest quickly come-to-help nor longer
 Numidae resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus
the-Numidians to-resist could-have unless the-infantry with the-cavalry
 permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent. quibus illi
mingled great slaughter in the-encounter were-making in-whom they
 freti non, uti equestri proelio solet, sequi, dein cedere, sed
trusting not as in-cavalry battle is-wont pursued then retreated but
 advorsis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem:
with-facing horses charged entangled and threw-into-confusion the-line
 ita expeditis peditibus suis hostis paene victos dare.
so by-light-armed infantry their-own the-enemy almost conquered they-gave
- 60 Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur ubi
at-the-same time at Zama with-great force it-was-fought where
 quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrume niti,
each legate or tribune commanded there most-fiercely they-strove
 neque alius in alio magis quam in sese spem habere;
nor one in another more than in himself hope had
 pariterque oppidani agere: oppugnare aut parare omnibus
and-equally the-townsmen acted attacked or prepared in-all

locis, avidius alteri alteros sauciare quam semet tegere,
places more-eagerly the-one the-others wounded than themselves protected
 clamor permixtus hortatione laetitia gemitu, item strepitus
a-shout mingled with-exhortation with-joy with-groaning likewise the-din
 armorum ad caelum ferri, tela utrimque volare. sed illi,
of-arms to the-sky was-borne weapons on-both-sides flew but those
 qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paulum modo pugnam
who the-walls were-defending when the-enemy a-little only the-fight
 remiserant, intenti proelium equestre prospectabant. eos, uti
had-relaxed intent the-battle of-cavalry watched them as
 quaeque Iugurthae res erant, laetos modo, modo pavidos
each of-Iugurtha the-fortunes were joyful now now fearful
 animadvorteres; ac, sicuti audiri a suis aut cerni
you-would-have-perceived and as-if to-be-heard by their-own or to-be-seen
 possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare aut
they-could warned some others urged or with-hand signaled or
 niti corporibus, et ea huc et illuc quasi vitabundi aut
strained with-bodies and them hither and thither as-if avoiding or
 iacentes tela agitare. quod ubi Mario cognitum est —
throwing weapons moved which when to-Marius learned it-was
 nam is in ea parte curabat —, consulto lenius agere
for he in that part commanded deliberately more-gently acted
 ac diffidentiam rei simulare, pati Numidas sine
and distrust of-the-matter feigned allowed the-Numidians without
 tumultu regis proelium visere. ita illis studio suorum
tumult of-the-king the-battle to-watch so them by-the-zeal for-their-own
 adstrictis repente magna vi murum aggreditur. et iam
held-fast suddenly with-great force the-wall he-attacks and already
 scalis egressi milites prope summa ceperant, quom
by-ladders having-climbed the-soldiers almost the-top had-seized when
 oppidani concurrunt; lapides ignem alia praeterea tela
the-townsmen rush-together stones fire other besides weapons

ingerunt. nostri primo resistere; deinde ubi unae atque alterae
they-heap ours at-first resisted then when one and the-other
 scalae conminutae, qui supersteterant afflicti sunt, ceteri,
ladders smashed those-who had-stood-on-them dashed-down were the-rest
 quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars vulneribus
in-whatever way they-could a-few unharmed a-great part by-wounds
 confecti abeunt. denique utrimque proelium nox diremit.

worn-out depart finally on-both-sides the-battle night broke-off

- 61 Metellus postquam videt frustra inceptum neque oppidum
Metellus afier be-sees in-vain undertaken neither the-town
 capi neque Iugurtham nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco
to-be-taken nor Jugurtha except from ambush or on-his-own ground
 pugnam facere et iam aestatem exactam esse, ab Zama
battle to-make and already the-summer spent to-be from Zama
 discedit et in iis urbibus, quae ad se defecerant satisque
departs and in those cities which to him had-revolted and-sufficiently
 munitae loco aut moenibus erant, praesidia inponit. ceterum
fortified by-position or by-walls were garrisons be-places but
 exercitum in provinciam, quae proxuma est Numidiae,
the-army into the-province which nearest is to-Numidia
 hiemandi gratia conlocat. neque id tempus ex aliorum
of-wintering for-the-sake be-stations nor that time according-to of-others
 more quieti aut luxuriae concedit, sed, quoniam armis
the-custom to-rest or luxury does-be-grant but since by-arms
 bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos
the-war too-little progressed snares for-the-king through (his)-friends
 tendere et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. igitur
to-lay and their treachery instead-of arms to-use be-prepares therefore
 Bomilcarem, qui Romae cum Iugurtha fuerat et inde
Bomilcar who at-Rome with Jugurtha had-been and thence
 vadibus datis clam de Massivae nece iudicium fugerat,
sureties given secretly about of-Massiva the-murder the-trial had-fled

quod ei per maxumam amicitiam maxuma copia
because to-him through the-greatest friendship the-greatest opportunity
 fallundi erat, multis pollicitationibus aggreditur. ac primo
of-deceiving was with-many promises he-approaches and at-first
 efficit, uti ad se conloquundi gratia occultus veniat;
brings-about that to him of-conferring for-the-sake secretly he-should-come
 deinde fide data, si Iugurtham vivom aut necatum sibi
then good-faith given if Jugurtha alive or killed to-him
 tradidisset, fore ut illi senatus impunitatem et sua
he-should-hand-over it-would-be that to-him the-senate impunity and his-own
 omnia concederet, facile Numidae persuadet, quom ingenio
all-things would-grant easily the-Numidian he-persuades both by-nature
 infido tum metuenti, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret,
faithless and fearing lest if peace with the-Romans should-be-made
 ipse per condiciones ad supplicium traderetur.

himself by the-terms to punishment should-be-banded-over

Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Iugurtham anxium ac
he when first opportune it-was Jugurtha anxious and
 miserantem fortunas suas adcedit, monet atque lacrumans
lamenting the-fortunes his-own approaches warns and weeping
 obtestatur, uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti
implores that at-last for-himself and-(his)-children and for-the-race
 Numidarum optume merita provideat: omnibus proeliis
of-Numidians best deserving he-should-provide in-all battles
 sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortalis captos occisos,
themselves defeated the-land laid-waste many mortals captured killed
 regni opes conminutas esse; satis saepe iam et
of-the-kingdom the-resources shattered to-be enough often already both
 virtutem militum et fortunam temptatam; caveat, ne illo
the-virtue of-the-soldiers and fortune tested let-him-beware lest he
 cunctante Numidae sibi consulant. his atque talibus
hesitating the-Numidians for-themselves should-consult by-these and such

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aliis ad deditiōem regis animum inpellit. mittuntur ad
other-things to surrender the-king's mind he-drives there-are-sent to
 imperatorem legati, qui Iugurtham imperata facturum dicerent
the-general envoys who Jugurtha the-orders would-do should-say
 ac sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius
and without any bargain himself and-kingdom his-own into his
 fidem tradere. Metellus prope cunctos senatorii ordinis
good-faith to-hand-over Metellus quickly all of-the-senatorial order
 ex hibernis accersi iubet; eorum et aliorum, quos
from winter-quarters to-be-summoned orders of-them and of-others whom
 idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. ita more maiorum
suitable he-thought a-council he-holds so by-the-custom of-the-ancestors
 ex consili decreto per legatos Iugurthae imperat argenti
by of-the-council the-decree through envoys to-Jugurtha he-orders of-silver
 pondo ducenta milia, elephantos omnis, equorum et
pounds two-hundred thousands the-elephants all of-horses and
 armorum aliquantum. quae postquam sine mora facta sunt,
of-arms a-good-quantity which after without delay done were
 iubet omnis perfugas vinctos adduci. eorum magna pars,
he-orders all the-deserters in-chains to-be-brought of-them a-great part
 uti iussum erat, adducti; pauci, quom primum deditio
as ordered it-had-been brought a-few when first the-surrender
 coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretanium abierant. igitur
began to king Bocchus into Mauretania had-gone-off therefore
 Iugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus est, quom
Jugurtha when of-arms and-of-men and of-money stripped was when
 ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus coepit
himself for being-ordered to-Tisidium he-was-summoned again began
 flectere animum suum et ex mala conscientia digna
to-bend mind his-own and from bad conscience worthy-things
 timere. denique multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis,
to-fear finally many days in hesitation spent

quom modo taedio rerum advorsarum omnia bello potiora
when now from-weariness of-affairs adverse all-things than-war preferable
 duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus
he-thought at-times with-himself he reflected how heavy a-fall
 in servitium ex regno foret, multis magnisque praesidiis
into slavery from kingship it-would-be many and-great resources
 nequiquam perditis de integro bellum sumit. et Romae
in-vain lost from fresh war he-takes-up and at-Rome
 senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiam Metello decreverat.
the-senate about the-provinces consulted Numidia to-Metellus had-decreed

XVII · MARIUS SEEKS THE CONSULSHIP

At Utica a soothsayer tells Marius that great things await him. He is able, upright, and brave, but lacks noble ancestors, and the nobility pass the consulship among themselves. When he asks leave to stand, Metellus first warns him off and later, it is said, tells him not to hurry, since he can stand soon enough with Metellus's son, then about twenty. Angry, Marius courts the soldiers and the traders and speaks against Metellus. He wins over Gauda, a sickly heir to the throne. Letters to Rome demand Marius as general.

Per idem tempus Uticae forte C. Mario per 63
during the-same time at-Utica by-chance to-Gaius Marius through
 hostias dis supplicanti magna atque mirabilia portendi
victims to-the-gods sacrificing great and wonderful-things to-be-foretold
 haruspex dixerat: proinde quae animo agitabat, fretus
a-soothsayer had-said accordingly what-things in-mind he-was-turning trusting
 dis ageret, fortunam quam saepissime experiretur; cuncta
the-gods he-should-do fortune as often-as-possible he-should-try all-things
 prospere eventura. at illum iam antea consulatus ingens
successfully would-turn-out but him already before of-the-consulship a-huge

cupido exagitabat, ad quem capiundum praeter vetustatem
desire was-driving for which to-be-gained besides antiquity
 familiae alia omnia abunde erant: industria, probitas,
of-family other all-things abundantly there-were industry uprightness
 militiae magna scientia, animus belli ingens domi modicus,
of-soldiering great knowledge a-spirit in-war huge at-home moderate
 lubidinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriae avidus.
of-lust and of-riches conqueror only of-glory greedy
 sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum
but he born and all (bis)-boyhood at-Arpinum raised when first
 aetas militiae patiens fuit, stipendiis faciundis, non Graeca
(bis)-age of-soldiering capable was in-campaigns to-be-served not in-Greek
 facundia neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artis
eloquence nor in-city elegances himself he-trained so among arts
 bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. ergo, ubi primum
good sound (bis)-talent quickly grew-up therefore when first
 tribunatum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem
the-tribuneship military from the-people he-sought most the-face
 eius ignorantibus, factis notus per omnis tribus declaratur.
bis not-knowing by-deeds known through all the-tribes he-is-declared
 deinde ab eo magistratu alium, post alium sibi peperit,
then from that magistracy another after another for-himself he-won
 semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore
and-always in (bis)-offices in-such way he-acted that of-a-higher
 quam gerebat dignus haberetur. tamen is ad id locorum
than he-held worthy he-was-held nevertheless he to that of-places
 talis vir — nam postea ambitione praeceps datus est —
such a-man for afterward by-ambition headlong carried he-was
 consulatum adpetere non audebat. etiam tum alios magistratus
the-consulship to-seek not he-dared even then other magistracies
 plebs, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat.
the-plebs the-consulship the-nobility among themselves by hands passed

novos nemo tam clarus neque tam egregiis factis erat,
new-man no-one so famous nor so by-outstanding deeds was
 quin indignus illo honore et is quasi pollutus haberetur.
that-not unworthy of-that honor and he as-if polluted should-be-held
 Igitur ubi Marius haruspices dicta eodem intendere
therefore when Marius of-the-soothsayer the-words to-the-same-place to-point
 videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi
he-sees where the-desire of-(his)-mind was-urging from Metellus of-seeking
 gratia missionem rogat. quoi quamquam virtus, gloria atque
for-the-sake discharge he-asks to-whom although virtue glory and
 alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat
other things-to-be-wished for-the-good abounded nevertheless there-was-in-him
 contemptor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum.
a-disdainful spirit and arrogance the-common of-the-nobility evil
 itaque primum conmotus insolita re mirari eius consilium
and-so at-first disturbed by-unusual thing he-wondered-at his plan
 et quasi per amicitiam monere, ne tam prava inciperet
and as-if in friendship he-warned that-not such perverse-things he-should-begin
 neu super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus
nor above (his)-fortune a-mind he-should-carry not all-things by-all
 cupiunda esse, debere illi res suas satis placere; postremo
to-be-desired to-be ought to-him things his-own enough to-please finally
 caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi iure
he-should-beware that to-seek from the-people Roman which to-him by-right
 negaretur. postquam haec atque alia talia dixit neque animus
would-be-denied after these and other such he-said nor the-mind
 Mari flectitur, respondit, ubi primum potuisset per negotia
of-Marius is-bent he-replied when first he-could through business
 publica, facturum sese quae peteret. ac postea saepius
public he-would-do himself what-things he-asked and afterward more-often
 eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, ne festinaret
the-same-things to-him-demanding he-is-said to-have-said that-not he-should-hurry

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abire: satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum
to-go-away enough soon him with son his-own the-consulship
 petiturum. is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem
would-see be at-that time in-the-tent-company of-(his)-father there
 militabat, annos natus circiter viginti. quae res Marium quom
was-serving years born about twenty which thing Marius both
 pro honore, quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer
for the-honor which he-aimed-at and against Metellus violently
 accenderat. ita cupidine atque ira, pessumis consultoribus,
had-inflamed so by-desire and anger worst advisers
 grassari; neque facto ullo neque dicto abstinere, quod modo
he-pressed-on nor from-deed any nor from-word he-refrained which only
 ambitiosum foret; milites, quibus in hibernis praeerat,
courting-favor would-be the-soldiers whom in winter-quarters he-commanded
 laxiore imperio quam antea habere; apud negotiatores,
with-looser command than before he-held among the-traders
 quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, criminose simul
of-whom a-great multitude at-Utica was abusively at-the-same-time
 et magnifice de bello loqui: dimidia pars exercitus si sibi
and boastfully about the-war he-spoke half part of-the-army if to-him
 permetteretur, paucis diebus Iugurtham in catenis habiturum;
it-were-entrusted in-few days Jugurtha in chains he-would-hold
 ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis et
by the-general deliberately it-was-dragged-out because a-man vain and
 regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet. quae omnia illis
of-kingly arrogance in-command too-much delighted which-things all to-them
 eo firmiora videbantur, quia diuturnitate belli res
the more-convincing seemed because by-the-length of-the-war the-property
 familiaris corruperant et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.
household they-had-ruined and to-a-mind desiring nothing enough is-hurried

Erat praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam nomine 65
there-was besides in army our a-Numidian certain by-name
 Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissae nepos, quem Micipsa
Gauda of-Mastanabal son of-Masinissa grandson whom Micipsa
 testamento secundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus
in-(his)-will second heir had-written by-diseases worn-out
 et ob eam causam mente paulum inminuta. quoi
and on-account-of that reason in-mind somewhat impaired to-whom
 Metellus petenti, more regum ut sellam iuxta poneret,
Metellus seeking by-the-custom of-kings that a-seat beside he-should-place
 item postea custodiae causa turmam equitum Romanorum,
likewise afterward of-guard for-the-sake a-troop of-cavalry Roman
 utrumque negaverat: honorem, quod eorum modo foret,
each he-had-refused honor because of-those only it-would-be
 quos populus Romanus reges appellavisset; praesidium, quod
whom the-people Roman kings had-called the-guard because
 contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites
insulting to them it-would-be if cavalry Roman as-attendants
 Numidae traderentur. hunc Marius anxium aggreditur
to-a-Numidian were-banded-over him Marius anxious approaches
 atque hortatur, ut contumeliarum in imperatorem cum
and urges that for-the-insults against the-general with
 suo auxilio poenas petat. hominem ob morbos
his-own help punishment he-should-seek the-man on-account-of diseases
 animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: illum regem,
in-mind too-little strong with-flattering speech he-exalts him a-king
 ingentem virum, Masinissae nepotem esse; si Iugurtha captus
a-huge man of-Masinissa grandson to-be if Iugurtha captured
 aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum;
or killed should-be the-rule of-Numidia without delay he-would-hold
 id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum
that indeed soon could happen if himself consul to that war

missus foret. itaque et illum et equites Romanos, milites
sent should-be and-so both him and the-knights Roman soldiers
 et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque pacis spes inpellit, uti
and traders others himself most of-peace the-hope drives that
 Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello
to-Rome to their connections harshly against Metellus about the-war
 scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. sic illi a
they-should-write Marius as-general they-should-demand thus for-him by
 multis mortalibus honestissima suffragatione consulatus
many mortals with-the-most-honorable support the-consulship
 petebatur. simul ea tempestate plebs nobilitate fusa per
was-sought at-the-same-time at-that time the-plebs the-nobility routed by
 legem Mamiliam novos extollebat. ita Mario cuncta procedere.
the-law Mamilian new-men was-exalting so for-Marius all-things went-forward

XVIII · VAGA

Jugurtha rearms and works by fear and bribes on the towns that had deserted him. At Vaga the leading men conspire, and on a festival day they invite the Roman officers to their homes and kill them all except Turpilius, the prefect. The townsmen then attack the unarmed Roman soldiers, and Turpilius alone escapes. Metellus marches through the night to avenge them. The townsmen take his army for Jugurtha's and come out to meet it, and the city is destroyed. Turpilius, unable to clear himself, is flogged and executed.

- 66 Interim Iugurtha, postquam omissa deditione bellum incipit,
meanwhile Jugurtha after abandoned the-surrender war he-begins
 cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare: cogere exercitum;
with great care prepared all-things hastened gathered an-army
 civitatis, quae ab se defecerant, formidine aut ostentando
the-cities which from him had-revolted by-fear or by-displaying

praemia adfectare; communire suos locos, arma tela
rewards courted fortified his-own places arms weapons
 aliaque, quae spe pacis amiserat, reficere aut conmercari;
and-other-things which in-hope of-peace he-had-lost repaired or bought
 servitia Romanorum adlicere et eos ipsos, qui in praesidiis
the-slaves of-the-Romans enticed and those very-men who in the-garrisons
 erant, pecunia temptare; prorsus nihil intactum neque quietum
were with-money tempted in-short nothing untouched nor quiet
 pati, cuncta agitare. igitur Vagenses, quo Metellus initio
allowed all-things stirred therefore the-Vagenses where Metellus at-the-start
 Iugurtha pacificante praesidium imposuerat, fatigati regis
Jugurtha making-peace a-garrison had-placed wearied of-the-king
 supplicii neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis
by-entreaties nor before in-will estranged the-leading-men of-the-city
 inter se coniurant. nam volgus, uti plerumque
among themselves conspire for the-common-people as generally
 solet et maxume Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum
is-wont and most-of-all of-Numidians of-nature fickle seditious
 atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et
and quarrelsome was desirous of-new things to-quiet and
 otio adversum. dein conpositis inter se rebus in
to-leisure opposed then arranged among themselves the-matters for
 diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebratusque per
day the-third they-fix because it festive and-celebrated through
 omnem Africam ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem
all Africa play and wantonness more than fear
 ostentabat. sed ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque
displayed but when the-time was the-centurions and-the-tribunes
 militaris et ipsum praefectum oppidi T. Turpilius
military and the-very prefect of-the-town Titus Turpilius
 Silanum alius alium domos suas invitant. eos omnis
Silanus one another to-homes their-own they-invite them all

praeter Turpiliū inter epulas obtruncant, postea milites
except Turpilius amid the-feast they-cut-down afterward the-soldiers
 palantis inermos, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio,
wandering unarmed inasmuch-as on such a-day and without command
 aggrediuntur. idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate,
they-attack the-same the-plebs does part instructed by the-nobility
 alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis acta consiliumque
others by-zeal of-such things stirred to-whom the-deeds and-the-plan
 ignorantibus tumultus ipse et res novae satis placebant.
not-knowing the-tumult itself and things new enough pleased

- 67 Romani milites, inproviso metu incerti ignarique, quid
the-Roman soldiers by-unforeseen fear uncertain and-ignorant what
 potissimum facerent, trepidare. arcem oppidi, ubi signa
above-all they-should-do trembled the-citadel of-the-town where the-standards
 et scuta erant, praesidium hostium obsidebat; portae ante
and shields were a-guard of-the-enemy occupied the-gates before
 clausae fugam prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique pro
shut flight prevented to this the-women and-children from
 tectis aedificiorum saxa et alia, quae locus praebebat,
the-roofs of-the-buildings stones and other-things which the-place offered
 certatim mittere. ita neque caveri anceps malum
eagerly threw so neither to-be-guarded-against the-double evil
 neque a fortissimis infirmis generi resisti posse:
nor by the-bravest to-the-weakest sex to-be-resisted could
 iuxta boni malique, strenui et inbelles inulti obtruncari.
alike good and-bad the-vigorous and the-unwarlike unavenged were-cut-down
 in ea tanta asperitate saevissimis Numidis et oppido
in that so-great harshness the-most-savage Numidians and the-town
 undique clauso Turpilius praefectus unus ex omnibus
on-all-sides shut Turpilius the-prefect alone out-of all
 Italicis intactus profugit. id misericordiane hospitis an
the-Italians unarmed fled-away that whether-by-pity of-(his)-host or

pactione aut casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus, nisi,
by-bargain or by-chance so happened too-little we-have-found-out except
 quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita integra fama
that to-him in so-great an-evil a-shameful life than-unblemished reputation
 potior fuit, inprobis intestabilisque videtur.

preferable was vile and-accursed he-seems

Metellus postquam de rebus Vagae actis comperit

68

Metellus after about the-things at-Vaga done he-learned

paulisper maestus ex conspectu abit. deinde ubi ira

for-a-little-while grieving from sight goes-off then when anger

et aegritudo permixta sunt, cum maxuma cura ultum ire

and grief mingled were with the-greatest care to-avenge to-go

iniurias festinat. legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et quam

the-wrongs he-hastens the-legion with which he-was-wintering and as

plurimos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu

many-as-possible he-can Numidian cavalry equally with the-setting

solis expeditos educit et postera die circiter hora tertia

of-the-sun light-armed he-leads-out and on-the-next day about the-hour third

pervenit in quandam planitiem locis paulo superioribus

he-arrives into a-certain plain by-places a-little higher

circumventam. ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine et

surrounded there the-soldiers tired of-the-march by-the-length and

iam abnuentis omnia docet oppidum Vagam non amplius

already refusing all-things he-instructs the-town Vaga not more

mille passuum abesse, decere illos reliquom laborem aequo

thousand of-paces to-be-distant it-befitted them the-remaining toil with-even

animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis atque

mind to-endure while for citizens their-own men bravest and

miserrimis, poenas caperent; praeterea praedam benigne

most-wretched punishment they-should-take besides the-plunder generously

ostentat. sic animis eorum adrectis equites in primo late,
he-displays so the-spirits of-them roused the-cavalry in the-front widely
 pedites quam artissime ire et signa occultare iubet.
the-infantry as closely-as-possible to-go and the-standards to-hide he-orders

- 69 Vagenses ubi animum advortere ad se vorsum exercitum
the-Vagenses when the-mind they-turned to them toward an-army
 pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum esse rati portas
to-advance at-first as was the-thing Metellus to-be thinking the-gates
 clausere; deinde ubi neque agros vastari et eos, qui
they-sbut then when neither the-fields to-be-laid-waste and those who
 primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Iugurtham
first were-present Numidian cavalry they-see again Jugurtha
 arbitrati cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. equites
thinking with great joy to-meet-them they-go-forth the-cavalry
 peditesque repente signo dato alii vulgum effusum
and-infantry suddenly the-signal given some the-common-people poured-out
 oppido caedere, alii ad portas festinare, pars turris capere:
from-the-town cut-down others to the-gates hastened part the-towers seized
 ira atque praedae spes amplius quam lassitudo posse. ita
anger and of-plunder hope more than weariness had-power so
 Vagenses biduom modo ex perfidia laetati; civitas magna
the-Vagenses two-days only from treachery rejoiced a-city great
 et opulens cuncta poenae aut praedae fuit. Turpilius,
and wealthy whole for-punishment or for-plunder was Turpilius
 quem praefectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse
whom the-prefect of-the-town alone out-of all to-have-fled-away
 supra ostendimus, iussus a Metello causam dicere, postquam
above we-showed ordered by Metellus (his)-case to-plead after
 sese parum expurgat, condemnatus verberatusque capite
himself too-little he-clears condemned and-flogged with-(his)-head
 poenas solvit; nam is civis ex Latio erat.
the-penalty paid for he a-citizen from Latium was

Bomilcar, suspected by the king, plots against him with Nabdalsa, a Numidian noble who often commands apart from the king. When Nabdalsa hesitates, Bomilcar writes reproaching his cowardice. The letter is found, while he sleeps, by the Numidian who manages his affairs, and taken to Jugurtha. Nabdalsa, unable to catch the informer, goes to the king himself and pleads. Jugurtha kills Bomilcar and many others. From then on he trusts no one and rests neither day nor night.

Per idem tempus Bomilcar, quouis impulsu Iugurtha 70
during the-same time Bomilcar by-whose urging Jugurtha
 deditionem, quam metu deservit, inceperat, suspectus regi
the-surrender which from-fear he-abandoned had-begun suspected by-the-king
 et ipse eum suspiciens novas res cupere, ad perniciem
and himself him suspecting new things desired for the-ruin
 eius dolum quaerere, die noctuque fatigare animum.
of-him a-trick sought by-day and-by-night wearied (his)-mind
 denique omnia temptando socium sibi adiungit Nabdalsam.
finally all-things by-trying as-ally to-himself he-joins Nabdalsa
 hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, clarum acceptumque
a-man noble of-great wealth famous and-welcome
 popularibus suis, qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum
to-countrymen his-own who generally separately from the-king an-army
 ductare et omnis res exequi solitus erat, quae Iugurthae
to-lead and all things to-carry-out accustomed was which to-Jugurtha
 fesso aut maioribus adstricto superaverant ex quo illi
tired or by-greater-things bound had-been-left-over from which for-him
 gloria opesque inventae. igitur utriusque consilio dies
glory and-wealth were-found therefore of-both by-the-plan a-day
 insidiis statuitur; cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore
for-the-ambush is-fixed the-rest as the-thing should-demand on the-spot
 parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem
to-be-prepared it-was-decided Nabdalsa to the-army set-out which

inter hiberna Romanorum iussus habebat, ne ager
among the-winter-quarters of-the-Romans ordered he-kept lest the-land
 inultis hostibus vastaretur. is postquam magnitudine
with-unpunished enemies should-be-laid-waste he after by-the-greatness
 facinoris percussus ad tempus non venit metusque rem
of-the-deed struck at the-time not came and-fear the-thing
 impediēbat, Bomilcar, simul cupidus incepta patrāndi
was-hindering Bomilcar at-once eager the-undertakings of-accomplishing
 et timore soci anxius, ne omisso vetere consilio novom
and by-fear of-(his)-ally anxious lest abandoned the-old plan a-new-one
 quaereret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, in quis
he-should-seek a-letter to him through men trusty sends in which
 mollitiā socordiamque viri accusare, testari deos,
the-softness and-sloth of-the-man accused called-to-witness the-gods
 per quos iuravisset, monere, ne praemia Metelli in pestem
by whom he-had-sworn warned lest the-rewards of-Metellus into ruin
 converteret: Iugurthae exitium adesse, ceterum suane
he-should-turn for-Iugurtha destruction to-be-at-hand but whether-by-his-own
 an Metelli virtute periret, id modo agitari; proinde
or of-Metellus by-virtue he-should-perish that only to-be-debated accordingly
 reputaret cum animo suo, praemia an cruciatum mallet.
he-should-consider with mind his-own rewards or torture he-preferred
 71 Sed quom eae litterae adlatae, forte Nabdalsa exercito
but when that letter brought by-chance Nabdalsa with-exercised
 corpore fessus in lecto quiescebat, ubi cognitis Bomilcaris
body tired on a-couch was-resting when learned of-Bomilcar
 verbis primo cura, deinde, uti aegrum animum solet, somnus
the-words at-first anxiety then as a-sick mind is-wont sleep
 cepit. erat ei Numida quidam negotiorum curator, fidus
seized there-was to-him a-Numidian certain of-business manager trusty
 acceptusque et omnium consiliorum nisi novissumi particeps.
and-welcome and of-all plans except the-latest sharer

qui postquam adlatas litteras audivit et ex consuetudine ratus
who after brought the-letter he-heard and from habit thinking
 opera aut ingenio suo opus esse in tabernaculum introiit,
of-service or of-talent his-own need to-be into the-tent entered
 dormiente illo epistulam super caput in pulvino temere
sleeping him the-letter above (his)-head on the-pillow carelessly
 positam sumit ac perlegit, dein propere cognitis insidiis
placed he-takes and reads-through then quickly learned the-plot
 ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa paulo post experrectus ubi neque
to the-king he-goes Nabdalsa a-little after awakened when neither
 epistulam repperit et rem omnem, uti acta erat, cognovit,
the-letter he-found and the-thing whole as done it-was he-learned
 primo indicem persequi conatus, postquam id frustra fuit,
at-first the-informer to-pursue having-tried after that in-vain was
 Iugurtham placandi gratia adcedit; dicit, quae ipse
Jugurtha of-appeasing for-the-sake he-approaches he-says what-things he-himself
 paravisset facere, perfidia clientis sui praeventa;
had-prepared to-do by-the-treachery of-client his-own to-have-been-forestalled
 lacrumans obtestatur per amicitiam perque sua antea fideliter
weeping he-implores by friendship and-by his-own before faithfully
 acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet.
done-deeds that-not over such a-crime suspected himself he-should-bold
 Ad ea rex, aliter atque animo gerebat, placide 72
to those-things the-king otherwise than in-mind he-bore calmly
 respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum
replied Bomilcar and-others many whom as-allies of-the-plot
 cognoverat, interfectis iram oppresserat, ne qua ex eo
he-had-learned killed (his)-anger he-had-suppressed lest any from that
 negotio seditio oreretur. neque post id locorum Iugurthae
business sedition should-arise nor after that of-places for-jugurtha
 dies aut nox ulla qujeta fuit: neque loco neque mortali
a-day or night any quiet was nor to-place nor to-mortal

quoiquam aut tempori satis credere, civis hostisque iuxta
 any or to-time enough he-trusted citizens and-enemies alike
 metuere, circumspectare omnia et omni strepitu pavescere,
 he-feared he-looked-around-at all-things and at-every noise he-trembled
 alio atque alio loco, saepe contra decus regium, noctu
 in-one and in-another place often against the-dignity royal by-night
 requiescere, interdum somno excitus arreptis armis tumultum
 he-rested sometimes from-sleep roused seized arms a-tumult
 facere: ita formidine quasi vecordia exagitari.
 he-made so by-terror as-if by-madness he-was-driven

XX • THE CONSULSHIP OF MARIUS, AND THALA

Metellus lets Marius go home. At Rome the plebs, stirred by seditious magistrates, elect Marius consul, and the people vote him the war; a sentence of the text is lost here. Jugurtha, friendless and uncertain, is defeated again. He flees to Thala, a town across fifty miles of desert. Metellus crosses the desert with water carried on pack animals and cattle, and so great a rain is said to fall at his camp that the army has water to spare. Jugurtha, believing nothing impossible for Metellus, escapes from Thala by night with his children and much of his money. Metellus takes the town after forty days, but the deserters burn the palace and themselves.

- 73 Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio
 therefore Metellus when about the-fate of-Bomilcar and the-information
 patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus tamquam ad integrum
 disclosed from deserters he-learned again as-if for a-fresh
 bellum cuncta parat festinatque. Marium fatigantem de
 war all-things he-prepares and-hastens Marius pestering about
 profectione, simul et invitum et offensum sibi parum
 (his)-departure at-once both unwilling and hostile to-himself too-little
 idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. et Romae plebes litteris,
 suitable thinking home he-sends-off and at-Rome the-plebs the-letters

quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitae volenti
which about Metellus and Marius sent had-been learned with-willing
 animo de ambobus acceperant. imperatori nobilitas, quae
mind about both had-received for-the-general (his)-nobility which
 antea decori fuit, invidiae esse; at illi alteri generis
before an-honor was a-reproach was but for-that other of-birth
 humilitas favorem addiderat. ceterum in utroque magis studia
the-lowliness favor had-added but in each more the-zeal
 partium quam bona aut mala sua moderata. praeterea
of-parties than the-good or bad-qualities his-own swayed besides
 seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus
seditions magistrates the-common-people stirred-up Metellus in-all
 contionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in maius
assemblies on-a-capital-charge they-arraigned of-Marius the-virtue into greater
 celebrare. denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque
they-celebrated finally the-plebs so inflamed that craftsmen and-farmers
 omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant, relictis
all whose property and-credit in (their)-hands placed were abandoned
 operibus frequentarent Marium et sua necessaria post
(their)-work thronged-round Marius and their-own necessities after
 illius honorem ducerent. ita perculsa nobilitate post multas
his honor put so struck the-nobility after many
 tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur. et postea
storms to-a-new man the-consulship is-entrusted and afterward
 populus a tribuno plebis T. Manlio Mancino rogatus,
the-people by the-tribune of-the-plebs Titus Manlius Mancinus asked
 quem vellet cum Iugurtha bellum gerere, frequens Marium
whom they-wished with Jugurtha war to-wage in-full-assembly Marius
 iussit. sed paulo *** decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.
voted-for but a-little (lacuna) had-decreed that thing in-vain was

- 74 Eodem tempore Iugurtha amissis amicis, quorum plerosque
at-the-same time Iugurtha lost (his)-friends of-whom most
 ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine pars ad Romanos, alii
he-himself had-killed the-rest from-terror part to the-Romans others
 ad regem Bocchum profugerant, quom neque bellum
to king Bocchus had-fled since neither war
 geri sine administris posset et novorum fidem in
to-be-waged without helpers could and of-new-men the-good-faith amid
 tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius
such-great treachery of-the-old to-test dangerous he-thought changeable
 incertusque agitabat. neque illi res neque consilium aut
and-uncertain he-acted nor to-him thing nor plan or
 quisquam hominum satis placebat: itinera praefectosque in
anyone of-men enough was-pleasing routes and-officers by
 dies mutare; modo advorsum hostis, interdum in solitudines
the-day he-changed now against the-enemy at-times into the-deserts
 pergere; saepe in fuga ac post paulo in armis spem habere;
he-went often in flight and after a-little in arms hope he-had
 dubitare, virtuti an fidei popularium minus crederet: ita
he-doubted the-virtue or the-loyalty of-(his)-countrymen less he-should-trust so
 quocumque intenderat, res advorsae erant. sed inter eas moras
wherever he-had-turned things adverse were but amid those delays
 repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidae ab
suddenly himself Metellus with (his)-army shows the-Numidians by
 Iugurtha pro tempore parati instructique, dein proelium
Iugurtha according-to the-time prepared and-drawn-up then the-battle
 incipitur. qua in parte rex pugnae adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu
is-begun what in part the-king at-the-battle was-present there for-some-time
 certatum, ceteri eius omnes milites primo congressu pulsi
it-was-fought the-rest his all soldiers at-the-first encounter driven-back
 fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero,
and-routed the-Romans of-standards and of-arms a-considerable number

hostium paucorum potiti; nam ferme Numidis in
of-enemies few took-possession for generally to-the-Numidians in

omnibus proeliis magis pedes quam arma tuta sunt.

all battles more the-feet than arms safe are

Ea fuga Iugurtha impensius modo rebus suis diffidens 75

by-that flight Jugurtha more-heavily than-measure in-affairs his-own distrusting

cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam

with the-deserters and part of-the-cavalry into the-deserts then to-Thala

pervenit, in oppidum magnum atque opulentum, ubi plerique

came to a-town great and wealthy where most

thesauri filiorumque eius multus pueritiae cultus erat. quae

treasures and-of-the-sons his much of-childhood equipment was which

postquam Metello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam

after to-Metellus discovered were although between Thala

flumenque proximum in spatio milium quinquaginta loca arida

and-the-river nearest in a-space of-miles fifty places dry

atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen spe patrandi belli, si

and waste to-be he-had-learned nevertheless in-the-hope of-finishing the-war if

eius oppidi potitus foret, omnis asperitates supervadere ac

of-that town possessed he-should-be all difficulties to-overcome and

naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. igitur omnia iumenta

nature even to-conquer he-attempts therefore all the-pack-animals

sarcinis levare iubet nisi frumento dierum decem,

of-baggage to-be-lightened he-orders except of-grain for-days ten

ceterum utris modo et alia aquae idonea portare.

but water-skins only and other-things for-water suitable to-be-carried

praeterea conquirat ex agris quam plurimum potest domiti

besides he-gathers from the-fields as most he-can of-tame

pecoris eoque inponit vasa quousque modi, sed pleraque

cattle and-on-them he-places vessels of-every kind but most

ligna collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum; ad hoc finitumis

wooden collected from the-huts of-the-Numidians to this to-the-neighbors

imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant,
he-orders who themselves after of-the-king the-flight to-Metellus had-surrendered
 quam plurimum quisque aquae portaret; diem locumque, ubi
as much-as-possible each of-water should-carry the-day and-the-place where
 praesto forent, praedicat; ipse ex flumine, quam proximum
at-hand they-should-be he-announces himself from the-river which nearest
 oppido aquam esse supra diximus, iumenta onerat: eo
to-the-town water to-be above we-said the-pack-animals he-loads in-that
 modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. deinde ubi ad id
way equipped to Thala he-sets-out then when to that
 loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et castra posita
of-place it-was-come whither to-the-Numidians he-had-instructed and the-camp pitched
 munitaque sunt, tanta repente caelo missa vis aquae
and-fortified were so-great suddenly from-the-sky sent a-quantity of-water
 dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. praeterea
is-said that it only for-the-army enough and-more would-be besides
 commeatus spe amplior, quia Numidae, sicuti plerique
the-provisions beyond-hope more-ample because the-Numidians like most
 in nova deditione, officia intenderant. ceterum milites
in new surrender (their)-duties had-strained but the-soldiers
 religione pluvia magis usi, eaque res multum animis
by-religion of-the-rain more used and-that thing much to-the-spirits
 eorum addidit, nam rati sese dis immortalibus curae
of-them added for thinking themselves to-the-gods immortal a-care
 esse. deinde postero die contra opinionem Iugurthae ad
to-be then on-the-next day against the-expectation of-Iugurtha to
 Thalam perveniunt. oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate
Thala they-arrive the-townsmen who themselves of-the-places by-the-harshness
 munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re perculsi,
protected had-believed by-a-great and unusual thing struck
 nihilo segnius bellum parare; idem nostri facere.
by-nothing more-slackly war prepared the-same-things ours did

Sed rex, nihil iam infectum Metello credens, quippe qui 76
but the-king nothing now impossible for-Metellus believing inasmuch-as who
 omnia, arma tela, locos tempora, denique naturam ipsam
all arms weapons places times finally nature herself
 ceteris imperitantem industria vicerat, cum liberis et
the-others commanding by-industry had-conquered with (his)-children and
 magna parte pecuniae ex oppido noctu profugit. neque
a-great part of-(his)-money from the-town by-night fled nor
 postea in ullo loco amplius uno die aut una nocte
afterward in any place more than-one day or one night
 moratus, simulabat sese negoti gratia properare, ceterum
having-stayed he-pretended himself of-business for-the-sake to-hurry but
 prodicionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat:
treachery he-feared which to-avoid to-be-able by-speed he-thought
 nam talia consilia per otium et ex opportunitate capi. at
for such plans by leisure and from opportunity to-be-formed but
 Metellus, ubi oppidanos proelio intentos, simul oppidum
Metellus when the-townsmen for-battle intent at-the-same-time the-town
 et operibus et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque
both by-works and by-position fortified sees with-a-rampart and-ditch
 moenia circumvenit. dein duobus locis ex copia maxime
the-walls he-surrounds then in-two places from the-supply most
 idoneis vineas agere, aggerem iacere et super aggerem
suitable the-sheds he-moved-up a-mound he-threw-up and on the-mound
 inpositis turribus opus et administros tutari; contra haec
placed towers the-work and the-workers he-protected against these-things
 oppidani festinare, parare; prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquom
the-townsmen hastened prepared in-short by both-sides nothing left-over
 fieri. denique Romani, multo ante labore proeliisque fatigati,
was-done finally the-Romans by-much before toil and-battles wearied
 post dies quadraginta quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo
after days forty than there come it-had-been of-the-town only

potiti; praeda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. ii postquam
took-possession the-plunder all by the-deserters destroyed they after
 murum arietibus feriri resque suas adflictas vident, aurum
the-wall by-rams to-be-struck and-affairs their-own ruined they-see the-gold
 atque argentum et alia, quae prima ducuntur, domum
and silver and other-things which first are-reckoned to-the-house
 regiam conportant. ibi vino et epulis onerati illaque
royal they-carry there with-wine and feasting loaded and-those-things
 et domum et semet igni corrumpunt, et, quas victi ab
and the-house and themselves by-fire they-destroy and what conquered from
 hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pendere.
the-enemies punishments they-had-feared those themselves willingly they-paid

XXI • LEPTIS AND THE PHILAENI

Envoys from Leptis ask Metellus for a garrison against Hamilcar, a noble who is stirring up revolt, and he sends four cohorts. Leptis was founded by Sidonians and lies between the two Syrtes, gulfs named from the dragging of their sands by the waves. Sallust tells of the brothers Philaeni. Carthage and Cyrene agreed that envoys should set out from each city on a fixed day and that their meeting place would be the boundary. Accused of starting early, the Philaeni chose to be buried alive there, and Carthage raised altars to them.

- 77 Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepci
but at-the-same-time with captured Thala envoys from the-town Leptis
 ad Metellum venerant orantes, uti praesidium praefectumque
to Metellus had-come begging that a-garrison and-prefect
 eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quendam, hominem nobilem
there he-should-send Hamilcar a-certain man noble
 factiosum, novis rebus studere, advorsum quem neque
factionous for-new things to-be-eager against whom neither

imperia magistratuum neque leges valerent; ni id
the-commands of-the-magistrates nor the-laws had-power unless that
 festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios
he-hastened in the-greatest danger their-own safety of-them the-allies
 fore. nam Lepcitani iam inde a principio belli
would-be for the-Lepcitani already thence from the-beginning of-the-war
 Iugurthini ad Bestiam consulem et postea Romam miserant
Jugurthine to Bestia the-consul and afterward to-Rome had-sent
 amicitiam societatemque rogatum. deinde ubi ea impetrata,
friendship and-alliance to-ask then when that obtained
 semper boni fidelesque mansere et cuncta a Bestia, Albino
always good and-loyal they-remained and all-things by Bestia Albinus
 Metelloque imperata nave fecerant. itaque ab imperatore
and-Metellus ordered diligently they-had-done and-so from the-general
 facile quae petebant adepti. emissae eo cohortes Ligurum
easily what-things they-sought obtained were-sent there cohorts of-Ligurians
 quattuor et C. Annius praefectus.
four and Gaius Annius as-prefect

Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est, quos accepimus profugos 78
that town by the-Sidonians founded was whom we-have-heard as-fugitives
 ob discordias civilis navibus in eos locos venisse,
on-account-of discords civil in-ships into those places to-have-come
 ceterum situm inter duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex re
but it-is-situated between the-two Syrtes to-which the-name from the-thing
 inditum. nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa, in pares
was-given for two there-are gulfs almost in farthest Africa unequal
 magnitudine, pari natura; quorum proxuma terrae praealta
in-size of-equal nature of-which the-nearest to-the-land very-deep
 sunt, cetera uti fors tulit alta alia, alia vadosa. nam ubi mare
are the-rest as chance brought deep some others shoal for when the-sea
 magnum esse et saevire ventis coepit, limum harenamque
great to-be and to-rage with-the-winds has-begun mud and-sand

et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum
and rocks huge the-waves drag so the-appearance of-the-places with
 ventis simul mutatur. Syrtes ab tractu nominatae. eius
the-winds at-once changes the-Syrtes from the-dragging were-named of-that
 civitatis lingua modo convorsa conubio Numidarum,
city the-language only was-changed by-intermarriage of-the-Numidians
 legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica; quae eo facilius retinebant,
of-laws and-of-culture most Sidonian which the more-easily they-kept
 quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant. inter illos
because far from the-rule of-the-king (their)-life they-spent between them
 et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.
and populous Numidia many and-waste places were

- 79 Sed quoniam in eas regiones per Lepcitanorum negotia
but since into these regions through of-the-Lepcitani the-affairs
 venimus, non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile
we-have-come not unworthy it-seems an-outstanding and wonderful
 facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare; eam rem nos
deed of-two Carthaginians to-relate that thing us
 locus admonuit. qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraque
the-place has-reminded at-what time the-Carthaginians most-of
 Africa imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti
Africa ruled the-Cyrenians also great and wealthy
 fuere. ager in medio harenosus, una specie; neque flumen
were the-land in the-middle sandy of-one appearance neither river
 neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret.
nor mountain there-was which the-boundaries of-them should-divide
 quae res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se
which thing them in great and-long war among themselves
 habuit postquam utrimque legiones, item classes saepe fusae
beld after on-both-sides the-legions likewise the-fleets often routed
 fugataeque et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant, veriti, ne
and-put-to-flight and the-one the-others somewhat had-worn-down fearing lest

mox victos victoresque defessos alius aggredieretur, per
soon the-conquered and-the-conquerors tired another should-attack through
 indutias sponsionem faciunt, uti certo die legati domo
a-truce an-agreement they-make that on-a-fixed day envoys from-home
 proficiscerentur: quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent,
should-set-out what in place among themselves meeting they-should-have-been
 is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur. igitur
that the-common of-each people boundary should-be-held therefore
 Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philaenis erat,
from-Carthage two brothers sent to-whom the-name Philaeni was
 maturavere iter pergere. Cyrenenses tardius iere. id
hastened the-journey to-press-on the-Cyrenians more-slowly went that
 socordiane an casu acciderit, parum cognovi. ceterum solet
whether-by-sloth or by-chance happened too-little I-have-learned but is-wont
 in illis locis tempestas haud secus atque in mari retinere.
in those places a-storm not otherwise than at sea to-hold-back
 nam ubi per loca aequalia et nuda gignentium ventus
for when over places level and bare of-growing-things a-wind
 coortus harenam humo excitavit, ea magna vi agitata
arising the-sand from-the-ground has-raised it with-great force driven
 ora oculosque implere solet: ita prospectu impedito morari
mouths and-eyes to-fill is-wont so the-view blocked to-delay
 iter. postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se esse
the-journey after the-Cyrenians somewhat later themselves to-be
 vident et ob rem corruptam domi poenas metuant,
they-see and on-account-of the-thing spoiled at-home punishments fear
 criminari Carthaginensis ante tempus domo digressos,
they-accused the-Carthaginians before the-time from-home to-have-departed
 conturbare rem, denique omnia malle quam victi
they-threw-into-confusion the-matter finally all-things they-preferred than conquered
 abire. sed quom Poeni aliam condicionem, tantummodo
to-go-away but when the-Carthaginians another condition only

aequam, peterent, Graeci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt,
fair sought the-Greeks the-choice of-the-Carthaginians give
 ut vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi
that either they whatever boundaries for-people their-own they-sought there alive
 obruerentur, vel eadem condicione sese quem in locum
should-be-buried or on-the-same condition themselves whatever in place
 vellent processuros. Philaeni condicione probata seque
they-wished would-advance the-Philaeni the-condition approved and-themselves
 vitamque suam rei publicae condonavere: ita vivi obruti.
and-life their-own to-the-thing public gave-up so alive buried
 Carthaginienses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus aras consecravere,
the-Carthaginians in that place to-the-Philaeni brothers altars consecrated
 aliique illis domi honores instituti. nunc ad rem redeo.
and-other to-them at-home honors were-instituted now to the-matter I-return

XXII · BOCCHUS JOINS JUGURTHA

Jugurtha trains the Gaetulians to fight in ranks. He wins over the friends of Bocchus, king of the Moors, who had married Jugurtha's daughter, and then the king himself, and the two kings join their armies and march on Cirta. Metellus no longer offers battle rashly or everywhere, but waits for the kings near Cirta. He learns that Numidia has been given to Marius, and his grief breaks out in tears and angry words. He sends envoys to Bocchus, urging him not to make war on Rome without cause, and lets the negotiations drag on.

- 80 Jugurtha postquam amissa Thala nihil satis firmum contra
Jugurtha after lost Thala nothing enough strong against
 Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus
Metellus he-thinks through great deserts with a-few having-set-out
 pervenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque et
he-arrives at the-Gaetulians a-race of-men wild and-uncivilized and

eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. eorum multitudinem
at-that time ignorant of-the-name Roman of-them the-multipitude
 in unum cogit ac paulatim consuefacit ordines habere,
into one he-gathers and gradually accustoms ranks to-keep
 signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria
the-standards to-follow command to-observe likewise other military-things
 facere. praeterea regis Bocchi proximos magnis muneribus
to-do besides of-king Bocchus the-intimates with-great gifts
 et maioribus promissis ad studium sui perducit, quis
and with-greater promises to zeal for-himself he-brings with-whom
 adiutoribus regem aggressus inpellit, uti advorsus Romanos
as-helpers the-king having-approached he-drives that against the-Romans
 bellum incipiat. id ea gratia facilius proniusque fuit,
war he-should-begin that for-that reason easier and-more-inclined was
 quod Bocchus initio huiusce belli legatos Romam miserat
because Bocchus at-the-beginning of-this war envoys to-Rome had-sent
 foedus et amicitiam petitur, quam rem opportunissimam
a-treaty and friendship to-seek which thing most-advantageous
 incepto bello pauci impediverant caeci avaritia, quis
for-the-undertaken war a-few had-hindered blinded by-avarice to-whom
 omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. et iam
all-things honorable and dishonorable to-sell the-custom was and already
 antea Iugurthae filia Boccho nupserat. verum ea necessitudo
before of-Jugurtha a-daughter to-Bocchus had-married but that tie
 apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur, quia singuli pro
among the-Numidians and-Moors light is-held because individuals according-to
 opibus quisque quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii pluri
wealth each as many-as-possible wives ten some others more
 habent, sed reges eo amplius. ita animus multitudine
have but the-kings so-much more so the-mind by-the-number
 distrahitur: nulla pro socia obtinet, pariter omnes viles sunt.
is-distracted none as a-partner holds equally all cheap are

- 81 Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt. ibi
therefore into a-place to-both agreed the-armies come-together there
 fide data et accepta Iugurtha Bocchi animum oratione
good-faith given and received Jugurtha of-Bocchus the-mind by-speech
 accendit: Romanos iniustos, profunda avaritia, communis
kindles the-Romans unjust of-bottomless avarice common
 omnium hostis esse; eandem illos causam belli cum Boccho
of-all enemies to-be the-same them cause of-war with Bocchus
 habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem
to-have as with-himself and with other nations the-lust
 imperitandi, quis omnia regna advorsa sint; tum sese, paulo
of-ruling to-whom all kingdoms hostile are then himself a-little
 ante Carthaginiensis, item regem Persen, post uti quisque
before the-Carthaginians likewise king Perses afterward as each
 opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore. his
most-wealthy should-seem so to-the-Romans an-enemy would-be by-these
 atque aliis talibus dictis ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt,
and other such words to Cirta the-town the-march they-fix
 quod ibi Q. Metellus praedam captivosque et impedimenta
because there Quintus Metellus the-plunder and-the-captives and the-baggage
 locaverat. ita Iugurtha ratus aut capta urbe operae pretium
had-placed so Jugurtha thinking either captured the-city of-the-work the-price
 fore aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, proelio sese
would-be or if the-Roman for-help to-his-own had-come in-battle themselves
 certaturos. nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem
would-fight for cunning that only he-hastened of-Bocchus the-peace
 inminuere, ne moras agitando aliud quam bellum mallet.
to-impair lest delays by-making another-thing than war he-should-prefer
- 82 Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere
the-general after about of-the-kings the-alliance he-learned not rashly
 neque, uti saepe iam victo Iugurtha consueverat, omnibus
nor as often already conquered Jugurtha he-had-been-accustomed in-all

locis pugnandi copiam facit. ceterum haud procul ab Cirta
places of-fighting the-opportunity he-gives but not far from Cirta
 castris munitis reges opperitur, melius esse ratus cognitis
with-the-camp fortified the-kings he-awaits better to-be thinking known
 Mauris, quoniam is novos hostis adcesserat, ex commodo
the-Moors since that new enemy had-come-in from advantage
 pugnam facere. interim Roma per litteras certior fit
battle to-make meanwhile from-Rome by letters informed he-is-made
 provinciam Numidiam Mario datam; nam consulem factum ante
the-province Numidia to-Marius given for consul made before
 acceperat. quibus rebus supra bonum aut honestum percussus
he-had-heard by-which things beyond good or honorable struck
 neque lacrimas tenere neque moderari linguam, vir egregius
neither tears he-held nor he-controlled (his)-tongue a-man outstanding
 in aliis artibus nimis molliter aegritudinem pati. quam rem
in other arts too softly (his)-grief bore which thing
 alii in superbiam vortebant, alii bonum ingenium contumelia
some into arrogance turned others a-good nature by-the-insult
 accensum esse, multi quod iam parta victoria ex manibus
inflamed to-be many because already won the-victory from (his)-hands
 eriperetur. nobis satis cognitum est illum magis honore Mari
was-snatched to-us enough known is him more by-the-honor of-Marius
 quam iniuria sua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum
than by-injury his-own tormented nor so anxiously about-to-bear
 fuisse, si adempta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur.
to-have-been if taken-away the-province to-another than to-Marius were-handed-over
 Igitur eo dolore impeditus et quia stultitiae videbatur
therefore by-that grief hindered and because of-folly it-seemed
 alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum
another's affair at-risk his-own to-manage envoys to Bocchus
 mittit postulatum, ne sine causa hostis populo
he-sends to-demand that-not without cause an-enemy to-the-people

Romano fieret: habere tum magnam copiam societatis
Roman he-should-become to-have then great opportunity of-alliance
 amicitiaeque coniungendae, quae potior bello esset, et,
and-friendship to-be-joined which preferable than-war would-be and
 quamquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non debere
although in-resources his-own he-trusted nevertheless not to-be-bound
 incerta pro certis mutare. omne bellum sumi
uncertain-things for certain-things to-exchange every war to-be-taken-up
 facile, ceterum aegerrume desinere; non in eiusdem
easily but with-the-greatest-difficulty to-cease not in the-same-man's
 potestate initium eius et finem esse; incipere quovis
power the-beginning of-it and the-end to-be to-begin for-anyone
 etiam ignavo licere, deponi quom victores velint.
even a-coward to-be-allowed to-be-laid-down when the-victors wish
 proinde sibi regnoque suo consuleret neu florentis res
accordingly for-himself and-kingdom his-own he-should-consult nor flourishing affairs
 suas cum Iugurthae perditis misceret. ad ea rex
his-own with of-Jugurtha the-ruined he-should-mix to those-things the-king
 satis placide verba facit: sese pacem cupere, sed Iugurthae
quite calmly words makes himself peace to-desire but of-jugurtha
 fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia
the-fortunes to-pity if the-same to-him opportunity should-be-made all-things
 conventura. rursus imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuntios
would-be-agreed again the-general in-reply-to the-demands of-Bocchus messengers
 mittit; ille probare partim, alia abnuere. eo modo saepe
sends he approved partly other-things refused in-that way often
 ab utroque missis remissisque nuntiis tempus procedere, et
by each sent and-sent-back messengers the-time went-on and
 ex Metelli voluntate bellum intactum trahi.
by of-Metellus the-wish the-war untouched was-dragged-out

Marius, consul, attacks the nobility and raises troops. He tells the people that they have entrusted the war to a new man, whose scars are his ancestral masks. Nobles read Greek manuals once elected and take an adviser from the people; he has learned by doing. His honors are won by his own toil, not inherited. He will share every danger with his men, and victory, plunder, and praise are ripe. He then enrolls the propertyless poor, sails to Utica, and takes over the army, while Metellus avoids meeting him.

At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissima plebe consul factus, 84
 but Marius as above we-said with-most-eager the-plebs consul made
 postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus iussit, antea iam
 after to-him the-province Numidia the-people ordered before already
 infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus atque ferox instare; singulos
 hostile to-the-nobility then indeed persistent and fierce assailed individuals
 modo, modo univorsos laedere; dictitare sese consulatum ex
 now now all-together he-attacked he-kept-saying himself the-consulship from
 victis illis spolia cepisse, alia praeterea magnifica pro
 conquered them as-spoils to-have-taken other-things besides boastful for
 se et illis dolentia. interim quae bello opus erant, prima
 himself and to-them painful meanwhile what-things for-war need were first
 habere: postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis
 he-held he-demanded for-the-legions a-supplement auxiliaries from peoples
 et regibus arcessere, praeterea ex Latio sociisque fortissimum
 and kings he-summoned besides from Latium and-the-allies the-bravest
 quemque, plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos, accire
 each most by-service a-few by-report known he-called-out
 et ambiundo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis secum
 and by-canvassing he-compelled men with-served-out campaigns with-him
 proficisci. neque illi senatus, quamquam advorsus erat, de
 to-set-out nor to-him the-senate although opposed it-was about

ullo negotio abnuere audebat. ceterum supplementum etiam
any business to-refuse dared but the-supplement even
 laetus decreverat, quia neque plebi militia volenti
gladly it-had-decreed because neither for-the-plebs military-service willing
 putabatur et Marius aut belli usum aut studia volgi
it-was-thought and Marius either of-war the-means or the-zeal of-the-common-people
 amissurus. sed ea res frustra sperata: tanta lubido cum
would-lose but that thing in-vain hoped so-great a-lust with
 Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. sese quisque praeda
Marius of-going most had-seized himself each with-plunder
 locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum, alia
rich would-be victor home to-be-going-to-return other-things
 huiusce modi animis trahebant, et eos non paulum
of-this sort in-(their)-minds they-turned-over and them not a-little
 oratione sua Marius adrexerat. nam postquam omnibus quae
by-speech his-own Marius had-roused for after all-things which
 postulaverat, decretis milites scribere volt, hortandi causa
he-had-demanded decreed soldiers to-enroll he-wishes of-exhorting for-the-sake
 simul et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi
at-the-same-time and the-nobility as he-had-been-accustomed of-harassing
 contionem populi advocavit. deinde hoc modo disseruit:
an-assembly of-the-people he-called then in-this way he-spoke
 85 'Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non isdem artibus imperium
I-know I Quirites most not by-the-same arts command
 a vobis petere et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primo
from you to-seek and after obtained they-have to-exercise at-first
 industrios supplices modicos esse, dein per ignaviam et
industrious suppliant modest to-be then in cowardice and
 superbiam aetatem agere. sed mihi contra ea videtur: nam
arrogance (their)-life to-pass but to-me against that it-seems for
 quo pluris est univrsa res publica quam consulatus
by-how-much more is-worth the-whole the-thing public than the-consulship

aut praetura, eo maiore cura illam administrari
or the-praetorship by-so-much with-greater care it to-be-administered
quam haec peti debere. neque me fallit, quantum cum
than these to-be-sought ought nor me escapes how-much with
maximo vostro beneficio negoti sustineam. bellum parare
greatest your favor of-business I-undertake war to-prepare
simul et aerario parcere, cogere ad militiam eos
at-the-same-time and the-treasury to-spare to-force to military-service those
quos nolis offendere, domi forisque omnia curare et
whom you-would-not-wish to-offend at-home and-abroad all-things to-manage and
ea agere inter invidos occurrentis factiosos opinione,
those-things to-do among the-envious obstructing factious than-expectation
Quirites, asperius est. ad hoc, alii si deliquere,
Quirites harsher it-is to this others if they-have-done-wrong
vetus nobilitas, maiorum fortia facta, cognatorum et
the-old nobility of-the-ancestors brave deeds of-kinsmen and
affinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia haec
of-relations-by-marriage the-wealth many clienteles all these-things
praesidio adsunt; mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas
for-protection are-present to-me hopes all in myself placed which
necesse est virtute et innocentia tutari; nam alia infirma
necessary it-is by-virtue and innocence to-protect for other-things weak
sunt. et illud intellego, Quirites, omnium ora in me
are and that I-understand Quirites of-all the-faces on me
convorsa esse, aequos bonosque favere — quippe mea bene
turned to-be the-fair and-good to-favor inasmuch-as my good
facta rei publicae procedunt —, nobilitatem locum
deeds to-the-thing public advance the-nobility an-opening
invadundi quaerere. quo mihi acrius aditundum est, uti
of-attacking to-seek by-which for-me more-keenly to-be-striven is that
neque vos capiamini et illi frustra sint. ita ad hoc aetatis
neither you may-be-deceived and they in-vain may-be so to this of-age

a pueritia fui, uti omnis labores et pericula consueta
from boyhood I-have-been that all labors and dangers familiar
 habeam. quae ante vostra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea
I-hold which before your favors free I-used-to-do these
 uti accepta mercede deseram, non est consilium, Quirites.
that received the-reward I-should-abandon not it-is (my)-plan Quirites
 illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per
for-them difficult it-is in offices to-be-moderate who through
 ambitionem sese probos simulavere; mihi, qui omnem
ambition themselves upright have-pretended for-me who all
 aetatem in optumis artibus egi, bene facere iam ex
(my)-life in the-best arts have-spent well to-do already from
 consuetudine in naturam vortit. bellum me gerere cum
habit into nature has-turned war me to-wage with
 Iugurtha iussistis, quam rem nobilitas aegerrume tulit.
Jugurtha you-have-ordered which thing the-nobility most-bitterly bore
 quaeso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutare melius
I-beg-you consider with minds your-own whether that to-change better
 sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc aut aliud
would-be if anyone from that clique of-the-nobility to this or other
 tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiae ac
such business you-should-send a-man of-old lineage and
 multarum imaginum et nullius stipendi: scilicet ut in tanta
of-many ancestral-masks and of-no campaign doubtless that in so-great
 re ignarus omnium trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem
an-affair ignorant of-all-things he-may-tremble may-hurry may-take someone
 ex populo monitorem officii sui. ita plerumque evenit, ut,
from the-people as-instructor of-duty his-own so generally it-turns-out that
 quem vos imperare iussistis, is sibi imperatorem alium
whom you to-command have-ordered he for-himself a-general another
 quaerat. atque ego scio, Quirites, qui, postquam consules
seeks and I know Quirites those-who after consuls

facti sunt, et acta maiorum et Graecorum militaria
made they-were both the-deeds of-the-ancestors and of-the-Greeks military
 praecepta legere coeperint: praeposteri homines, nam gerere
precepts to-read have-begun preposterous men for to-do
 quam fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu prius
than to-be-elected in-time later in-reality and in-practice earlier
 est. conparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me
is compare now Quirites with of-them the-arrogance me
 hominem novom. quae illi audire aut legere solent, eorum
a-man new what-things they to-hear or to-read are-wont of-those
 partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quae illi litteris,
part I-have-seen other-things I-myself have-done what-things they from-books
 ea ego militando didici. nunc vos existumate, facta
those-things I by-soldiering have-learned now you judge deeds
 an dicta pluris sint. contemnunt novitatem meam, ego
or words more-worth are they-despise newness my I
 illorum ignaviam; mihi fortuna, illis probra obiectantur.
their cowardice to-me fortune to-them disgraces are-cast-in-the-teeth
 quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium
although I nature one and common of-all
 existumo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum. ac si
consider but the-bravest each the-noblest and if
 iam ex patribus Albini aut Bestiae quaeri posset, mene an
now from the-fathers of-Albinus or of-Bestia to-be-asked it-could-be me or
 illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros
them from themselves to-be-begotten would-they-have-preferred what to-be-about-to-reply
 creditis nisi sese liberos quam optumos voluisse? quod
do-you-believe except themselves children as best to-have-wished but
 si iure me despiciunt, faciant item maioribus suis,
if by-right me they-despise let-them-do likewise to-ancestors their-own
 quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas coepit. invident honori
to-whom as to-me from virtue nobility began they-envy honor

meo: ergo inuideant labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam
my therefore let-them-envy toil integrity dangers also
 meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. verum homines
my since through these-things it I-took but men
 corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi vestros honores
corrupted by-arrogance so (their)-life spend as-if your honors
 contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. ne illi
they-despised so these they-seek as-if honorably they-had-lived truly they
 falsi sunt, qui divorsissimas res pariter expectant, ignaviae
deceived are who most-different things alike expect of-cowardice
 voluptatem et praemia virtutis. atque etiam, quod apud
pleasure and the-rewards of-virtue and even in-that before
 vos aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione maiores
you or in the-senate words they-make mostly in-speech ancestors
 suos extollunt: eorum fortia facta memorando clariores
their-own they-extol their brave deeds by-recalling more-famous
 sese putant. quod contra est. nam quanto vita illorum
themselves they-think which the-contrary is for by-how-much the-life of-those
 praeclarius, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior. et profecto
more-glorious by-so-much of-these the-sloth more-disgraceful and surely
 ita se res habet: maiorum gloria posteris quasi lumen
so itself the-thing has of-the-ancestors the-glory for-descendants as-if a-light
 est, neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur.
is nor good-things nor bad-things their in hiding it-allows
 huiusce rei ego inopiam fateor, Quirites, verum, id quod
of-this thing I the-lack I-confess Quirites but that which
 multo praeclarius est, meammet facta mihi dicere licet.
much more-glorious is my-own deeds for-me to-tell it-is-allowed
 nunc videte, quam iniqui sint. quod ex aliena virtute
now see how unfair they-are what from another's virtue
 sibi adrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt,
for-themselves they-claim that to-me from my-own not they-grant

scilicet quia imagines non habeo et quia mihi nova
doubtless because ancestral-masks not I-have and because to-me new
 nobilitas est, quam certe peperisse melius est quam acceptam
nobility is which surely to-have-won better it-is than received
 corripisse. equidem ego non ignoro, si iam mihi respondere
to-have-spoiled indeed I not am-unaware if now to-me to-reply
 velint, abunde illis facundam et conpositam orationem
they-should-wish abundantly for-them eloquent and well-composed a-speech
 fore. sed in maximo vostro beneficio quom omnibus locis
would-be but in greatest your favor when in-all places
 meque vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne
both-me and-you with-abuse they-tear not it-pleased to-keep-silent lest
 quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. nam me quidem
anyone modesty for a-guilty-conscience should-take for me indeed
 ex animi mei sententia nulla oratio laedere potest: quippe
from of-mind my the-judgment no speech to-hurt can inasmuch-as
 vera necesse est bene praedictis, falsa vita moresque
true-things necessary it-is well they-should-say false-things life and-manners
 mei superant. sed quoniam vostra consilia accusantur, qui
my surpass but since your counsels are-accused who
 mihi summum honorem et maximum negotium inposuistis,
on-me the-highest honor and the-greatest business have-laid
 etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum paenitendum sit.
again and again consider whether of-them to-be-repentant it-is
 non possum fidei causa imagines neque triumphos
not I-can of-good-faith for-the-sake ancestral-masks nor triumphs
 aut consulatus maiorum meorum ostentare, at, si res
or consulships of-ancestors my to-display but if the-thing
 postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona,
should-demand spears a-banner trappings other military gifts
 praeterea cicatrices advorso corpore. hae sunt meae imagines,
besides scars front-facing on-the-body these are my ancestral-masks

haec nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quae
this nobility not by-inheritance left as that to-them but which
 ego meis plurimis laboribus et periculis quaesivi. non sunt
I by-my very-many toils and dangers have-gained not are
 composita verba mea: parvi id facio. ipsa se virtus satis
well-arranged words my little that I-reckon it-itself itself virtue enough
 ostendit; illis artificio opus est, ut turpia facta oratione
shows for-them of-art need is that shameful deeds with-speech
 tegant. neque litteras Graecas didici: parum placebat
they-may-cover nor letters Greek I-learned too-little it-pleased
 eas discere, quippe quae ad virtutem doctoribus nihil
them to-learn inasmuch-as which toward virtue to-(their)-teachers nothing
 profuerant. at illa multo optima rei publicae doctus
had-profited but those-things by-far the-best of-the-thing public taught
 sum: hostem ferire, praesidia agitare, nihil metuere nisi
I-am the-enemy to-strike guard-posts to-keep nothing to-fear except
 turpem famam, hiemem et aestatem iuxta pati, humi
a-base fame winter and summer alike to-endure on-the-ground
 requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare.
to-rest at-the-same time want and toil to-bear
 his ego praeceptis milites hortabor, neque illos arte
with-these I precepts the-soldiers will-exhort nor them sparingly
 colam, me opulenter, neque gloriam meam, laborem illorum
I-shall-treat myself lavishly nor the-glory my-own the-toil of-them
 faciam. hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. namque quom
I-shall-make this is useful this citizenly command for when
 tute per molliem agas, exercitum supplicio cogere,
you-yourself in softness you-live the-army by-punishment to-force
 id est dominum, non imperatorem esse. haec atque alia
that is a-master not a-general to-be these and other
 talia maiores vestri faciundo seque remque publicam
such ancestors your by-doing both-themselves and-the-thing public

celebravere. quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus,
made-famous on-whom the-nobility relying itself unlike in-character
 nos illorum aemulos contemnit et omnis honores non
us their rivals despises and all honors not
 ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit. ceterum
from merit but as-if owed from you demands-back but
 homines superbissumi procul errant. maiores eorum omnia
the-men most-arrogant far err ancestors their all-things
 quae licebat illis reliquere: divitias, imagines, memoriam
which it-was-allowed to-them left riches ancestral-masks memory
 sui praeclaram; virtutem non reliquere, neque poterant:
of-themselves glorious virtue not they-left nor could-they
 ea sola neque datur dono neque accipitur. sordidum me
it alone neither is-given as-a-gift nor is-received mean me
 et incultis moribus aiunt, quia parum scite convivium
and of-uncouth manners they-say because too-little elegantly a-banquet
 exorno neque histrionem ullum neque pluris preti coquam
I-furnish nor an-actor any nor of-more price a-cook
 quam vilicum habeo. quae mihi lubet confiteri, Quirites.
than a-bailiff I-have which to-me it-pleases to-confess Quirites
 nam ex parente meo et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi,
for from parent my and from other upright men so I-received
 munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque
elegances to-women to-men toil to-befit and-for-all
 bonis oportere plus gloriae quam divitiarum esse; arma, non
the-good to-be-proper more of-glory than of-riches to-be arms not
 supellectilem decori esse. quin ergo, quod iuvat, quod
furniture an-ornament to-be why then what pleases what
 carum aestumant, id semper faciant: ament, potent;
dear they-reckon that always let-them-do let-them-love let-them-drink
 ubi adulescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in
where youth they-have-spent there old-age let-them-pass in

conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissumae parti corporis;
banquets given-over to-the-belly and to-the-most-shameful part of-the-body
 sudorem, pulverem et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus
sweat dust and other such-things let-them-leave to-us to-whom
 illa epulis iucundiora sunt. verum non ita est. nam
those-things than-feasts more-pleasant are but not so it-is for
 ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum
when themselves by-disgraces they-have-dishonored the-most-shameful men of-the-good
 praemia ereptum eunt. ita iniustissime luxuria et ignavia,
the-rewards to-snatch they-go so most-unjustly luxury and cowardice
 pessumae artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil officunt,
the-worst arts to-those who have-practiced them nothing do-harm
 rei publicae innoxiae cladi sunt. nunc quoniam illis,
to-the-thing public innocent a-disaster are now since to-them
 quantum mei mores, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi,
as-much-as my manners not their disgraces demanded I-have-replied
 pauca de re publica loquar. primum omnium de
a-few-things about the-thing public I-shall-speak first of-all about
 Numidia bonum habete animum, Quirites. nam quae
Numidia good have spirit Quirites for what-things
 ad hoc tempus Iugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis:
to this time Jugurtha protected have all you-have-removed
 avaritiam, inperitiam atque superbiam; deinde exercitus ibi
avarice inexperience and arrogance then the-army there
 est locorum sciens, sed mehercule magis strenuos quam
is of-the-places knowing but by-Hercules more energetic than
 felix. nam magna pars eius avaritia aut temeritate ducum
fortunate for a-great part of-it by-avarice or by-rashness of-the-leaders
 adtrita est. quam ob rem vos, quibus militaris
worn-down has-been which on-account-of thing you to-whom military
 aetas est, adnitimini mecum et capessite rem publicam,
age is strive with-me and take-up the-thing public

neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum
nor anyone from the-disaster of-others or of-the-generals
 superbia metus ceperit. egomet in agmine aut in proelio
arrogance fear let-seize I-myself in the-column or in battle
 consultor idem et socius periculi vobiscum adero,
adviser the-same and sharer of-danger with-you will-be-present
 meque vosque in omnibus rebus iuxta geram. et profecto
and-myself and-you in all things alike I-shall-conduct and surely
 dis iuvantibus omnia matura sunt: victoria, praeda,
with-the-gods helping all-things ripe are victory plunder
 laus. quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos
praise which if doubtful or far-off they-were nevertheless all the-good
 rei publicae subvenire decebat. etenim nemo ignavia
to-the-thing public to-help it-befitted for no-one by-cowardice
 immortalis factus est, neque quisquam parens liberis, uti
immortal made was nor any parent for-(his)-children that
 aeterni forent, optavit, magis uti boni honestique vitam
eternal they-should-be has-wished rather that good and-honorable life
 exigèrent. plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem
they-should-spend more I-would-say Quirites if to-the-timid virtue
 verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto.
words should-add for to-the-energetic abundantly said I-think
 Huiusce modi oratione habita Marius, postquam plebis
of-this kind a-speech held Marius after of-the-plebs
 animos adrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis
the-minds roused he-sees quickly with-provisions pay arms
 aliisque utilibus navis onerat, cum his A. Manlium legatum
and-other useful-things ships he-loads with these Aulus Manlius the-legate
 proficisci iubet. ipse interea milites scribere, non more
to-set-out he-orders himself meanwhile soldiers enrolled not by-the-custom
 maiorum neque ex classibus, sed uti quouisque lubido
of-the-ancestors nor from the-classes but as of-each the-inclination

erat, capite censos plerosque. id factum alii inopia bonorum,
was by-head counted most that done some by-the-lack of-good-men
 alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant, quod ab eo
others through the-ambition of-the-consul reported because by that
 genere celebratus auctusque erat et homini potentiam
class celebrated and-increased he-had-been and to-a-man power
 quaerenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, quoi neque
seeking the-neediest each the-most-useful to-whom neither
 sua cara, quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia cum
bis-own-things dear inasmuch-as which none are and all-things with
 pretio honesta videntur. igitur Marius cum aliquanto maiore
a-price honorable seem therefore Marius with somewhat greater
 numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus paucis
number than decreed it-had-been into Africa having-set-out in-a-few
 diebus Uticam advehitur. exercitus ei traditur a P.
days to-Utica is-carried the-army to-him is-handed-over by Publius
 Rutilio legato; nam Metellus conspectum Mari fugerat, ne
Rutilius the-legate for Metellus the-sight of-Marius had-fled lest
 videret ea, quae audita animus tolerare nequiverat.
he-should-see those-things which heard (bis)-mind to-bear had-not-been-able

XXIV · CAPSA AND THE FORTRESS

Marius trains his recruits in small battles, and Metellus is welcomed at Rome. Marius sets out for Capsa, a town surrounded by desert. He drives cattle to feed the army and makes water-skins from their hides. After night marches he appears at dawn, and the town surrenders, but it is burned and its people killed or sold. Then he besieges a rock fortress near the river Muluccha. A Ligurian soldier gathering snails finds a way up, and a small party takes the fortress from behind.

Sed consul expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis in 87
but the-consul filled-up the-legions and-the-cohorts auxiliary into
 agrum fertilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur, omnia ibi
a-land fertile and with-plunder laden sets-out all-things there
 capta militibus donat; dein castella et oppida natura et viris
captured to-the-soldiers he-gives then forts and towns by-nature and by-men
 parum munita aggreditur, proelia multa, ceterum levia, alia
too-little fortified he-attacks battles many but light some
 aliis locis facere. interim novi milites sine metu pugnae
in-other places he-made meanwhile the-new soldiers without fear at-the-fight
 adesse, videre fugientis capi aut occidi, fortissimum
were-present they-saw the-fleeing to-be-captured or to-be-killed the-bravest
 quemque tutissimum, armis libertatem patriam parentisque
each the-safest by-arms liberty country and-parents
 et alia omnia tegi, gloriam atque divitias quaeri. sic
and other all-things to-be-protected glory and riches to-be-sought so
 brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium
in-a-short space new and-old grew-together and the-virtue of-all
 aequalis facta. at reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt,
equal was-made but the-kings when about the-arrival of-Marius they-learned
 divorsi in locos difficilis abeunt. ita Iugurthae placuerat,
separately into places difficult they-go-off so to-Jugurtha it-had-seemed-good
 speranti mox effusos hostis invadi posse, Romanos sicuti
hoping soon scattered the-enemy to-be-attacked could the-Romans like
 plerosque remoto metu laxius licentiusque futuros.
most removed fear more-loosely and-more-licentiously to-be-going-to-behave
 Metellus interea Romam profectus contra spem suam 88
Metellus meanwhile to-Rome having-set-out against hope his-own
 laetissimis animis accipitur, plebi patribusque, postquam
with-most-joyful minds is-received to-the-plebs and-to-the-fathers after
 invidia decesserat, iuxta carus. sed Marius inpigre prudenterque
the-envy had-departed alike dear but Marius energetically and-prudently

suorum et hostium res pariter attendere: cognoscere,
of-his-own and of-the-enemy the-affairs equally attended-to he-learned
 quid boni utrisque aut contra esset, explorare itinera regum,
what of-good for-each or contrary might-be he-explored the-routes of-the-kings
 consilia et insidias eorum antevenire, nihil apud se
the-plans and plots of-them he-forestalled nothing with himself
 remissum neque apud illos tutum pati. itaque et Gaetulos
relaxed nor with them safe he-allowed and-so both the-Gaetulians
 et Iugurtham ex sociis nostris praedas agentis saepe
and Jugurtha from allies our plunder driving often
 aggressus in itinere fuderat ipsumque regem haud procul
having-attacked on the-march he-had-routed and-the-very king not far
 ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat. quae postquam gloriosa modo
from the-town Cirta of-arms had-stripped which after glorious only
 neque belli patrandi cognovit, statuit urbis, quae viris aut
nor of-the-war finishing he-learned he-decided the-cities which by-men or
 loco pro hostibus et advorsum se opportunissimae erant,
by-position for the-enemy and against himself most-advantageous were
 singulas circumvenire: ita Iugurtham aut praesidiis nudatum
one-by-one to-surround so Jugurtha either of-garrisons stripped
 iri, si ea pateretur, aut proelio certaturum. nam
would-be if those-things he-allowed or in-battle would-fight for
 Bocchus nuntios ad eum saepe miserat: velle populi Romani
Bocchus messengers to him often had-sent to-wish of-the-people Roman
 amicitiam; ne quid ab se hostile timeret. id simulaveritne,
the-friendship lest anything from him hostile he-should-fear that whether-he-pretended
 quo inprovisus gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingeni
so-that unforeseen heavier he-might-fall or by-the-fickleness of-(his)-nature
 pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum est.
peace and war to-change accustomed too-little ascertained it-is

Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire, 89
but the-consul as he-had-decided the-towns and-forts fortified approached
 partim vi, alia metu aut praemia ostentando avortere ab
partly by-force others by-fear or rewards by-displaying he-turned-away from
 hostibus. ac primo mediocria gerebat, existimans Iugurtham
the-enemy and at-first moderate-things he-carried-out thinking Jugurtha
 ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. sed ubi illum
on-account-of his-own to-be-protected into hands would-come but when him
 procul abesse et alii negotiis intentum accepit, maiora
far to-be-distant and on-other business intent he-heard greater
 et magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est. erat inter
and more harsh-things to-attempt the-time seemed was there-was among
 ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens nomine
vast deserts a-town great and strong by-name
 Capsa, quod conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. eius
Capsa whose founder Hercules the-Libyan was-said of-it
 cives apud Iugurtham immunes, levi imperio et ob
the-citizens under Jugurtha exempt by-light rule and on-account-of
 ea fidelissimi habebantur, muniti adversum hostis non
these-things most-loyal were-held protected against enemies not
 moenibus modo et armis atque viris, verum etiam multo
by-walls only and by-arms and by-men but also by-much
 magis locorum asperitate. nam praeter oppido propinqua
more of-the-places by-the-harshness for except to-the-town near-things
 alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus,
other all-things waste uncultivated lacking water infested with-serpents
 quarum vis sicuti omnium ferarum inopia cibi acrior. ad hoc
whose force as of-all wild-beasts by-lack of-food fiercer to this
 natura serpentium ipsa perniciose siti magis quam alia
the-nature of-serpents itself deadly by-thirst more than by-another
 re accenditur. eius potiundi Marium maxuma cupido
thing is-inflamed of-it of-getting-possession Marius the-greatest desire

invaserat, quom propter usum belli tum quia res aspera
had-seized both on-account-of the-use of-war and because the-thing harsh
videbatur et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat,
seemed and Metellus the-town Thala with-great glory had-taken
haud dissimiliter situm munitumque, nisi quod apud Thalam
not dissimilarly situated and-fortified except that at Thala
non longe a moenibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una
not far from the-walls several springs were the-Capsenses one
modo atque ea intra oppidum iugi aqua, cetera pluvia
only and that inside the-town perpetual water the-rest rain
utebantur. id ibique et in omni Africa, quae procul a mari
used that both-there and in all Africa which far from the-sea
incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidae
more-uncivilized lived the more-easily was-endured because the-Numidians
plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur et neque salem
generally on-milk and of-game on-flesh fed and neither salt
neque alia irritamenta gulae quaerebant: cibus illis
nor other stimulants of-the-palate sought food for-them
advorsum famem atque sitim, non lubidini neque luxuriae erat.
against hunger and thirst not for-lust nor for-luxury was

90 Igitur consul omnibus exploratis, credo dis fretus — nam
therefore the-consul all-things explored I-believe on-the-gods relying for
contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat,
against such-great difficulties by-planning enough to-provide not he-could
quippe etiam frumenti inopia temptabatur, quia Numidae
inasmuch-as even of-grain by-lack he-was-tried because the-Numidians
pabulo pecoris magis quam arvo student et, quodcumque
to-fodder of-cattle more than to-tillage are-devoted and whatever
natum fuerat, iussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager
grown had-been by-order of-the-king into places fortified they-had-carried the-land
autem aridus et frugum vacuos ea tempestate, nam aestatis
moreover dry and of-crops empty at-that time for of-summer

extremum erat —, tamen pro rei copia satis
the-end it-was nevertheless according-to of-the-thing the-supply quite
 providenter exornat. pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus
providently he-equips the-cattle all which in-former days
 praedae fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agundum adtribuit, A.
as-plunder had-been to-the-cavalry auxiliary to-be-driven he-assigns Aulus
 Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris,
Manlius the-legate with cohorts light-armed to the-town Laris
 ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire iubet dicitque
where the-pay and provisions he-had-placed to-go he-orders and-says
 se praedabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum.
himself plundering after a-few days to-the-same-place to-be-going-to-come
 sic incepto suo occultato pergit ad flumen Tanain.
so undertaking his-own concealed he-goes to the-river Tanais
 Ceterum in itinere cottidie pecus exercitui per centurias, 91
but on the-march daily the-cattle to-the-army by centuries
 item turmas aequaliter distribuerat et, ex coriis utres
likewise squadrons equally he-had-distributed and from the-hides water-skins
 uti fierent, curabat; simul inopiam frumenti lenire et
that should-be-made he-took-care at-once the-lack of-grain to-relieve and
 ignaris omnibus parare quae mox usui forent. denique
unaware all to-prepare what-things soon for-use would-be finally
 sexto die, quom ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis
on-the-sixth day when to the-river come it-was the-greatest quantity
 utrium effecta. ibi castris levi munimento positis
of-water-skins was-made there with-the-camp with-light fortification pitched
 milites cibum capere atque, uti simul cum occasu
the-soldiers food to-take and that at-the-same-time with the-setting
 solis egrederentur, paratos esse iubet, omnibus sarcinis
of-the-sun they-should-go-out ready to-be he-orders all baggage
 abiectis aqua modo seque et iumenta onerare.
thrown-away with-water only both-themselves and the-pack-animals to-load

dein postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque
then after the-time seemed from-the-camp he-goes-out and-night
 totam itinere facto consedit; idem proxuma facit; dein
whole the-march made he-halted the-same the-next he-does then
 tertia multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum
on-the-third much before of-light the-arrival he-arrives at a-place
 tumultuosum ab Capsa non amplius duum milium intervallo,
billy from Capsa not more of-two miles at-a-distance
 ibique quam occultissime potest cum omnibus copiis
and-there as most-secretly he-can with all (bis)-forces
 opperitur. sed ubi dies coepit et Numidae nihil hostile
he-waits but when day began and the-Numidians nothing hostile
 metuentes multi oppido egressi, repente omnem equitatum
fearing many from-the-town gone-out suddenly all the-cavalry
 et cum iis velocissimos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam
and with them the-swiftest infantry at-a-run to-make for Capsa
 et portas obsidere iubet; deinde ipse intentus propere sequi
and the-gates to-besiege he-orders then himself intent quickly followed
 neque milites praedari sinere. quae postquam oppidani
nor the-soldiers to-plunder he-allowed which-things after the-townsmen
 cognovere, res trepidae, metus ingens, malum inprovisum, ad
learned things alarmed fear huge evil unforeseen to
 hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potestate coegere,
this part of-the-citizens outside the-walls in of-the-enemy the-power forced
 uti deditionem facerent. ceterum oppidum incensum,
that surrender they-should-make but the-town burned
 Numidae puberes interfecti, alii omnes venumdati, praeda
the-Numidians adult killed the-others all sold the-plunder
 militibus divisa. id facinus contra ius belli non avaritia
among-the-soldiers divided that deed against the-law of-war not by-avarice
 neque scelere consulis admissum, sed quia locus Iugurthae
nor by-crime of-the-consul committed but because the-place for-Iugurtha

opportunos, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile,
advantageous for-us in-approach difficult the-race of-men fickle

infidum, ante neque beneficio neque metu coercitum.

faithless before neither by-kindness nor by-fear restrained

Postquam tantam rem peregit Marius sine ullo suorum 92

after so-great a-thing accomplished Marius without any of-his-own

incommodo, magnus et clarus antea, maior atque clarior

loss great and famous before greater and more-famous

haberi coepit. omnia non bene consulta in virtutem

to-be-held began all-things not well planned into virtue

trahebantur: milites, modesto imperio habiti simul et

were-drawn the-soldiers by-moderate command held at-the-same-time and

locupletes, ad caelum ferre; Numidae magis quam mortalem

enriched to the-sky bore the-Numidians more than a-mortal

timere; postremo omnes, socii atque hostes, credere illi

feared finally all allies and enemies believed to-him

aut mentem divinam esse aut deorum nutu cuncta

either a-mind divine to-be or of-the-gods by-the-nod all-things

portendi. sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia

to-be-foretold but the-consul when that thing well turned-out to other

oppida pergit, pauca repugnantibus Numidis capit, plura

towns goes a-few resisting the-Numidians he-takes more

deserta propter Capsensium miserias igni corrumpit: luctu

deserted because-of of-the-Capsenses the-miseries by-fire he-destroys with-grief

atque caede omnia complentur. denique multis locis potitus

and slaughter all-things are-filled finally many places having-gained

ac plerisque exercitu incruento aliam rem aggreditur,

and most with-the-army bloodless another enterprise he-attempts

non eadem asperitate qua Capsensium, ceterum haud

not with-the-same harshness as of-the-Capsenses but not

secus difficilem. namque haud longe a flumine Muluccha,

otherwise difficult for not far from the-river Muluccha

quod Iugurthae Bocchique regnum diiungebat, erat inter
which of-Jugurtha and-of-Bocchus the-kingdom divided there-was amid
 ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis
the-otherwise plain a-mountain rocky for-a-moderate fortress enough
 patens, in inmensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto;
wide into the-immense raised one very-narrow approach left
 nam omnis natura velut opere atque consulto praeceps. quem
for all by-nature as-if by-work and design steep which
 locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa
place Marius because there of-the-king the-treasures were with-the-utmost
 vi capere intendit. sed ea res forte quam consilio
force to-take he-intends but that thing by-chance than by-plan
 melius gesta. nam castello virorum atque armorum
better was-managed for in-the-fortress of-men and of-arms
 satis et magna vis frumenti et fons aquae; aggeribus
enough and a-great quantity of-grain and a-spring of-water for-mounds
 turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus inportunus; iter
and-towers and other engines the-place unsuitable the-path
 castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque praecisum. ea
of-the-fortress-men narrow very on-both-sides cut-off there
 vineae cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur; nam quom
the-sheds with huge danger in-vain were-moved for when
 eae paulo processerant, igni aut lapidibus corrumpebantur.
they a-little had-advanced by-fire or by-stones they-were-destroyed
 milites neque pro opere consistere propter iniquitatem
the-soldiers neither in-front-of the-work stood because-of the-unevenness
 loci neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare:
of-the-place nor among the-sheds without danger worked
 optimum quisque cadere aut sauciari, ceteris metus augeri.
the-best each fell or was-wounded for-the-rest fear increased

At Marius multis diebus et laboribus consumptis anxius
but Marius many days and toils spent anxious
 trahere cum animo suo, omitteretne inceptum,
turned-over with mind his-own whether-be-should-abandon the-undertaking
 quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua saepe
since in-vain it-was or fortune should-await which often
 prospere usus fuerat. quae quom multos dies noctisque
successfully used he-had which-things when many days and-nights
 aestuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus
seething he-was-pondering by-chance a-certain Ligurian from the-coborts
 auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus haud
auxiliary a-soldier common from-the-camp for-water gone-out not
 procul ab latere castelli, quod avorsum proeliantibus erat,
far from the-side of-the-fortress which turned-away from-the-fighters was
 animum advortit inter saxa repentis coctas, quarum quom
mind turned among the-rocks crawling snails of-which when
 unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi
one and a-second then more he-sought by-eagerness of-gathering
 paulatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. ubi
gradually almost to the-top of-the-mountain went-up he-did where
 postquam solitudinem intellexit, more ingeni humani
after the-solitude he-perceived by-the-habit of-nature human
 cupido difficilia faciendi animum adorta. et forte in
the-desire difficult-things of-doing (his)-mind seized and by-chance in
 eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paulum modo
that place a-great holm-oak had-grown-up among the-rocks a-little only
 prona, deinde inflexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo
bent-forward then curved and grown into height where
 cuncta gignentium natura fert. quoniam ramis modo, modo
all of-growing-things nature carries on-whose branches now now
 eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus in castelli planitiem
on-projecting rocks supported the-Ligurian onto of-the-fortress the-level

pervenit, quod cuncti Numidae intenti proeliantibus aderant.
arrives because all the-Numidians intent at-the-fighters were-present
 exploratis omnibus, quae mox usui fore ducebat, eadem
examined all-things which soon for-use would-be he-thought by-the-same-way
 regreditur, non temere, uti ascenderat, sed temptans omnia
he-returns not rashly as he-had-climbed but testing all-things
 et circumspiciens. itaque Marium propere adit, acta
and looking-around and-so Marius quickly he-approaches the-deeds
 edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte qua ipse ascenderat castellum
he-informs he-urges from that side where himself he-had-climbed the-fortress
 temptet, pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius
he-should-try he-promises himself of-the-way and-of-the-danger as-leader Marius
 cum Ligure promissa eius cognitum ex praesentibus misit.
with the-Ligurian the-promises his to-learn from those-present sent
 quorum uti quousque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem
of-whom as of-each the-nature was so the-thing difficult
 aut facilem nuntiavere; consulis animus tamen paulum
or easy they-reported of-the-consul the-spirit nevertheless a-little
 adrectus. itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero
roused and-so from the-supply of-trumpeters and horn-blowers in-number
 quinque quam velocissimos delegit et cum iis, praesidio
five as swiftest-possible he-chose and with them as-guard
 qui forent, quattuor centuriones, omnisque Liguri parere
who should-be four centurions and-all to-the-Ligurian to-obey
 iubet et ei negotio proximum diem constituit.
he-orders and for-that business the-next day he-fixed

94 Sed ubi ex praecepto tempus visum, paratis conpositisque
but when by instruction the-time seemed prepared and-arranged
 omnibus ad locum pergit. ceterum illi, qui escensuri erant,
all-things to the-place he-goes but those who to-climb-up were
 praedocti ab duce arma ornatumque mutaverant:
instructed-beforehand by the-leader arms and-equipment had-changed

capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nisque
with-head and feet bare that the-view and-the-footing
 per saxa facilius foret; super terga gladii et scuta,
among the-rocks easier might-be on backs swords and shields
 verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul
but those Numidian of hides of-weight for-the-sake at-the-same-time
 et offensa quo levius streperent. igitur praegrediens
and when-struck that more-lightly they-might-clatter therefore going-ahead
 Ligus saxa et si quae vetustate radices eminebant,
the-Ligurian rocks and if any from-age roots projected
 laqueis vinciebat, quibus adlevati milites facilius escenderent,
with-nooses be-bound by-which lifted the-soldiers more-easily might-climb
 interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu; ubi
sometimes the-timid by-the-strangeness of-the-way he-lifted with-(his)-hand where
 paulo asperior ascensus erat, singulos prae se inermos
a-little harsher the-ascent was one-by-one before himself unarmed
 mittere, deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi; quae dubia
he-sent then himself with their arms followed what-things doubtful
 nisui videbantur, potissimum temptare ac saepius eadem
for-footing seemed first he-tested and often the-same-way
 ascendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens ceteris
ascending and-descending then at-once stepping-aside to-the-others
 audaciam addere. igitur diu multumque fatigati tandem in
courage he-added therefore long and-much wearied at-last into
 castellum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte, quod omnes
the-fortress they-arrive deserted on that side because all
 sicut alii diebus adversum hostis aderant. Marius ubi
as on-other days facing the-enemy were-present Marius when
 ex nuntiis quae Ligus egerat cognovit, quamquam
from the-messengers what-things the-Ligurian had-done he-learned although
 toto die intentos proelio Numidas habuerat, tum vero
the-whole day intent on-battle the-Numidians he-had-kept then indeed

cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus testudine
having-encouraged the-soldiers and himself outside the-sheds gone-out with-the-tortoise
 acta succedere et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque
formed advanced and at-the-same-time the-enemy with-engines and-archers
 et funditoribus eminus terrere. at Numidae, saepe antea
and slingers from-afar terrified but the-Numidians often before
 vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis, non castelli
the-sheds of-the-Romans overturned likewise burned not of-the-fortress
 moenibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctisque
by-the-walls themselves protected but in-front-of the-wall days and-nights
 agitare, male dicere Romanis ac Mario vecordiam obiectare,
they-spent ill they-spoke to-the-Romans and to-Marius madness they-taunted
 militibus nostris Iugurthae servitium minari, secundis
to-soldiers our of-Iugurtha slavery they-threatened in-favorable
 rebus feroces esse. interim omnibus, Romanis hostibusque,
circumstances fierce they-were meanwhile all Romans and-enemies
 proelio intentis, magna utrimque vi pro gloria atque imperio
on-battle intent with-great on-both-sides force for glory and empire
 his illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa
these those for safety fighting suddenly from the-rear the-trumpets
 canere; ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant,
sounded and first the-women and children who to-see had-come-forward
 fugere, deinde uti quisque muro proximus erat, postremo
fled then as each to-the-wall nearest was finally
 cuncti, armati inermesque. quod ubi accidit, eo acrius
all armed and-unarmed which when it-happened the more-keenly
 Romani instare, fundere ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare,
the-Romans pressed-on they-routed and most only they-wounded
 dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriae certantes
then over of-the-slain the-bodies they-went eager for-glory vying

murum petere, neque quemquam omnium praeda morari. sic
the-wall they-sought nor anyone of-all plunder delayed so
 forte correcta Mari temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit.
by-chance corrected of-Marius the-rashness glory from fault found

XXV · SULLA, AND THE NIGHT ATTACK

The quaestor Lucius Sulla arrives with cavalry. Learned in Greek and Latin, eloquent, and fond of pleasure, he quickly becomes expert in war and dear to Marius and the soldiers. Jugurtha, having lost Capsa, bribes Bocchus's advisers and promises the king a third of Numidia. Together they attack Marius near evening as he is going into winter quarters. The fighting is confused and without order. Marius takes two hills for his army, and the barbarians spend the night rejoicing.

Ceterum, dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum 95
but while that thing is-carried-on Lucius Sulla the-quaestor with
 magno equitatu in castra venit, quos uti ex Latio et
a-great cavalry into the-camp came which that from Latium and
 a sociis cogeret, Romae relictus erat. sed quoniam
from the-allies he-should-muster at-Rome left he-had-been but since
 nos tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est de
us of-so-great a-man the-affair has-reminded suitable seemed it-has about
 natura cultuque eius paucis dicere. neque enim alio loco
the-nature and-manner of-him in-few-words to-speak nor for in-another place
 de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus et L. Sisenna, optume
about of-Sulla the-affairs about-to-speak we-are and Lucius Sisenna best
 et diligentissime omnium, qui eas res dixere, persecutus,
and most-carefully of-all who those things have-related having-treated
 parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. igitur Sulla gentis
too-little to-me with-free mouth to-have-spoken seems therefore Sulla of-a-family
 patriciae nobilis fuit, familia prope iam extincta maiorum
patrician noble was of-a-branch almost already extinguished of-the-ancestors

ignavia, litteris Graecis atque Latinis iuxta eruditus, animo
by-cowardice in-letters Greek and Latin equally learned of-spirit
 ingenti, cupidus voluptatum sed gloriae cupidior; otio
great desirous of-pleasures but of-glory more-desirous in-leisure
 luxurioso esse, tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas
luxurious he-was nevertheless from business never pleasure
 remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli;
held-back except that about (his)-wife it-could more-honorably to-be-provided
 facundus, callidus et amicitia facilis, ad simulanda negotia
eloquent clever and in-friendship easy for pretending affairs
 altitudo ingeni incredibilis, multarum rerum ac maxime
the-depth of-(his)-talent incredible of-many things and especially
 pecuniae largitor. atque illi felicissimo omnium ante civilem
of-money a-lavish-giver and to-him most-fortunate of-all before the-civil
 victoriam numquam super industriam fortuna fuit, multique
victory never beyond industry fortune was and-many
 dubitavere, fortior an felicior esset. nam postea quae
have-doubted braver or more-fortunate he-was for afterward what-things
 fecerit, incertum habeo pudeat an pigeat magis disserere.
he-did uncertain I-hold it-should-shame or it-should-irk more to-discuss

- 96 Igitur Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque
therefore Sulla as above said it-was after into Africa and
 in castra Mari cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus
into the-camp of-Marius with the-cavalry he-came untrained before and ignorant
 belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus
of-war the-most-skilled of-all in a-few seasons made
 est. ad hoc milites benigne appellare, multis rogantibus,
he-was to this the-soldiers kindly he-addressed to-many asking
 aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere, sed
to-others of himself he-himself gave favors unwillingly he-accepted but
 ea properantius quam aes mutuom reddere, ipse ab nullo
them more-quickly than money borrowed he-repaid himself from no-one

repetere, magis id laborare, ut illi quam plurimi
demanded-back rather that he-labored that to-him as many-as-possible
 deberent, ioca atque seria cum humillimis agere, in
should-owe jokes and serious-things with the-humblest he-did in
 operibus, in agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse, neque
the-works on the-march and at the-watches much he-was-present nor
 interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis aut quousquam
meanwhile what wicked ambition is-wont of-the-consul or of-anyone
 boni famam laedere, tantummodo neque consilio neque
good the-reputation be-harmed only neither in-counsel nor
 manu priorem alium pati, plerosque antevenire. quibus rebus
in-hand first another be-allowed most he-outstripped by-which things
 et artibus brevi Mario militibusque carissimus factus.
and arts in-short-time to-Marius and-to-the-soldiers most-dear he-was-made

At Iugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos
but Jugurtha after the-town Capsa and-other places
 munitos et sibi utilis simul et magnam pecuniam
fortified and to-himself useful at-the-same-time and a-great sum-of-money
 amiserat, ad Bocchum nuntios mittit: quam primum in
he-had-lost to Bocchus messengers sends as soon-as-possible into
 Numidiam copias adduceret; proeli faciendi tempus adesse.
Numidia forces he-should-bring of-battle to-be-fought the-time to-be-at-hand
 quem ubi cunctari accepit et dubium belli atque pacis
whom when to-delay he-heard and doubtful of-war and of-peace
 rationes trahere, rursus uti antea proximos eius donis
the-reckonings to-drag-out again as before the-intimates of-him with-gifts
 corruptit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam,
he-corrupted and-to-the-very Moor he-promises of-Numidia part the-third
 si aut Romani Africa expulsi aut integris suis finibus
if either the-Romans from-Africa expelled or with-intact his-own boundaries
 bellum compositum foret. eo praemio illectus Bocchus cum
the-war settled should-be by-that reward enticed Bocchus with

97

magna multitudine Iugurtham adcedit. ita amborum exercitu
a-great multitude Jugurtha approaches so of-both the-army
 coniuncto Marium, iam in hiberna proficiscentem, vix
joined Marius already into winter-quarters setting-out scarcely
 decuma parte die reliqua invadunt, rati noctem, quae
with-a-tenth part of-the-day remaining they-attack thinking the-night which
 iam aderat, et victis sibi munimento fore et,
already was-at-hand and for-the-conquered to-themselves a-protection would-be and
 si vicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes
if they-had-conquered no hindrance because of-the-places knowing
 erant, contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris
they-were on-the-other-hand for-the-Romans either outcome in the-darkness
 difficiliorem fore. igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium
more-difficult would-be therefore at-once the-consul from many about of-the-enemy
 adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant, et prius quam
the-arrival learned and the-very enemy were-present and before than
 exercitus aut instrui aut sarcinas conligere, denique ante
the-army either to-be-drawn-up or the-baggage to-gather finally before
 quam signum aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites
than a-signal or command any to-receive it-could the-cavalry
 Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie neque ullo more proeli
Moorish and Gaetulian not in-line nor in-any manner of-battle
 sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros
but in-bands as each chance had-massed on ours
 incurrunt. qui omnes trepidi inproviso metu ac tamen virtutis
they-charge who all alarmed by-unforeseen fear and nevertheless of-virtue
 memores aut arma capiebant aut capientis alios ab hostibus
mindful either arms were-taking or those-taking others from the-enemy
 defensabant; pars equos escendere, obviam ire hostibus;
were-defending part horses mounted to-meet went the-enemy
 pugna latrocinio magis quam proelio similis fieri. sine signis,
the-fight to-brigandage more than to-battle similar became without standards

sine ordinibus equites peditesque permixti cedere alius, alius
without ranks cavalry and-infantry mingled gave-way one another
 obtruncari, multi contra advorsos acerrume pugnantes ab
was-cut-down many against those-facing most-fiercely fighting from
 tergo circumveniri; neque virtus neque arma satis tegere, quia
the-rear were-surrounded neither virtue nor arms enough protected because
 hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi erant. denique
the-enemy in-number more and on-all-sides poured-around were finally
 Romani veteres et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus
the-Romans veterans and on-account-of that knowing of-war if any the-place
 aut casus coniunxerat, orbis facere atque ita ab omnibus
or chance had-joined circles made and so from all
 partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.
sides at-once protected and drawn-up of-the-enemy the-force they-withstood
 Neque in eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus aut magis 98
nor in that so harsh business Marius terrified or more
 quam antea demisso animo fuit, sed cum turma sua, quam
than before with-dejected spirit was but with squadron his-own which
 ex fortissimis magis quam familiarissimis paraverat, vagari
from the-bravest more than the-most-intimate he-had-provided he-roamed
 passim ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis,
everywhere and now to-the-struggling his-own he-ran-to-help now the-enemy
 ubi confertissimi obstiterant, invadere; manu consulere
where most-closely-packed they-had-stood he-attacked with-hand he-provided
 militibus, quoniam imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat.
for-the-soldiers since to-command confused all not he-could
 iamque dies consumptus erat, quom tamen barbari
and-now the-day spent was when nevertheless the-barbarians
 nihil remittere atque, uti reges praeceperant, noctem pro
nothing relaxed and as the-kings had-instructed the-night for
 se rati acrius instare. tum Marius ex copia rerum
themselves thinking more-keenly they-pressed then Marius from the-supply of-things

consilium trahit atque, uti suis receptui locus esset,
a-plan draws and that for-his-men for-retreat a-place might-be
 collis duos propinquos inter se occupat, quorum in uno
hills two near among themselves he-seizes of-which on one
 castris parum amplo fons aquae magnus erat, alter usui
for-a-camp too-little ample a-spring of-water great was the-other for-use
 opportunus, quia magna parte editus et praeceps pauca
suitable because in-great part raised and steep few
 munimenta quaerebat. ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum
fortifications required but by the-water Sulla with
 equitibus noctem agitare iubet, ipse paulatim dispersos milites
the-cavalry the-night to-pass he-orders himself gradually the-scattered soldiers
 neque minus hostibus conturbatis in unum contrahit,
nor less the-enemy confused into one he-draws-together
 dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. ita reges
then all at-full pace onto the-hill he-leads-up so the-kings
 loci difficultate coacti proelio deterrentur, neque tamen
of-the-place by-the-difficulty compelled from-battle are-deterred nor nevertheless
 suos longius abire sinunt, sed utroque colle multitudine
their-men farther to-go-away they-allow but each hill with-the-multitude
 circumdato effusi consedere. dein crebris ignibus factis
surrounded dispersed they-encamped then many fires made
 plerumque noctis barbari more suo laetari, exultare,
most of-the-night the-barbarians in-custom their-own rejoiced exulted
 strepere vocibus; et ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugerant,
made-a-din with-voices and the-very leaders fierce because not they-bad-fled
 pro victoribus agere. sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris
as victors acted but those-things all to-the-Romans from the-darkness
 et editioribus locis facilia visu magnoque hortamento erant.
and higher places easy to-see and-a-great encouragement were

At dawn Marius has every trumpet sounded, and the Romans burst out on the sleeping enemy, who are routed with great slaughter. Marius marches on in a square column, checking the posts himself, and keeps discipline more by shame than by punishment. Near Cirta the kings attack again. Jugurtha shouts in Latin that Marius is dead and shows a bloody sword. But Sulla's cavalry routs the Moors, Bocchus flees, and Jugurtha barely escapes. The field is covered with dead.

Plurimum vero Marius inperitia hostium confirmatus 99
most indeed Marius by-the-inexperience of-the-enemy encouraged
 quam maximum silentium haberi iubet, ne signa quidem,
as greatest silence to-be-kept be-orders not the-signals even
 uti per vigiliis solebant, canere. deinde ubi lux adventabat,
as through the-watches they-used-to to-sound then when the-light was-approaching
 defessis iam hostibus ac paulo ante somno captis, de inproviso
exhausted now the-enemy and a-little before by-sleep seized from the-unforeseen
 vigiles, item cohortium turmarum legionum tubicines simul
the-sentries likewise of-cohorts of-squadrons of-legions the-trumpeters at-once
 omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere atque portis
all the-signals to-sound the-soldiers a-shout to-raise and from-the-gates
 erumpere iubet. Mauri atque Gaetuli, ignoto et horribili
to-burst-out be-orders the-Moors and Gaetulians by-unknown and horrible
 sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere neque arma capere neque
sound suddenly roused neither to-flee nor arms to-take nor
 omnino facere aut providere quicquam poterant: ita cunctos
at-all to-do or to-provide anything could so all
 strepitu clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus,
by-din by-shouting none helping ours pressing
 tumultu formidine terror quasi vecordia ceperat. denique
by-tumult by-fright terror as-if madness had-seized finally
 omnes fusi fugatique arma et signa militaria pleraque
all routed and-put-to-flight arms and standards military most

capta, pluresque eo proelio quam omnibus superioribus
captured and-more in-that battle than in-all the-earlier

interempti. nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

slain for by-sleep and by-fear unusual was-hindered the-flight

100 Dein Marius, uti coeperat, in hiberna pergit: nam

then Marius as he-had-begun into winter-quarters goes for

propter commeatum in oppidis maritimis agere decreverat;

because-of the-supplies in towns maritime to-winter he-had-decided

neque tamen victoria socors aut insolens factus, sed pariter

nor nevertheless by-victory slothful or arrogant made but equally

atque in conspectu hostium quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla

as in sight of-the-enemy in-a-square column he-advanced Sulla

cum equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistra parte A. Manlius

with the-cavalry at the-extreme-right in the-left part Aulus Manlius

cum funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortis Ligurum

with the-slingers and archers besides the-cohorts of-Ligurians

curabat. primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis

commanded the-first and last with light-armed maniples

tribunos locaverat. perfugae, minime cari et regionum

the-tribunes he-had-placed deserters least dear and of-the-regions

scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant. simul consul

most-knowing of-the-enemy the-route explored at-the-same-time the-consul

quasi nullo inposito omnia providere, apud omnis adesse,

as-if no-one placed-in-charge all-things provided among all was-present

laudare et increpare merentis. ipse armatus intentusque,

praised and rebuked the-deserving himself armed and-intent

item milites cogebat. neque secus atque iter facere,

likewise the-soldiers he-compelled nor otherwise than the-march he-made

castra munire, excubitus in porta cohortis ex legionibus,

the-camp he-fortified to-keep-watch at the-gate cohorts from the-legions

pro castris equites auxilarios mittere, praeterea alios super

before the-camp cavalry auxiliary he-sent besides others on

vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, non
the-rampart in the-fortifications he-placed the-watches himself went-round not
 tam diffidentia futurum quae imperavisset, quam uti
so by-distrust to-be-going-to-happen what-things he-had-ordered as that
 militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labor volentibus esset.
for-the-soldiers made-equal with the-general the-toil willing might-be
 et sane Marius illoque aliisque temporibus Iugurthini
and indeed Marius both-at-that and-at-other times of-the-Iugurthine
 belli pudore magis quam malo exercitum coercebat.
war by-shame more than by-punishment the-army restrained
 quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant: a pueritia
which many through ambition to-be-done said from boyhood
 consuetam duritiam et alia, quae ceteri miserias vocant,
accustomed hardship and other-things which the-rest miseries call
 voluptati habuisse; nisi tamen res publica pariter ac
for-pleasure to-have-held except nevertheless the-thing public equally as
 saevissimo imperio bene atque decore gesta.
with-the-most-savage command well and honorably was-managed
 Igitur quarto denique die haud longe ab oppido Cirta 101
therefore on-the-fourth at-last day not far from the-town Cirta
 undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt, qua
from-all-sides at-once scouts swift themselves show by-which
 re hostis adesse intellegitur. sed quia divorsi redeuntes
thing the-enemy to-be-at-hand is-understood but because separately returning
 alius ab alia parte atque omnes idem significabant,
one from another part and all the-same-thing signified
 consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo
the-consul uncertain in-what way the-line he-should-draw-up no
 ordine conmutato advorsum omnia paratus ibidem opperitur.
order changed against all-things prepared on-the-spot waits
 ita Iugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quattuor partis
so Iugurtha the-hope deceived who the-forces into four parts

distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus aequè aliquos ab tergo
had-divided thinking from all equally some from the-rear
 hostibus venturos. interim Sulla, quem primum hostes
to-the-enemy would-come meanwhile Sulla whom first the-enemy
 attigerant, cohortatus suos turmatim et quam maxime
had-reached having-encouraged his-men by-squadrons and as most
 confertis equis ipse alique Mauros invadunt, ceteri in
with-close-packed horses himself and-others the-Moors attack the-rest in
 loco manentes ab iaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere
place remaining from the-javelins from-afar thrown (their)-bodies protected
 et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. dum eo modo
and if any into hands had-come cut-down while in-that way
 equites proeliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux, filius
the-cavalry fight Bocchus with the-infantry whom Volux the-son
 eius, adduxerat neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati,
his had-brought nor in the-former fight on the-march delayed
 adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. tum
had-been-present the-last of-the-Romans line attack then
 Marius apud primos agebat, quod ibi Iugurtha cum plurimis
Marius among the-first was-engaged because there Jugurtha with the-most
 erat. dein Numida cognito Bocchi adventu clam cum paucis
was then the-Numidian learned of-Bocchus the-arrival secretly with a-few
 ad pedites convortit. ibi latine — nam apud Numantiam
to the-infantry turns there in-Latin for at Numantia
 loqui didicerat — exclamat nostros frustra pugnare, paulo
to-speak he-had-learned he-shouts ours in-vain to-fight a-little
 ante Marium sua manu interfectum, simul gladium
before Marius by-his-own hand killed at-the-same-time a-sword
 sanguine oblitum ostentans, quem in pugna satis inpigre
with-blood smeared displaying which in the-fight quite energetically
 occiso pedite nostro cruentaverat. quod ubi milites
having-killed a-foot-soldier our he-had-bloodied which when the-soldiers

acceperē, magis atrocitate rei quam fide nuntii
heard more by-the-atrocity of-the-thing than by-the-truth of-the-report
 terrentur, simulque barbari animos tollere et in
they-are-terrified and-at-once the-barbarians (their)-spirits raised and on
 percussos Romanos acrius incedere. iamque paulum a
the-stricken Romans more-fiercely advanced and-now a-little from
 fuga aberant, quom Sulla profligatis iis, quos advorsum
flight they-were-distant when Sulla having-routed those whom against
 ierat, rediens ab latere Mauris incurrit. Bocchus statim
he-bad-gone returning from the-flank on-the-Moors charges Bocchus at-once
 avortitur. at Iugurtha, dum sustentare suos et prope iam
turns-away but Jugurtha while to-sustain his-men and almost already
 adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus,
won the-victory to-hold he-desires surrounded by the-cavalry
 dextra sinistraque omnibus occisis solus inter tela hostium
on-right and-left all killed alone amid the-weapons of-the-enemy
 vitabundus erumpit. atque interim Marius fugatis equitibus
dodging bursts-out and meanwhile Marius having-routed the-cavalry
 adcurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli iam acceperat.
runs-up to-help to-his-own whom to-be-driven-back already he-bad-heard
 denique hostes iam undique fusi. tum spectaculum horribile
finally the-enemy now on-all-sides routed then a-sight horrible
 in campis patentibus: sequi fugere, occidi capi;
on plains open they-pursued they-fled they-were-killed they-were-captured
 equi atque viri adflicti, ac multi vulneribus acceptis neque
horses and men dashed-down and many wounds received neither
 fugere posse neque quietem pati, niti modo ac statim
to-flee could nor rest endured strove only and at-once
 concidere; postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis
collapsed finally all-things where the-view was strewn with-weapons
 armis cadaveribus, et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.
arms corpses and among them the-ground stained with-blood

Bocchus sends to Marius for envoys, and Sulla tells the king that Rome seeks friends rather than slaves. Bocchus answers gently and asks leave to send an embassy to Rome. His envoys, robbed by brigands on the way, are received generously by Sulla. The senate replies that Bocchus will have friendship and a treaty when he has earned them. Bocchus asks for Sulla, who sets out, and Volux, the king's son, comes to meet him. Then it is reported that Jugurtha is camped nearby.

- 102 Post ea loci consul haud dubie iam victor pervenit in
 after that of-place the-consul not doubtfully now victor arrives at
 oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. eo post
 the-town Cirta whither at-the-start having-set-out he-had-aimed there after
 diem quintum, quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant,
 the-day fifth that a-second-time the-barbarians badly had-fought
 legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario
 envoys from Bocchus come who in-the-king's words from Marius
 petivere, duos quam fidissimos ad eum mitteret, velle
 asked two as most-trustworthy to him he-should-send he-wished
 de suo et de populi Romani commodo cum iis
 about his-own and about of-the-people Roman advantage with them
 disserere. ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire iubet.
 to-discuss he at-once Lucius Sulla and Aulus Manlius to-go orders
 qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit verba
 who although summoned they-were-going nevertheless it-was-decided words
 apud regem facere, ut ingenium aut avorsum flecterent aut
 before the-king to-make that (his)-nature either hostile they-might-bend or
 cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. itaque Sulla, quoniam
 desirous of-peace more-vehemently they-might-kindle and-so Sulla to-whose
 facundiae, non aetati a Manlio concessum, pauca verba
 eloquence not age by Manlius it-was-yielded a-few words
 huiusce modi locutus: 'Rex Bocche, magna laetitia nobis est,
 of-this sort spoke king Bocchus great joy to-us it-is

quom te talem virum di monuere, uti aliquando pacem
since you such a-man the-gods have-advised that at-last peace
 quam bellum malles neu te optimum cum pessumo
than war you-should-prefer nor yourself the-best with the-worst
 omnium Iugurtha miscendo conmaculares, simul nobis
of-all Jugurtha by-mingling you-should-stain at-the-same-time from-us
 demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem
you-should-take-away the-bitter necessity equally you erring
 atque illum sceleratissimum persequi. ad hoc populo Romano
and him most-criminal to-pursue to this to-the-people Roman
 iam a principio inopi melius visum amicos quam servos
already from the-beginning poor better it-seemed friends than slaves
 quaerere, tutiusque rati volentibus quam coactis imperitare.
to-seek and-safer thinking the-willing than the-compelled to-rule
 tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia, primum quia
for-you indeed none more-advantageous than-our friendship first because
 procul absumus, in quo offensae minumum, gratia par
far we-are-distant in which of-offense least the-goodwill equal
 ac si prope adessemus; dein quia parentis abunde habemus,
as if near we-were-present then because subjects abundantly we-have
 amicorum neque nobis neque quoquam omnium satis
of-friends neither for-us nor for-anyone of-all enough
 fuit. atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset:
has-there-been and this would-that from the-beginning to-you had-pleased
 profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura
surely from the-people Roman to this time by-much more
 bona accepisses, quam mala perpressus esses.
good-things you-would-have-received than bad-things endured you-would-have
 sed quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit, quoi
but since of-human affairs fortune most-things rules to-whom
 scilicet placuit et vim et gratiam nostram te experiri,
evidently it-pleased both the-force and the-goodwill our you to-experience

nunc, quando per illam licet, festina atque, uti coepisti,
now since through her it-is-allowed hurry and as you-have-begun
 perge. multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata
go-on many and opportune-things you-have by-which more-easily (your)-errors
 officiis superes. postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte,
by-services you-may-overcome finally this into breast your let-down
 numquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum esse. nam
never the-people Roman in-kindnesses conquered to-have-been for
 bello quid valeat, tute scis.' ad ea Bocchus placide
in-war what it-is-worth you-yourself know to those-things Bocchus calmly
 et benigne, simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit:
and kindly at-the-same-time a-few for offense his-own words makes
 se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutandum
himself not with-hostile mind but on-account-of the-kingdom to-be-protected
 arma cepisse. nam Numidiae partem, unde vi Iugurtham
arms to-have-taken for of-Numidia the-part whence by-force Jugurtha
 expulerit, iure belli suam factam; eam vastari a Mario
he-had-expelled by-right of-war his-own made that to-be-laid-waste by Marius
 pati nequuisse. praeterea missis antea Romam legatis
to-allow he-had-been-unable besides sent before to-Rome envoys
 repulsum ab amicitia. ceterum vetera omittere ac
to-have-been-repulsed from friendship but the-old-things to-let-go and
 tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum
then if through Marius it-should-be-allowed envoys to the-senate
 missurum. dein copia facta animus barbari ab
he-would-send then the-opportunity given the-mind of-the-barbarian by
 amicis flexus, quos Iugurtha, cognita legatione Sullae et
(his)-friends turned whom Jugurtha learned the-embassy of-Sulla and
 Manli metuens id, quod parabatur, donis corruerat.
of-Manlius fearing that which was-being-prepared with-gifts had-corrupted

Marius interea exercitu in hibernaculis conposito cum
Marius meanwhile with-the-army in winter-quarters settled with
 expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca
light-armed cohorts and part of-the-cavalry sets-out into places
 sola obsessum turrim regiam, quo Iugurtha perfugas omnis
lonely to-besiege a-tower royal where Jugurtha deserters all
 praesidium inposuerat. tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando
as-a-garrison had-placed then again Bocchus whether by-reflecting
 quae sibi duobus proeliis venerant, seu admonitus ab aliis
what-things to-him in-two battles had-come or advised by other
 amicis, quos incorruptos Iugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia
friends whom uncorrupted Jugurtha had-left from all the-supply
 necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita
of-intimates five chose of-whom both the-loyalty known
 et ingenia validissima erant. eos ad Marium ac deinde, si
and the-talents most-powerful were them to Marius and then if
 placeat, Romam legatos ire iubet, agundarum rerum et
it-should-please to-Rome as-envoys to-go he-orders of-conducting affairs and
 quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam ipsis permittit.
in-whatever way of-the-war settling the-license to-them he-grants
 illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur, deinde
they early to the-winter-quarters of-the-Romans set-out then
 in itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique
on the-march by Gaetolian brigands surrounded and-stripped
 pavidi sine decore ad Sullam profugiunt, quem consul in
terrified without dignity to Sulla they-flee whom the-consul on
 expeditionem proficiscens pro praetore reliquerat. eos ille
an-expedition setting-out in-place-of praetor had-left them he
 non pro vanis hostibus, uti meriti erant, sed accurate ac
not as false enemies as deserved they-had but carefully and
 liberaliter habuit. qua re barbari et famam Romanorum
generously treated by-which thing the-barbarians both the-report of-the-Romans

avaritiae falsam et Sullam ob munificentiam in
avarice false and Sulla on-account-of (his)-munificence toward
 sese amicum rati. nam etiam tum largitio multis ignota
themselves a-friend thought for even then largess to-many unknown
 erat; munificus nemo putabatur nisi pariter volens; dona omnia
was munificent no-one was-thought unless equally willing gifts all
 in benignitate habebantur. igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi
in kindness were-held therefore to-the-quaestor the-commissions of-Bocchus
 patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque
they-disclose at-once from him they-ask that as-patron and-adviser
 sibi adsit; copias fidem magnitudinem regis
to-them he-should-be-present the-forces the-good-faith the-greatness of-the-king
 sui et alia, quae aut utilia aut benevolentiae esse
their-own and other-things which either useful or of-goodwill to-be
 credebant, oratione extollunt. dein Sulla omnia pollicito
they-believed in-speech they-extol then with-Sulla all-things having-promised
 docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba
taught in-what way before Marius likewise before the-senate words
 facerent, circiter dies quadraginta ibidem opperiantur.
they-should-make about days forty there they-wait

104 Marius postquam infecto quo intenderat negotio Cirtam
Marius after unaccomplished which he-had-aimed-at business to-Cirta
 reddit et de adventu legatorum certior factus est, illosque et
returns and about the-arrival of-the-envoys informed made was them and
 Sullam ab Utica venire iubet, item L. Bellienum praetorem,
Sulla from Utica to-come he-orders likewise Lucius Bellienus the-praetor
 Utica, praeterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum
from-Utica besides all from-everywhere of-senatorial rank with-whom
 mandata Bocchi cognoscit. legatis potestas Romam eundi
the-commissions of-Bocchus he-learns to-the-envoys the-power to-Rome of-going
 fit, et ab consule interea indutiae postulabantur. ea
is-made and from the-consul meanwhile a-truce were-asked those-things

Sullae et plerisque placuere; pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet
to-Sulla and to-most were-pleasing a-few more-fiercely decide doubtless
 ignari humanarum rerum, quae fluxae et mobiles semper in
ignorant of-human affairs which fluid and changeable always into
 advorsa mutantur. ceterum Mauri impetratis omnibus rebus
adverse-things are-turned but the-Moors obtained all things
 tres Romam profecti duce Cn. Octavio Rusone, qui quaestor
three to-Rome set-out with-leader Gnaeus Octavius Ruso who as-quaestor
 stipendium in Africam portaverat, duo ad regem redeunt.
the-pay into Africa bad-carried two to the-king return
 ex iis Bocchus quom cetera tum maxime benignitatem
from them Bocchus both the-rest and especially the-kindness
 et studium Sullae lubens accepit. Romaeque legatis eius,
and zeal of-Sulla gladly received and-at-Rome to-the-envoys his
 postquam errasse regem et Iugurthae scelere lapsum
after to-have-erred the-king and by-Jugurtha's crime fallen
 deprecati sunt, amicitiam et foedus petentibus hoc modo
pleaded they-had friendship and a-treaty to-those-seeking in-this way
 respondetur: 'Senatus et populus Romanus benefici et iniuriae
it-is-answered the-senate and people Roman of-kindness and of-injury
 memor esse solet. ceterum Boccho, quoniam paenitet, delicti
mindful to-be is-wont but to-Bocchus since he-repents of-the-offense
 gratiam facit: foedus et amicitia dabuntur, quom meruerit.'
pardon it-grants a-treaty and friendship will-be-given when he-has-deserved
 Quis rebus cognitis Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit,
these things learned Bocchus by letter from Marius asked
 uti Sullam ad se mitteret, quouis arbitratu communibus
that Sulla to himself he-should-send by-whose judgment for-common
 negotiis consuleretur, is missus cum praesidio equitum atque
affairs it-might-be-provided he sent with a-guard of-cavalry and
 funditorum Balearum. praeterea iere sagittarii et cohors
slingers Balearic besides went archers and a-cobort

105

Paeligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa,
Paelignian with skirmishers' arms of-the-march hastening for-the-sake
 neque his secus atque aliis armis advorsum tela
nor by-these otherwise than by-other arms against the-weapons
 hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. sed in itinere quinto
of-the-enemy because they light are protected but on the-march on-the-fifth
 denique die Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus
at-last day Volux the-son of-Bocchus suddenly on plains open
 cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit, qui temere
with a-thousand not more cavalry himself shows who rashly
 et effuse euntes Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum
and scattered going to-Sulla and-to-the-others all both a-number
 ampliorem vero et hostilem metum efficiebant. igitur
larger than-the-truth and hostile fear produced therefore
 se quisque expedire, arma atque tela temptare, intendere;
himself each made-ready arms and weapons tested strained
 timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus et
fear considerable but hope greater inasmuch-as for-victors and
 advorsum eos, quos saepe vicerant. interim equites
against those whom often they-had-conquered meanwhile cavalry
 exploratum praemissi rem, uti erat, quietam nuntiant.
to-reconnoiter sent-ahead the-thing as it-was quiet report

106 Volux adveniens quaestorem appellat dicitque se a patre
Volux arriving the-quaestor addresses and-says himself by (his)-father
 Boccho obviam illis simul et praesidio missum. deinde
Bocchus to-meet them at-the-same-time and as-a-guard sent then
 eum et proximum diem sine metu coniuncti eunt. post
that and the-next day without fear joined they-go after
 ubi castra locata et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus
when the-camp placed and of-the-day evening was suddenly the-Moor
 incerto voltu pavens ad Sullam adcurrit dicitque sibi ex
with-uncertain look trembling to Sulla runs-up and-says to-him from

speculatoribus cognitum Iugurtham haud procul abesse.
the-scouts learned Jugurtha not far to-be-distant
 simul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat atque
at-the-same-time that by-night secretly with-him he-should-flee he-asks and
 hortatur. ille animo feroci negat se totiens fusum
urges he with-spirit fierce denies himself so-often routed
 Numidam pertimescere: virtuti suorum satis credere; etiam
the-Numidian to-dread in-the-virtue of-his-own enough to-trust even
 si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quam, proditis
if certain destruction were-at-hand to-be-going-to-stay rather than betrayed
 quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post
those-whom he-was-leading by-shameful flight an-uncertain and perhaps after
 paulo morbo interiturae vitae parceret. ceterum ab eodem
a-little by-disease about-to-perish life he-should-spare but by the-same-man
 monitus, uti noctu proficisceretur, consilium adprobat; ac
advised that by-night he-should-set-out the-plan he-approves and
 statim milites cenatos esse in castris ignisque quam
at-once the-soldiers dined to-have in the-camp and-fires as
 creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi iubet.
most-numerous to-be-made then at-the-first watch in-silence to-go-out he-orders
 iamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus Sulla pariter cum
and-now by-the-night march tired all Sulla equally with
 ortu solis castra metabatur, quom equites Mauri nuntiant
the-rising of-the-sun the-camp was-marking-out when cavalry Moorish report
 Iugurtham circiter duum milium intervallo ante consedis-
Jugurtha about of-two miles at-an-interval ahead to-have-encamped
 se. quod postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros
which after heard it-was then indeed huge fear ours
 invadit; credere se proditos a Voluce et insidiis
seizes they-believed themselves betrayed by Volux and by-an-ambush

circumventos. ac fuere qui dicerent manu vindicandum
 surrounded and there-were who said by-hand it-must-be-avenged
 neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.
 nor with him so-great a-crime unavenged to-be-left

XXVIII • THE BETRAYAL OF JUGURTHA

Sulla passes through Jugurtha's camp with Volux. Bocchus, dealing with both sides, sends word that he will do what Rome wishes; meeting Sulla by night, he offers his friendship and promises to keep Jugurtha beyond the Muluccha, and Sulla urges him to hand Jugurtha over. Jugurtha, through his envoy Aspar, asks Bocchus instead to hand Sulla over to him at a peace conference. After long hesitation the king sets an ambush at a conference and seizes Jugurtha, who is handed to Sulla and led to Marius. Meanwhile the Gauls defeat the Roman generals. Marius is made consul again and triumphs, and the hopes of the state rest on him.

107 At Sulla, quamquam eadem existumabat, tamen ab
 but Sulla although the-same-things he-thought nevertheless from
 iniuria Maurum prohibet. suos hortatur, uti fortem animum
 injury the-Moor he-protects his-men he-urges that a-brave spirit
 gererent: saepe antea a paucis strenuis advorsum
 they-should-bear often before by a-few energetic-men against
 multitudinem bene pugnatum; quanto sibi in proelio
 a-multitude well it-had-been-fought by-how-much themselves in battle
 minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore; nec quemquam
 less they-had-spared by-so-much safer would-be nor anyone
 decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium
 to-befit who (his)-hands had-armed from unarmed feet help
 petere, in maximo metu nudum et caecum corpus ad hostis
 to-seek in the-greatest fear the-naked and blind body to the-enemy
 vortere. dein Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Iovem
 to-turn then Volux since hostile-things he-was-doing Jupiter

maxumum obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi
greatest having-called-to-witness that of-the-crime and treachery of-Bocchus
 testis adesset, ex castris abire iubet. ille lacrumans
as-witness he-should-be-present from the-camp to-go-away he-orders he weeping
 orare, ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, ac
begged that-not those-things he-should-believe nothing by-guile done and
 magis calliditate Iugurthae, quoi videlicet speculanti iter
rather by-the-cunning of-Jugurtha to-whom evidently spying the-route
 suum cognitum esset. ceterum quoniam neque ingentem
his known had-been but since neither a-buge
 multitudinem haberet et spes opesque eius ex patre suo
multitude he-had and the-hopes and-resources his on father his-own
 penderent, credere illum nihil palam ausurum, quom ipse filius
depended to-believe him nothing openly would-dare when the-very son
 testis adesset. qua re optimum factu videri per media
as-witness was-present for-which reason best to-do to-seem through the-middle
 eius castra palam transire; sese vel praemissis vel ibidem relictis
his camp openly to-cross himself either sent-ahead or there left
 Mauris solum cum Sulla iturum. ea res, uti in tali negotio,
the-Moors alone with Sulla would-go that thing as in such a-business
 probata; ac statim profecti, quia de inproviso acciderant,
approved and at-once they-set-out because from the-unforeseen they-had-come-upon
 dubio atque haesitante Iugurtha incolumes transeunt. deinde
hesitating and wavering Jugurtha unharmed they-cross then
 paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum est.
in-a-few days whither to-go they-had-aimed arrived it-was
 Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam Aspar nomine multum
there with Bocchus a-Numidian certain Aspar by-name much
 et familiariter agebat, praemissus ab Iugurtha, postquam
and intimately was-dealing sent-ahead by Jugurtha after
 Sullam accitum audierat, orator et subdole speculatum
Sulla summoned he-had-beard as-spokesman and craftily to-spy-on

Bocchi consilia; praeterea Dabar, Massugrae filius, ex gente
of-Bocchus the-plans besides Dabar of-Massugrada the-son from the-race
 Masinissae, ceterum materno genere impar — nam pater eius
of-Masinissa but in-maternal descent unequal for father his
 ex concubina ortus erat —, Mauro ob ingeni multa
from a-concubine sprung had to-the-Moor on-account-of of-talent many
 bona carus acceptusque. quem Bocchus fidum esse Romanis
good-qualities dear and-welcome whom Bocchus loyal to-be to-the-Romans
 multis ante tempestatibus expertus ilico ad Sullam nuntiatum
in-many former seasons having-tested at-once to Sulla to-announce
 mittit: paratum sese facere quae populus Romanus
sends ready himself to-do what-things the-people Roman
 vellet; conloquio diem locum tempus ipse deligeret, neu
should-wish for-the-conference the-day the-place the-time himself he-should-choose nor
 Iugurthae legatum pertimesceret; consulto sese omnia cum illo
of-Jugurtha the-envoy should-dread deliberately himself all-things with him
 integra habere, quo res communis licentius gereretur;
unimpaired to-keep so-that the-affair common more-freely might-be-conducted
 nam ab insidiis eius aliter caveri nequiverat. sed
for from the-plots his otherwise to-be-guarded-against to-have-been-impossible but
 ego comperior Bocchum magis Punica fide quam ob
I find Bocchus more with-Punic faith than on-account-of
 ea, quae praedicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam
those-things which he-professed at-once the-Romans and the-Numidian
 spe pacis attinuisse multumque cum animo suo volvere
with-hope of-peace to-have-held and-much with mind his-own to-turn-over
 solitum, Iugurtham Romanis an illi Sullam traderet;
accustomed Jugurtha to-the-Romans or to-him Sulla he-should-hand-over
 lubidinem adversum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.
lust against us fear for us to-have-urged

Igitur Sulla respondit se pauca coram Aspare 109
therefore Sulla replied himself a-few-things in-the-presence-of Aspar
 locuturum, cetera occulte nullo aut quam paucissimis
would-say the-rest secretly with-no-one or as fewest-possible
 praesentibus. simul edocet, quae sibi responderentur.
present at-the-same-time he-instructs what-things to-him should-be-answered
 postquam, sicuti volverat, congressi, dicit se missum
after as he-had-wished met he-says himself sent
 a consule venisse quaesitum ab eo, pacem an bellum
by the-consul to-have-come to-ask from him peace or war
 agiturus foret. tum rex, uti praeceptum fuerat,
(whether)-about-to-pursue he-would-be then the-king as instructed it-had-been
 post diem decimum redire iubet, ac nihil etiam nunc
after the-day tenth to-return orders and nothing even now
 decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum. deinde ambo in sua
to-have-decided but on-that day he-would-answer then both into their-own
 castra digressi. sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla
camps departed but when most of-the-night had-gone-on Sulla
 a Boccho occulte accersitur. ab utroque tantummodo fidi
by Bocchus secretly is-summoned by each only trusty
 interpretes adhibentur, praeterea Dabar internuntius, sanctus
interpreters are-brought-in besides Dabar as-intermediary a-scrupulous
 vir et ex sententia ambobus. ac statim sic rex incipit:
man and to the-liking for-both and at-once thus the-king begins
 ‘Numquam ego ratus sum fore uti rex maxumus in hac 110
never I thought have it-would-be that a-king the-greatest in this
 terra et omnium, quos novi, privato homini gratiam
land and of-all whom I-have-known to-a-private man gratitude
 deberem. et mehercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum multis
I-should-owe and by-Hercules Sulla before you known to-many
 orantibus. aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius
begging to-others of-my-own-accord I-myself help brought of-no-one

indigus. id inminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor.

needing that diminished which the-rest to-grieve are-wont I rejoice

fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando pretium tuae amicitiae,

let-it-have-been for-me to-have-needed once the-price of-your friendship

qua apud meum animum nihil carius est. id adeo experiri

than-which in my mind nothing dearer is that indeed to-test

licet. arma viros pecuniam, postremo quicquid animo

it-is-allowed arms men money finally whatever to-the-mind

lubet, sume utere, et, quoad vires, numquam tibi redditam

pleases take use and as-long-as you-shall-live never to-you repaid

gratiam putaveris: semper apud me integra erit; denique

the-gratitude you-will-think always with me intact it-will-be finally

nihil me sciente frustra voles. nam, ut ego aestumo, regem

nothing me knowing in-vain you-will-wish for as I reckon a-king

armis quam munificentia vinci minus flagitiosum est.

by-arms than by-munificence to-be-conquered less disgraceful is

ceterum de re publica vostra, quocius curator huc missus

but about the-thing public your whose guardian hither sent

es, paucis accipe. bellum ego populo Romano neque

you-have-been in-few-words hear war I on-the-people Roman neither

feci neque factum umquam volvi; at finis meos advorsum

made nor made ever wished but the-boundaries my against

armatos armis tutatus sum. id omitto, quando vobis ita

armed-men by-arms protected I-have that I-let-go since to-you so

placet. gerite quod voltis cum Iugurtha bellum. ego flumen

it-pleases wage what you-wish with Jugurtha war I the-river

Muluccham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar

Muluccha which between me and Micipsa was not will-go-beyond

neque id intrare Iugurtham sinam. praeterea si quid meque

nor it to-enter Jugurtha will-I-allow besides if anything of-me

vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis.

and-of-you worthy you-shall-have-sought not repulsed you-will-depart

Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice, de pace et 111
to those-things Sulla for himself briefly and moderately about peace and
 communibus rebus multis disseruit. denique regi patefacit,
common affairs much discussed finally to-the-king he-reveals
 quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam
what he-was-promising the-senate and people Roman since
 armis amplius valuissent, non in gratiam habituros; faciendum
in-arms more they-had-prevailed not into gratitude would-take to-be-done
 ei aliquid, quod illorum magis quam sua rettulisse
by-him something which of-them more than his-own to-have-concerned
 videretur. id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam copiam Iugurthae
should-seem that indeed at hand to-be since the-access of-Iugurtha
 haberet. quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore ut illi
he-had whom if to-the-Romans he-had-handed-over it-would-be that to-him
 plurimum deberetur; amicitiam foedus Numidiae partem, quam
the-most would-be-owed friendship a-treaty of-Numidia the-part which
 nunc peteret, tum ultro adventuram. rex primo negitare:
now he-was-seeking then unasked would-come the-king at-first refused
 cognationem, adfinitatem, praeterea foedus intervenisse; ad
kinship relation-by-marriage besides a-treaty to-have-intervened to
 hoc metuere, ne fluxa fide usus popularium animos
this he-feared lest shifting good-faith having-used of-the-countrymen the-minds
 avorteret, quis et Iugurtha carus et Romani invidi erant.
he-should-estrangle to-whom both Iugurtha dear and the-Romans hateful were
 denique saepius fatigatus lenitur et ex voluntate Sullae
finally repeatedly wearied he-is-softened and by the-wish of-Sulla
 omnia se facturum promittit. ceterum ad simulandam pacem,
all-things himself would-do promises but for pretending the-peace
 quousque Numida defessus bello avidissimus erat, quae
of-which the-Numidian worn-out by-war most-eager was what-things
 utilia visa constituunt. ita conposito dolo digrediuntur.
useful seemed they-arrange so arranged the-trick they-part

- 112 At rex postero die Asparem, Iugurthae legatum, appellat
but the-king on-the-next day Aspar of-Iugurtha the-envoy addresses
 dicitque sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum posse
and-says to-him through Dabar from Sulla learned could
 condicionibus bellum poni: quam ob rem regis
on-terms the-war to-be-ended which on-account-of thing of-king
 sui sententiam exquireret. ille laetus in castra Iugurthae
his-own the-opinion he-should-look-out be glad into the-camp of-Iugurtha
 proficiscitur. deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus properato itinere
sets-out then by him all-things instructed hastened the-march
 post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum et ei nuntiat
after the-day eighth returns to Bocchus and to-him reports
 Iugurtham cupere omnia quae imperarentur facere, sed Mario
Iugurtha to-desire all-things which should-be-ordered to-do but Marius
 parum confidere; saepe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis
too-little to-trust often before with generals Roman
 pacem conventam frustra fuisse. ceterum Bocchus si ambobus
peace agreed in-vain to-have-been but Bocchus if for-both
 consultum et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una
provided and ratified a-peace he-wished he-should-give effort that together
 ab omnibus quasi de pace in conloquium veniretur, ibique
by all as-if about peace into a-conference it-should-be-come and-there
 sibi Sullam traderet. quom talem virum in potestatem
to-him Sulla he-should-hand-over when such a-man in power
 habuisset, tum fore uti iussu senatus aut populi foedus
he-had-had then it-would-be that by-order of-the-senate or of-the-people a-treaty
 fieret; neque hominem nobilem non sua ignavia sed
should-be-made nor a-man noble not by-his-own cowardice but
 ob rem publicam in hostium potestate relictum iri.
on-account-of the-thing public in of-the-enemy the-power left would-be

Haec Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit; 113
these-things the-Moor with-himself himself long turning-over at-last promised
 ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus, parum comperimus. sed
but by-guile or truly he-delayed too-little we-have-found-out but
 plerumque regiae voluntates ut vehementes sic mobiles, saepe
generally royal wishes as vehement so changeable often
 ipsae sibi advorsae. postea tempore et loco constituto,
themselves to-themselves contrary afterward the-time and place fixed
 in conloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam
into a-conference that about peace it-should-be-come Bocchus Sulla
 modo, modo Iugurthae legatum appellare, benigne habere,
now now of-Jugurtha the-envoy addressed kindly treated
 idem ambobus polliceri. illi pariter laeti ac spei bonae
the-same-things to-both promised they equally glad and of-hope good
 pleni esse. sed nocte ea, quae proxuma fuit ante diem
full were but on-the-night that which nearest was before the-day
 conloquio decretum, Maurus adhibitis amicis ac statim
for-the-conference decreed the-Moor brought-in (his)-friends and at-once
 inmutata voluntate remotis ceteris dicitur secum ipse multum
changed (his)-wish sent-away the-rest is-said with-himself himself much
 agitavisse, vultu colore motu pariter atque animo varius;
to-have-debated with-face color motion equally as with-mind varying
 quae scilicet ita tacente ipso occulta pectoris patefecisse.
which evidently so silent himself the-secrets of-(his)-breast to-have-revealed
 tamen postremo Sullam accersi iubet et ex illius
nevertheless finally Sulla to-be-summoned he-orders and by his
 sententia Numidae insidias tendit. deinde ubi dies advenit
judgment for-the-Numidian a-trap he-lays then when the-day came
 et ei nuntiatum est Iugurtham haud procul abesse,
and to-him announced it-was Jugurtha not far to-be-distant
 cum paucis amicis et quaestore nostro quasi obviis honoris
with a-few friends and the-quaestor our as-if to-meet-him of-honor

causa procedit in tumultum facillimum visu insidiantibus.
for-the-sake he-proceeds onto a-mound most-easy to-see for-those-lying-in-wait
 eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis,
to-the-same-place the-Numidian with most intimates his-own unarmed
 uti dictum erat, adcedit, ac statim signo dato undique
as said it-had-been approaches and at-once the-signal given from-all-sides
 simul ex insidiis invaditur. ceteri obtruncati, Iugurtha Sullae
at-once from the-ambush he-is-attacked the-rest cut-down Jugurtha to-Sulla
 victus traditur et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

bound is-handed-over and by him to Marius led-away was

114 Per idem tempus advorsum Gallos ab ducibus nostris

about the-same time against the-Gauls by leaders our

Q. Caepione et M. Manlio male pugnatum. quo
Quintus Caepio and Marcus Manlius badly it-had-been-fought at-which
 metu Italia omnis contremuerat. illique et inde usque ad
fear Italy all had-trembled and-they and from-then right-up to
 nostram memoriam Romani sic habuere, alia omnia virtuti
our memory the-Romans thus held other all-things to-virtue
 suae prona esse, cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria
their-own easy to-be with the-Gauls for safety not for glory
 certare. sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum et
to-fight but after the-war in Numidia finished and
 Iugurtham Romam victum adduci nuntiatum est, Marius
Jugurtha to-Rome bound to-be-brought reported it-was Marius
 consul absens factus est, et ei decreta provincia Gallia,
consul absent made was and to-him decreed the-province Gaul
 isque kalendis Ianuariis magna gloria consul triumphavit.
and-be on-the-Kalends of-January with-great glory as-consul triumphed
 et ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae.
and at-that time the-hope and resources of-the-state in him placed