

## Chapter 2 Marius in Sallust's Jugurthine War

### Preface

Sallust (86-34) was born into a plebeian family in Amiternum. He came to Rome to embark on a political career and became quaestor in 59 and joined the senate's ranks. In 52 he was tribune and participated in the prosecution of Milo for the assassination of Clodius, about which we will read later in the semester. He was expelled from the senate in 50 on charges of immorality, but just as likely because he was of Caesar's party. In 47 he became Praetor and rejoined the senate. After the battle of Thapsus in N. Africa in 46, where Caesar defeated the remnants of Pompey's forces under Scipio and Cato, Sallust was left as governor of Africa Nova. The Numidians charged him with extortion for a year of memorable plundering and oppression. Whether the charges are true or not must be judged against the fact that he subsequently owned a large estate inside Rome with some of the city's finest gardens (Horti Sallustiani), and a villa at Tibur (Tivoli). His gardens were so magnificent that they became an imperial retreat.

He retired from public life in 43 and began to write history. We shall read selections from his Coniuratio Catilinae (43) and his Bellum Jugurthinum (41). His political allegiance to Caesar made him a popularis, and his writings show a healthy contempt for senatorial corruption, which he attributes to the nobilitas by which he means the optimates. His natural political sympathies then are opposite to Cicero's.

His historical writings are less known for their accuracy, especially in matters of chronology, as for their moral tone. They draw on Herodotus as a model for his storytelling and on Thucydides for his critical acumen. Sallust is less religious or scientific than they; his lenses are partisan politics and character. His character studies anticipate Plutarch's Lives: he proposes that the morality or immorality of people's actions are the most significant forces in history. And morality dominates over politics: Sallust savages even figures of his party like Marius when deserved, and he praises the qualities of ruthless enemies, like Jugurtha, when it is warranted. His bitter critique of Roman republican character made his works especially valued in the Middle Ages.

His subject of the war against Jugurtha is obviously suggested by his governorship of Numidia, of which Jugurtha was king. But it also fits well with Sallust's political leanings. It celebrates the aristeia (moment of heroic achievement) of Marius, a novus homo (a man from a family that had never held a curule office: curule aedile, praetor, consul). Marius was a hero of both Caesar (who was a nephew of his wife) and Cicero (another novus homo from the same home town). He was perhaps the greatest of the populares for his military genius; not for his political or oratorical skills which seem to have been limited.

The battle against Jugurtha, however, is less about Marius than it is about Rome. During this struggle it became apparent how corrupt the senatorial system of provincial management truly was. When foreign leaders came to the senate to ask for help with dynastic disputes or with complaints of misconduct by Roman businessmen, they would usually find the senators with their hands out. Jugurtha is portrayed as a man who realizes this, a man of exceptional natural abilities, self-confidence, and above all native pride and disdain for the Romans. Jugurtha plays the

Romans like a fiddle, bribing his way to get what he wants, nimbly retreating politically or militarily as necessary. Rome's inability to speak with one voice (one senator protests while another takes a bribe) and its inability to capture Jugurtha once it decides on full war, makes Rome, the greatest power in the Mediterranean, look foolish. The little Numidian king provokes something of an imperial crisis, making it all the more necessary that he be brought to book. And this Marius does.

The passages we will read include Jugurtha's nature, Scipio's warning to him about associating with corrupt senators, Marius' tiff with his predecessor Metellus Numidicus, and the final triumph brought about by Marius' Quaestor, Sulla. In Sallust's rather difficult style, you will notice alternate (older) forms, esp. u for i (plurimum for plurimum, existumans for existimans), pervasive use of the historical infinitive, all manner of conditional speech put into indirect discourse, an unusual number of fore ut constructions (standing for the missing Latin future passive inf.), and in general a troublesome compactness of expression. Sallust's style is a bit old fashioned and grand both to create an impression of being in the past and to sustain the weight of his moral judgment.

Sallust Bellum Jugurthinum 6

pollens viribus > vis, "flourishing with strength" Sallust perhaps has in mind the model of plants: virens is the brilliant "green" (vigor) of new growth  
 maxumē validus = validissimus  
 ingenio "nature" "character"  
 luxū dative  
 inertiae "sloth"  
 corrupendum, translate after the datives which are best construed not as agents but indirect objects with dedit.  
 cursu, gloriā abl. of specification; cursu "running"  
 aequalibus, subst.; so also omnes, omnibus l.5  
 anteiret "surpass"  
 ad hoc "in addition" (ll.6, 18)  
 venando > veno, venare "hunting"  
 plura tempora...agere "spent most of his time"  
 plurimum, substantive "the most (of all his peers)"  
 regno suo gloriae, double dative (gloriae dat. of purpose, regno dat. of reference)  
 fore = futurum esse in indirect statement after existimans  
 exacta...liberis, an ablative absolute interrupting the postquam cl.  
 negotio "difficulty"  
 multaolvebat, in its intellectual sense (in animo) "pondered much"  
 animi "soul", the lower irrational faculty is denoted by animus as opposed to the mind by anima  
 transvorsos = transversos "astray"  
 studia "zeal" in the sense of "excitement"  
 in Iugurtham "towards (in favor of) Jugurtha"  
 ex quibus "from whom", translate with oriretur  
 qua, after ne = aliqua; ne introduces a clause of fearing after anxius erat

Qui<sup>1</sup> ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decorā facie, sed multo maxime ingenio validus, non se luxu neque inertiae corrupendum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare<sup>2</sup>, iaculari; cursu cum aequalibus certare et, cum omnes gloriā anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus<sup>3</sup> aut in primis ferire: plurimum facere, [et] minimum ipse de se loqui. quibus rebus Micipsa<sup>4</sup> tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existumans virtutem Iugurthae regno suo gloriae fore, tamen, postquam hominem adulescentem exactā suā aetate et parvis liberis magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer eo negotio permotus multa cum animo suoolvebat. terrebat<sup>5</sup> eum natura mortalium avida imperi et praiceps ad explendam animi cupidinem, praeterea opportunitas suae liberorumque aetatis, quae etiam mediocres viros spe praedae transvorsos agit, ad hoc studia Numidarum in Iugurtham accensa, ex quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

<sup>1</sup> connecting relative, so also quibus l.9

<sup>2</sup> Here begins a chain of infinitives, probably best regarded as historical in use, equivalent to equitabat etc.

<sup>3</sup> The historical infinitive is understood as having a nominative subject, so any modifiers will be nom. as well.

<sup>4</sup> Jugurtha was the grandson of Masinissa, the ally of Scipio Africanus in the 2nd Punic War. He was the son of Mastanabal (Masinissa's son) by a concubine, and thus illegitimate. Micipsa is Masinissa's other son who became king and adopted Jugurtha (his nephew) upon his accession to the throne.

<sup>5</sup> The subject is natura

Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum* 8. After distinguishing himself in the Numidian contingent at Numantia in Spain (133; ever since the 2nd Punic war and the service of the Numidian king Masinissa– Jugurtha's grandfather–to Scipio Africanus, the Scipios had cultivated a close relationship with the Numidians; Scipio Aemilianus executed the will of Masinissa), Scipio Aemilianus cautions Jugurtha not to associate himself with certain wealthy Romans courting him and promising him the throne.

fuēre = fuērunt  
 bono honestoque, subst. "the good and virtue" abl. of comparison after  
 potiores  
 domi, locative "at home"  
 fore ut "it would come about that"  
 potiretur "become master of" "receive" + gen.  
 in ipso (esse) "consists in this very thing"  
 venalia "for sale"  
 Romae, locative "in Rome"  
 praetorium "his command tent"  
 quibus, after neu = aliquibus "anyone"  
 multorum, gen. of possession "belongs to the many"  
 ultro, adv. "of their own accord" "in due course"  
 illi, dat.  
 venturum...casurum (esse) > cado, fut. act. inf. in ind. st. after monuit I.11  
 sin, conj. "but if..."  
 suāmet; -met is a suffix added to pronouns and personal adj. with no real  
 additional meaning

Eā tempestate in exercitu nostro fuēre complures novi  
 atque nobiles,<sup>6</sup> quibus divitiae bono honestoque  
 potiores erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari  
 magis quam honesti, qui Iugurthae non mediocrem  
 animum pollicitando accendebant, si<sup>7</sup> Micipsa rex  
 occidisset,<sup>8</sup> fore uti<sup>9</sup> solus imperi Numidiae potiretur: in  
 ipso maxumam virtutem, Romae omnia venalia esse.  
 sed postquam<sup>10</sup> Numantiā deletā P. Scipio dimittere  
 auxilia et ipse reverti domum decrevit, donatum atque  
 laudatum magnificē pro contione Iugurtham in  
 praetorium abduxit ibique secreto monuit, ut potius  
 publicē quam privatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret  
 neu quibus largiri insuesceret: periculosē a paucis emi  
 quod multorum esset. si permanere vellet in suis  
 artibus, ultro illi et gloriam et regnum venturum; sin  
 properantius pergeret, suāmet ipsum pecuniā  
 praecipitem casurum.

<sup>6</sup> The distinction is between men from consular families (nobiles) and men from families that had never attained the consulship.

<sup>7</sup> begins indirect discourse governed by pollicitando

<sup>8</sup> The original protasis contained a future perfect. All conditional protases use the subjunctive within indirect discourse. In secondary sequence, this fut. perf. is represented by the pluperfect subjunctive.

<sup>9</sup> uti = ut; the fore ut construction is used to represent the fut. pass./ dep. infinitive of all verbs, and the fut. act. inf. of verbs that lack a 4th princ. part. The former holds here, as fore ut...potiretur stands for a fut. dep. inf. Sallust could have used potiturum esse, but preferred the archaic effect of the complex construction.

<sup>10</sup> The postquam clause is interrupted by the abl. abs. Numantiā deletā; it really begins with P. Scipio

Sallust *Bellum Iugurthinum* 64. Marius announces his intention to seek the consulship. His commander, Metellus tries to dissuade him, but in quite an insulting and amusing way, asking him to wait until his own son could stand with him. (Metellus' son was only 20 and the age requirement for the consulship was 43). Sallust's understatement, Metellus' feigned incredulity, and Marius' reaction make this one of the more remarkable passages in the history.

haruspicias dicta "the interpretation of the entrails"; i.e., a consultation of the will of the gods before embarking on a venture  
 eodem...quo "to the same end...which"  
 petundi = (consulatūs) petendi "seeking the consulship"  
 gratiā, prep. + gen. "for the sake of"  
 missionem "military leave" "liberty"  
 cui "in him (Metellus)"  
 contemptor, used adjectively  
 malum "malady" lat. for the Grk. medical term *pathos* "a pathology"  
 commotus "taken aback"  
 mirari...monere: historical infinitives  
 prava "irregular things" see nn.1, 3  
 super fortunam animum gereret "entertain thoughts above his station"  
 caveret "cautioned him against"  
 cupiunda esse...debere: infs. in ind. st. after monere  
 ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica "as soon as the people's business allowed it"  
 saepius eadem postulanti "and when he asked the same thing repeatedly"  
 fertur "he (Metellus) is reported"  
 ne festinaret, "that he (Marius) should not be in a hurry" ind. comm. standing for the original direct command "don't be in a hurry".  
 satis maturē "soon enough"  
 suo: Metellus'  
 petiturum (esse) inf. in ind. st. after dixisse, l.15  
 is: Metellus' son  
 contubernio "as the adjutant of"  
 annos natus circiter viginti "(being) about 20 years old"  
 cum...tum "both...and"  
 pro honore quem affectabat "to the office at which he aimed"

Igitur ubi Marius haruspicias dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratiā missionem rogat. cui quamquam virtus, gloria atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. itaque primum commotus insolitā<sup>11</sup> re mirari eius consilium et quasi per amicitiam monere, ne tam prava inciperet neu super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse, debere illi<sup>12</sup> res suas satis placere; postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi iure<sup>13</sup> negaretur. postquam haec atque alia talia dixit neque animus Marii flectitur, respondit,<sup>14</sup> ubi primum potuisset<sup>15</sup> per negotia publica, facturum sese quae peteret. ac postea saepius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, ne festinaret abire:<sup>16</sup> satis maturē illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum. is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter viginti. quae res Marium cum pro honore, quem affectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat.

<sup>11</sup> Ironic. Metellus is playing dumb, like an old fuddy duddy "Ah, the consulship. Yes. You know, I think more unknown inexperienced lads like you really should be running the empire. Perhaps you might govern with my son when he grows up. Help me on with these boots; there's a good chap."  
<sup>12</sup> dat.; so also l.11

<sup>13</sup> "rightfully" because the consulship traditionally went to *nobiles*, members of families that had held it before. A "new man" was by definition challenging the system and had not held the consulship in a great while (see next passage, 73 l.13).

<sup>14</sup> Metellus is subject of *dixit*, *respondit*, *potuisset* and *facturum* (esse)

<sup>15</sup> The pluperfect subjunctive is used in ind. st. to represent the future perfect indicative of the original.

<sup>16</sup> Metellus delayed him until 12 days before the consular elections, but Marius travelled day and night to make it to Rome in time.

Bellum Iugurthinum 73. Metellus finally lets him leave, and while he is en route, letters about their differences reach the Roman people. Marius is elected consul with the help of politicians that Sallust calls "seditious".

Romae, locative  
 imperatori... decori: double dative construction "which had been the general's glory"  
 invidiae "a reason to dislike him"  
 illi alteri: Marius  
 generis "birth" "origins"  
 humilitas, lit. "lowliness"  
 ceterum, adv. "as for the rest"  
 in utroque "in the case of both men"  
 bona aut mala sua "their (Metellus' and Marius') good or bad qualities"  
 moderata (sunt) "was more of a controlling factor"  
 vulgum=vulgum  
 capitis accessere "accused of a capital offense"  
 celebrare in maius "they were exaggerating"  
 res fidesque "livelihood and credit"  
 in manibus: "depended upon the work of their own hands"  
 sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent "they considered the things they needed to do less important than his winning office"  
 tempestates "seasons"  
 frequens, modifying populus, the subject of iussit  
 Numidiam decreverat "awarded the province of Numidia (and command of the armies there)"

et Romae plebes<sup>17</sup> litteris, quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitae volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. imperatori nobilitas, quae antea decori fuit, invidiae esse; at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat. ceterum in utroque magis studia partium quam bona aut mala sua moderata. praeterea seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare<sup>18</sup>, Metellum omnibus contionibus capitis accessere, Marii virtutem in maius celebrare. denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant, relictis operibus frequentarent Marium et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. ita percussam nobilitate post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur. et postea populus, a tribuno plebis T. Manlio Mancino rogatus, quem vellet<sup>19</sup> cum Iugurtha bellum gerere, frequens Marium iussit. sed paulo ante senatus Numidiam Metello decreverat: ea res frustrata<sup>20</sup> fuit.

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<sup>17</sup> Translation should begin with the ablative absolute (litteris... cognitae).

Plebes is subject of acceperant.

<sup>18</sup> begins a series of historical infs.

<sup>19</sup> subjunctive in an indirect question governed by rogatus

<sup>20</sup> This set a dangerous precedent of taking away from the senate its traditional role of assigning provinces for command. The fact that the people "nullified" the senate's action and decided it for themselves, created a precedent that contributed to the rise of tyrants and the fall of the republic.

Bellum Iugurthinum 111-114: at the defeat of Jugurtha and the triumph of Marius. When Marius entered the war in 107, his strategy for victory included enlisting King Bocchus of Mauretania on the Roman side. This delicate diplomatic matter he entrusts to his Quaestor, Sulla. Jugurtha's strategy for victory involves taking an important hostage like Sulla. Both are relying on king Bocchus to set up a meeting where he will betray one.

rex: Bocchus

Asparem: Aspar, Jugurtha's ambassador to Mauretania

Dabar, Bocchus' interpreter; actually a descendant of Masinissa.

sibi... cognitum (esse) "that it was known to him(self)"

posse condicionibus bellum poni "that the war could be ended on terms" i.e., unconditional surrender is not a demand

ille I.4: Aspar

facere: governed by cupere

conventam...fuisse "had been entered into"

ceterum, adv. "as for the rest"

ambobus consultum (esse) "that the interests of both be consulted"

ratam (esse) > reor, "concluded, established"

daret operam ut, "that he (Bocchus) should arrange it so that"

in colloquium veniretur, impers. pass. "there would be a conference"

sibi, Jugurtha, whose words Aspar is repeating

cum habuisset...tum fore uti fieret "when he had... then...would happen"

non suā ignaviā, "not by his (the noble man's) lack of effort"

relictum iri "would not be left"

Maurus, "the Mauretanian" = Bocchus

volvens, in its intellectual sense (in animo)

dolo "treacherously" if he is still faithful to Sulla, his delay is for mere appearance to make Jugurtha trust him

plerumque "in general"

regiae > regius-a-um

saepe ipsae "often even"

advorsae=adversae sunt "at odds with"

habere "treated them"

accersi=arcessi "to be summoned"

ex "according to"

Numidae, dat. > Numida, -ae, m. "for the Numidian" = Jugurtha

insidias tendit, "he laid the trap"

At rex postero die Asparem, Iugurthae legatum, appellat dicitque sibi per Dabarem ex Sullā cognitum posse condicionibus bellum poni: quam ob rem regis sui sententiam exquireret. ille laetus in castra Iugurthae proficiscitur. deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus properato itinere post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum et ei nuntiat Iugurtham cupere omnia quae imperarentur facere, sed Mario parum confidere; saepe antea cum imperatoribus Romanīs pacem conventam frustra<sup>21</sup> fuisse. ceterum Bocchus si ambobus consultum et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut unā ab omnibus quasi de pace in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet. cum talem virum in potestatem habuisset,<sup>22</sup> tum fore uti<sup>23</sup> iussu senatūs aut populi foedus fieret; neque hominem nobilem non suā ignaviā sed ob rem publicam in hostium potestate relictum iri.<sup>24</sup> haec Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit; ceterum dolo an verē cunctatus, parum comperimus. sed plerumque regiae voluntates ut vehementes sic mobiles, saepe ipsae sibi advorsae. postea tempore et loco constituto, in colloquium uti<sup>25</sup> de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Iugurthae legatum appellare,<sup>26</sup> benignē habere, idem ambobus polliceri. illi pariter laeti ac spei bonae pleni esse... Postremo Sullam accersi iubet et ex illius sententiā Numidae insidias tendit. deinde ubi dies

<sup>21</sup> "in vain" because the senate often would not ratify what the field commanders negotiated.

<sup>22</sup> representing an original future perfect.

<sup>23</sup> fore uti...fieret: the fore ut construction is used to represent a (missing in Latin) future passive inf. in ind. st. for fieret.

<sup>24</sup> the supine + iri (pass. inf. of eo) is used as the equivalent of the fore ut constr., also to stand for the fut. pass. inf. in ind. st.

<sup>25</sup> purpose= constituto ut veniretur in colloquium de pace

<sup>26</sup> starts a series of historical infinitives

haud procul abesse "not far off"  
 quaestore nostro: Sulla was Quaestor (military adjutant) to Marius  
 obvius "going out to meet him"  
 causā, prep. + gen.  
 in tumulum "to a knoll / small hill" but also, with foreshadowing, "a tomb"  
 visu, supine, abl. of respect modifying facillumum (facillimum), "in plain sight  
 of"  
 insidiantibus, dat. subst. participle "the men lying in ambush"  
 eodem, adv. from old dative "to this same place"  
 Numida, "the Numidian" i.e., Jugurtha  
 plerisque necessariis suis "with most of his closest advisors"  
 uti + indic. = "as"  
 invaditur, impersonal passive  
 obruncati (sunt)  
 Romam, acc. of place to which: ad is omitted with names of cities  
 confectum (esse)  
 absens factus est "elected in absentia"  
 decreta (sunt)  
 sitae (sunt)

advenit et ei nuntiatum est Iugurtham haud procul  
 abesse, cum paucis amicis et quaestore nostro quasi  
 obvius honoris causā procedit<sup>27</sup> in tumulum facillumum  
 visu insidiantibus. eodem Numida cum plerisque  
 necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat,  
 accedit, ac statim signo dato undique simul ex insidiis  
 invaditur. ceteri obruncati, Iugurtha Sullae vinctus  
 traditur et ab eo ad Marium deductus est... Postquam  
 bellum in Numidiā confectum et Iugurtham Romam  
 vinctum adduci nuntiatum est, Marius consul absens  
 factus est, et ei decreta provincia Gallia, isque Kalendis  
 Ianuariis magnā gloriā consul triumphavit. et eā  
 tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae.

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<sup>27</sup> The subject is Bocchus, who goes out to meet Jugurtha with picked friends and Sulla