

THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

THE ARGUMENT.

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I. Mankind unreasonably complain of their nature, that, being weak and short-lived, it is governed by chance rather than intellectual power¹; for, on the contrary, you will find, upon reflection, that there is nothing more noble or excellent, and that to nature is wanting rather human industry than ability or time.

The ruler and director of the life of man is the mind, which, when it pursues glory in the path of true merit, is sufficiently powerful, efficient, and worthy of honour², and needs no assistance from fortune, who can neither bestow integrity, industry, or other good qualities, nor can take them away. But if the mind, ensnared by corrupt passions, abandons itself³ to indolence and sensuality, when it has indulged for a season in pernicious gratifications, and when bodily strength, time, and mental vigour, have been wasted in sloth, the infirmity of nature is accused, and those who are themselves in fault impute their delinquency to circumstances⁴.

¹ Intellectual power] *Virtute*. See the remarks on *virtus*, at the commencement of the Conspiracy of Catiline. A little below, I have rendered *via virtutis*, "the path of true merit."

² Worthy of honour] *Clarus*. "A person may be called *clarus* either on account of his great actions and merits; or on account of some honour which he has obtained, as the consuls were called *clarissimi viri*; or on account of great expectations which are formed from him. But since the worth of him who is *clarus* is known by all, it appears that the mind is here called *clarus* because its nature is such that pre-eminence is generally attributed to it, and the attention of all directed towards it." *Dietsch*.

³ Abandons itself] *Pessum datus est*. Is altogether sunk and overwhelmed.

⁴ Impute their delinquency to circumstances, &c.] *Suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt*. Men excuse their indolence and inactivity, by saying that the weakness of their faculties, or the circumstances in which they are placed, render them unable to accomplish anything of importance. But, says Seneca, *Satis natura homini dedit roboris, si illo utamur;—nolle in causâ, non posse irascimur*. "Nature has given men sufficient powers, if they will but use them;

If man, however, had as much regard for worthy objects, as he has spirit in the pursuit of what is useless¹, unprofitable, and even perilous, he would not be governed by circumstances more than he would govern them, and would attain to a point of greatness, at which, instead of being mortal², he would be immortalised by glory.

II. As man is composed of mind and body, so, of all our concerns and pursuits, some partake the nature of the body, and some that of the mind. Thus beauty of person, eminent wealth, corporeal strength, and all other things of this kind, speedily pass away; but the illustrious achievements of the mind are, like the mind itself, immortal.

Of the advantages of person and fortune, as there is a beginning, there is also an end; they all rise and fall³, increase and decay. But the mind, incorruptible and eternal, the ruler of the human race, actuates and has power over all things⁴, yet is itself free from control.

The depravity of those, therefore, is the more surprising, who, devoted to corporeal gratifications, spend their lives in luxury and indolence, but suffer the mind, than which nothing is better or greater in man, to languish in neglect and inac-

but they pretend that they cannot, when the truth is that they will not." "*Negotia* is a common word with Sallust, for which other writers would use *res, facta*." Gerlach. "Cujus rei nos ipsi sumus auctores, ejus culpam rebus externis attribuimus." Müller. "Auctores" is the same as the Greek *ἄρτοι*.

¹ Useless] *Aliena*. Unsuitable, not to the purpose, not contributing to the improvement of life.

² Instead of being mortal] *Pro mortalibus*. There are two senses in which these words may be taken: *as far as mortals can*, and *instead of being mortals*. Kritz and Dietsch say that the latter is undoubtedly the true sense. Other commentators are either silent or say little to the purpose. As for the translators, they have studied only how to get over the passage delicately. The latter sense is perhaps favoured by what is said in c. 2, that "the illustrious achievements of the mind are, like the mind itself, immortal."

³ II. They all rise and fall, &c.] *Omnia orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt*. This is true of things in general, but is here spoken only of the qualities of the body, as De Brosses clearly perceived.

⁴ Has power over all things] *Habet cuncta*. "All things are in its power." Dietsch. "*Sub ditione tenet*. So Jupiter, Ov. Met. i., 197:

Quam mihi qui fulmen, qui vos habeoque rogoque."
Burnouf.

Sc Aristippus said, *Habeo Laidem, non habeo à Laide, ἔχω ὄνκ ἔχομαι*. Ca Epist. ad Fam. ix., 26.

tivity; especially when there are so many and various mental employments by which the highest renown may be attained.

III. Of these occupations, however, civil and military offices¹, and all administration of public affairs, seem to me, at the present time, by no means to be desired; for neither is honour conferred on merit, nor are those, who have gained power by unlawful means, the more secure or respected for it. To rule our country or subjects³ by force, though we may have the ability, and may correct what is wrong, is yet an ungrateful undertaking; especially as all changes in the state lead to³ bloodshed, exile, and other evils of discord; while to struggle in ineffectual attempts, and to gain nothing, by wearisome exertions, but public hatred, is the extreme of

¹ III. Civil and military offices] *Magistratus et imperia*. "Illo vocabulo civilia, hoc militaria munera, significantur." *Dietsch*.

² To rule our country or subjects, &c.] *Nam vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes, &c.* Cortius, Gerlach, Kritz, Dietsch, and Müller, are unanimous in understanding *parentes* as the participle of the verb *pareo*. That this is the sense, says Gerlach, is sufficiently proved by the conjunction *aut*; for if Sallust had meant *parents*, he would have used *ut*; and in this opinion Allen coincides. Doubtless, also, this sense of the word suits extremely well with the rest of the sentence, in which changes in government are mentioned. But Burnouf, with Crispinus, prefers to follow Aldus Manutius, who took the word in the other signification, supposing that Sallust borrowed the sentiment from Plato, who says in his Epistle *ad Dionis Propinquos*: Πατέρα δὲ ἢ μητέρα οὐκ ὄσιον ἡγοῦμαι προσβιάζεσθαι, μὴ νόσφ' παραφροσύνης ἐχομένους. Βίαν δὲ πατρὶδι πολιτείας μεταβολῆς μὴ προσφέρειν, ὅταν ἄνευ φυγῶν, καὶ σφαγῆς ἀνδρῶν, μὴ δυνατὸν ἢ γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀριστήν. And he makes a similar observation in his *Crito*: Πανταχοῦ ποιητέον, ὃ ἂν κελύει ἡ πόλις τε, καὶ ἡ πατρίς.—Βιάζεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ὄσιον ὅτε μητέρα, ὅτε πατέρα· πολλὸ δὲ τούτων ἔτι ἤττον τὴν πατρίδα. On which sentiments Cicero, *ad Fam.* i., 9, thus comments: *Id enim jubet idem ille Plato, quem ego auctorem vehementer sequor; tantum contendere in republica quantum probare tuis civibus possis: vim neque parenti, neque patriæ afferre oportere*. There is also another passage in Cicero, *Cat.* i., 3, which seems to favour this sense of the word: *Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui, neque eos ullâ ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquò concederes; nunc te patria, quæ communis est omnium nostrum parens odit ac metuit, &c.* Of the first passage cited from Plato, indeed, Sallust's words may seem to be almost a translation. Yet, as the majority of commentators have followed Cortius, I have also followed him. Sallust has the word in this sense in *Jug.* c. 102: *Parentes abunde habemus*. *Sc Vell. Pat.* ii., 108: *Principatus constans ex voluntate parentium*.

³ Lead to] *Portendant*. "*Portendere in a pregnant sense, meaning not merely to indicate, but quasi secum ferre, to carry along with them.*" *Ksitizius*

madness; unless when a base and pernicious spirit, perchance, may prompt a man to sacrifice his honour and liberty to the power of a party.

IV. Among other employments which are pursued by the intellect, the recording of past events is of pre-eminent utility; but of its merits I may, I think, be silent, since many have spoken of them, and since, if I were to praise my own occupation, I might be considered as presumptuously¹ praising myself. I believe, too, that there will be some, who, because I have resolved to live unconnected with political affairs, will apply to my arduous and useful labours the name of idleness; especially those who think it an important pursuit to court the people, and gain popularity by entertainments. But if such persons will consider at what periods I obtained office, what sort of men² were then unable to obtain it, and what description of persons have subsequently entered the senate³, they will think, assuredly, that I have altered my sentiments rather from prudence than from indolence, and that more good will arise to the state from my retirement, than from the busy efforts of others.

I have often heard that Quintus Maximus⁴, Publius Scipio⁵, and many other illustrious men of our country, were accustomed to observe, that, when they looked on the images of their ancestors, they felt their minds irresistibly excited to

¹ IV. Presumptuously] *Per insolentiam*. The same as *insolenter*, though some refer it, not to Sallust, but to *quis existimet*, in the sense of *strangely*, i. e. *foolishly or ignorantly*. I follow Cortius's interpretation.

² At what periods I obtained office, what sort of men, &c.] *Quibus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sum, et quales viri, &c.* "Sallust obtained the quaestorship a few years after the conspiracy of Catiline, about the time when the state was agitated by the disorders of Clodius and his party. He was tribune of the people, A.U.C. 701, the year in which Clodius was killed by Milo. He was praetor in 708, when Cæsar had made himself ruler. In the expression *quales viri, &c.*, he alludes chiefly to Cato, who, when he stood for the praetorship, was unsuccessful." *Burnouf*. Kritzius defends *adeptus sum*.

³ What description of persons have subsequently entered the senate] "Cæsar chose the worthy and unworthy, as suited his own purposes, to be members of the senate." *Burnouf*.

⁴ Quintus Maximus] Quintus Fabius Maximus, of whom Ennius says,
Unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem;
Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem.

⁵ Publius Scipio] Scipio Africanus the Elder, the conqueror of Hannibal. See 5.

the pursuit of honour¹. Not, certainly, that the wax², or the shape, had any such influence; but, as they called to mind their forefathers' achievements, such a flame was kindled in the breasts of those eminent persons, as could not be extinguished till their own merit had equalled the fame and glory of their ancestors.

But, in the present state of manners, who is there, on the contrary, that does not rather emulate his forefathers in riches and extravagance, than in virtue and labour? Even men of humble birth³, who formerly used to surpass the nobility in merit, pursue power and honour rather by intrigue and dishonesty, than by honourable qualifications; as if the prætorship, consulate, and all other offices of the kind, were noble and dignified in themselves, and not to be estimated according to the worth of those who fill them.

But, in expressing my concern and regret at the manners of the state, I have proceeded with too great freedom, and at too great length. I now return to my subject.

V. I am about to relate the war which the Roman people carried on with Jugurtha, King of the Numidians; first, because it was great, sanguinary, and of varied fortune; and secondly, because then, for the first time, opposition was offered to the power of the nobility; a contest which threw everything, religious and civil, into confusion⁴, and was carried to such a height of madness, that nothing but war, and the devastation of Italy, could put an end to civil dissensions⁵. But before I fairly commence my narrative, I will take a review of a few preceding particulars, in order that

¹ To the pursuit of honour] *Ad virtutem*. *Virtus* in the same sense as in *virtutis viâ*, c. 1.

² The wax] *Ceram illam*. The images or busts of their ancestors, which the nobility kept in the halls of their houses, were made of wax. See Plin. H. N. xxxv., 2.

³ Men of humble birth] *Homines novi*. See Cat., c. 23.

⁴ V. Threw everything, religious and civil, into confusion] *Divina et humana cuncta permiscuit*. "All things, both divine and human, were so changed, that their previous condition was entirely subverted." *Dietsch*.

⁵ Civil dissensions] *Studiis civilibus*. This is the sense in which most commentators take *studia*; and if this be right, the whole phrase must be understood as I have rendered it. So Curtius: "Ut non prius finirentur [*studia civilia*] nisi bello et vastitate Italiæ." Sallust has *studia partium*, Jug. c. 42; and Gerlach quotes from Cic. pro Marcell. c. 10: "*Non enim consiliis solis et studiis, sed armis eiam et castris dissidabamus.*"

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