Translation and Commentary on chapter 5 of Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* (Rolfe, 2013)

The translation

My purpose is to write about the war which the Roman people fought with Jugurtha, king of the Numidians. Firstly because it was a great and brutal war of varying fortunes, then because thereafter and for the first time the arrogance of the nobles was resisted. This struggle embroiled all things divine and human and it proceeded to such an extent of frenzy that war and the devastation of Italy brought about the end to political zeal. But before beginning to narrate these things I will revisit a few earlier events, so that they can be more clearly and more openly understood.

During the second Punic war, in which Hannibal, the leader of the Carthaginians had to the greatest extent diminished the power and the importance of the name of the Romans of Italy. Masinissa who performed many splendid military deeds, was accepted into friendship by P. Scipione, who due to his courage was afterwards given the surname Africano. On account of these deeds, with the Carthaginians conquered and Syphax, whose great power had prevailed far and wide in Africa, captured, the Roman people gave the king a gift of whatever cities and lands he had seized by his own hand. Therefore our noble, and honourable friendship with Masinissa endured; but his rule and his life ended at the same time.

Then Micipsa, son of the king, alone prevailed, sickness having consumed his brothers Mastanabale and Gulussa. Masinissa had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal and he kept Jugurtha, the son of his brother, at home in the same manner as his own sons. However because Jugurtha was the son of a concubine, Massinisa abandoned him as a private citizen.

Commentary

I have chosen Chapter 5 of the *Bellum Iugurthinum* as this is traditionally thought of as "the real beginning of the *Jugurtha"* (Hawthorn, 1979, p. 55,). My main purpose is to comment on the most challenging aspects of translating the original, however I will occasionally comment on Sallustian archaism, brevity and variety (Summers, 1914, p. xvi). I have used the Latin text from the 2013 revised Loeb edition (Rolfe, 2013 appended). The numbering of entries below refers to the sentence numbering in the *appended* Latin text.

1 *Bellum scripturus sum:* This opening statement might be an example of Sallustian brevity in that it provides a succinct statement of overall purpose (Comber & Balmaceda, 2009, p. 192.) The future participle which often simply express a sense of 'about to' or 'on the point of', can also express purpose (Morwood, 1999, p. 80). Further *scribere* accompanied by an accusative also expresses the idea of purposeful intellectual action (Lewis & Short, 1879). Hence my translation: 'my purpose is to write about the war...'. I have also chosen not to make an explicit reference to a 'history of' or an 'account of' which is sometimes found in translations or commentaries (see Watkiss, 1971, p. 83 and Handford, 1963, p. 37) as this seems redundant.

1 *variaque victoria*: Providing a literal translation of this ablative of description gives 'with various victory' which in no way does justice to the full implications of the phrase. For these reasons a number of translations go beyond the original parallelism of *magnum, atrox, varia.* Handford (1963, p. 38) has "in which victories alternated in defeats"; Batstone (2010, p. 54) "with victories on both sides" and Comber et al (2009, p. 43) "in which fortune swung from side to side". If brevity is a Sallustian virtue then Rolfe's original Loeb translation (1931, p. 140) and Ramsey's revision (Rolfe, 2013, p. 173), where it is found as "of varying fortune", retain that stylistic nuance. I have followed suit but have changed 'fortune' to 'fortunes' as it has a concreteness that the abstract 'fortune' does not.

1 *dehinc quia tunc primum*: In the sources I have utilised here *tunc* is exclusively found as "second" or "secondly" (Handford, 1963, p. 38; Batstone, 2010, p. 54; Comber et al, 2009, p. 42; Rolfe, 1931, p.139; Rolfe, 2013, p. 173; Watson, 1896, p. 124). While this is entirely justified; this is after all the second element in a sequence and the first element is necessarily introduced by some version of 'first', I have avoided this conventional formula and opted instead for 'then'. Standard dictionary readings (Cassell's, 1974; Collins, 1998) and more advanced resources (Lewis et al, 1879) all suggest 'then' or 'next' as suitable translations of *tunc* for the purposes of sequencing.

1 *superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est*: *superbiae* is dative and *nobilitatis* genitive which gives 'to the arrogance of the nobles'. *itum est* is the 3rd person singular perfect indicative passive of *eo* and in conjunction with *obviam* becomes 'to oppose/resist' (Lewis et al, 1879). *obviam ire* also governs the dative (Collins, 1998). Therefore to be syntactically faithful to the original we would have to supply a dummy subject 'there' and render the original something like 'to the arrogance of the nobility [there was a going against]' (for text in square brackets Watkiss, 1971, p. 83.) which all becomes somewhat clumsy. I have made *superbiae nobilitatis* the subject (nominative) and maintained the passive voice.

2 nobilitatis: Paul's (1984, p. 17) discussion of the technical range of meanings for *nobiles* is indicative of the depth and extent of scholarship often associated with individual lexical items in the classics. I have opted for the standard 'nobles'.

2 *quae contentio*: The connecting relative refers back to the idea of 'resistance' introduced in the previous sentence and which synonymous is with *contentio*.

2 *ut...faceret*: I have dealt with this clause in the following manner: *studiis civilibus* both in the dative and so 'to the political zeal'; *bellum* (nominative) *atque vastitas* (nominative) *Italiae* (genitive) and so 'war and the devastation of Italy'; *finem* (accusative) and so 'the end' and finally *faceret* in the subjunctive following *ut* and active so 'brought about', which comes together as 'war and the devastation of Italy brought about the end to political zeal.'

3 *Sed...expedio*: Handford here (1963, p. 38) completely ignores much of the original clause structure while others (Watkiss, 1971, p. 84; Batstone, 2010, p. 54; Rolfe, 1931, p. 139 and Rolfe, 2013, p. 175) use various techniques to render this clause into an acceptable modern idiom. For *initium expedio* I settled on 'beginning to narrate' which maintains the nominal character of *initium* and the verbal character of *expedio*. For *huiusce modi rei* rather than 'events of this kind' I have simply 'these things' partially in order to avoid a repetitious use of 'events' as it occurs in the next linked clause (next entry).

3 *pauca supra repetam: paucus* in the plural neuter form, stands as a noun and could mean a few 'things' or 'events'. I have chosen to use 'events' for *pauca* in line with my argument given above.

3 *quo...sint*: A purpose clause introduced by *quo* because of the comparative to come later. *ad cognoscundum*; 'for understanding' (*cognoscundum*; a gerund, is archaic). *inlustria magis magisque in aperto*; an example of chiasmus (Morwood, 1999, p. 151) with two similar phrases (here comparatives) in contrary order. Both *inlustria magis* and *magis in aperto* could feasibly be translated as 'clearer'. I have opted to make them adverbial and so 'more clearly' and 'more openly'. The gerund *cognoscundum* then becomes adjectival.

4 *Bello Punico secundo*: This is an ablative of 'time when' (Morwood, 1999, p. 71) and would normally be translated as 'in'. However as the following relative pronoun *quo* (next entry) is also an ablative and will be 'in which', in order to avoid a repetitious 'in...in', I have chosen to translate the first as 'during'.

4 *quo...adtriverat*: For *quo* see above. The sources I accessed for this commentary describe a complex set of readings for *post magnitudinem* based on a depth of scholarship beyond this commentary. For example *post* is translated as meaning ‘since’ (in my experience not a common meaning) and *magnitudinem* meaning for example “the time when Rome became powerful” (Watkiss, 1971, p. 84). *post* meaning ‘since’ makes little sense without this more extended meaning for *magnitudinem*. I have therefore opted for what must certainly amount to a less sensitive historical and literary reading but which I hope maintains some syntactical and lexical logic. *maxume* is another archaism. This variant is extensively attested elsewhere in Sallust (Bennett, 1970, p. 146).

6 *igitur*: While *igitur* is normally found as the second word, in Sallust it is consistently found as the first. In the fifty occurrences of *igitur* in the *Bellum Iugurthinum* (Bennett, 1970, pp. 110-111) all occur as the first element in the clause. Lewis et al confirm that this is an uncommon stylistic choice but one Sallust shares with Tacitus, Curtius and Livy.

8 *Is...habuit*: The complexity of this long sentence clause caused me to break it into two separate sentences and to manipulate the syntactic elements. For *genuit* Ramsey (Rolfe, 2013, p. 173) has the old-fashioned ‘sired’ and Rolfe (1921, p. 131) the archaic ‘begot’; ‘had children’ seems the best idiomatic alternative. *ortus ex concubina* again avoiding an archaism; ‘born of a concubine’, I have ‘the child of a concubine’. I have left *derelinquo* with the idea of forsaking or abandonment found in lexical references (Collins, 1998; Cassell’s, 1974; Lewis et al, 1879). While ‘at home’ or a near synonym is a suitable translation for *domi*, *habuit* is a more difficult prospect. The import may well be ‘bring up’ ‘rear’ or ‘raise’, and these alternatives are found in translations and commentaries, yet this definition is not found in my lexical resources. I have opted for ‘keep’ which is given in Lewis et al (1879) and in Cassell’s (1974).

Sallust is a challenge to the best Latin scholars. His ‘new idiom’ (Symes, 1974, p. 240) makes the task of providing a fully rounded ‘literary, cultural and linguistic’ (Munday, 2001, p. 181) translation a daunting prospect. In a work of this length it also means leaving a great deal unsaid, unchallenged, unfinished. I hope nonetheless that I have at least managed my main task which has been to defend my grammatical and lexical choices. I also hope to have made no great offence against the original.

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Appendix: Chapter 5, *Bellum Iugurthinum* (Rolfe, 2013). The Latin text is that of this edition. The sentence numbering belongs exclusively to this paper.

1. Bellum scripturus sum quod populus Romanus cum Iugurtha rege Numidarum gessit, primum quia magnum et atrox variaque victoria fuit, dehinc quia tunc primum superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est.

2. Quae contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit eoque vecordiae processit ut studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem faceret.

3. Sed priusquam huiusce modi rei initium expedio, pauca supra repetam, quo ad cognoscundum omnia inlustria magis magisque in aperto sint.

4. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiae opes maxume adtriverat, Masinissa rex Numidarum in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, quoi postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et praeclara rei militaris facinora fecerat.

5. Ob quae victis Carthaginiensibus et capto Syphace, quoius in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus quascumque urbis et agros manu ceperat regi dono dedit.

6. Igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit ; sed imperi vitaeque eius finis idem fuit.

7. Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa fratribus morbo absumptis.

8. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit Iugurthamque filium Mastanabalis fratris, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum dereliquerat, eodem cultu quo liberos suos domi habuit.