The Use of the Historical Infinitive in Sallust

Rudolph J. Knoepfle
Loyola University Chicago

Follow this and additional works at: https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses

Part of the Classics Commons

Recommended Citation

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License.
Copyright © 1942 Rudolph J. Knoepfle
THE USE OF THE HISTORICAL INFINITIVE IN SALLUST

by

RUDOLPH J. KNOEPFLE, S.J.

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER
OF ARTS IN LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

SEPTEMBER
1942
VITA

Rudolph J. Knoepfle, S.J., was born in New York City, New York, August 17, 1914.

He was graduated from St. Xavier High School, Cincinnati, Ohio, June, 1932, and entered the Society of Jesus at Milford Novitiate, Milford, Ohio in September, 1932.

In the same year he enrolled at Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio, in the Department of Arts, but transferred to Loyola University in 1936 when he was registered in the West Baden College of that University at West Baden Springs, Indiana.

The Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Latin was conferred by Loyola University, June, 1939.

During the scholastic year of 1941 and 1942 the writer was engaged in teaching Latin at St. Ignatius High School, Cleveland, Ohio. During the past three years, from 1939 to 1942, he has devoted his time to graduate study in the field of the Classics, majoring in Latin.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. GRAMMARIANS ON THE HISTORICAL INFINITIVE</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE HISTORICAL INFINITIVE IN THE <em>BELLUM CATILINAE</em></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE HISTORICAL INFINITIVE IN THE <em>BELLUM JUGURTHINUM</em></td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. THE USE OF THE HISTORICAL INFINITIVE AFTER SALLUST. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLES</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIXES</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE</td>
<td>THE HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY OCCUR IN THE PASSAGES CONTAINING THESE INFINITIVES IN THE BELLUM CATILINAE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF THE VERBS USED AS HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN THE BELLUM CATILINAE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>MEANINGS OF THE VERBS USED AS HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN THE BELLUM CATILINAE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF THE VARIOUS TYPES OF VERBS USED AS HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN THE BELLUM CATILINAE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF THE VERBS USED AS HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN THE BELLUM JUGURTHINUM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>MEANINGS OF THE VERBS USED AS HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN THE BELLUM JUGURTHINUM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.</td>
<td>RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF THE VARIOUS TYPES OF VERBS USED AS HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN THE BELLUM JUGURTHINUM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. BATTLE SCENES</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. MILITARY TACTICS</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. HASTE IN PRE-BATTLE PREPARATIONS</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. TRICKERY, TREACHERY, GUILE, DECEIT</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. DISTRESS; DISTRACTED ACTION</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. PLUNDERING ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. DESCRIPTION OF SPEECHES</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. UNCLASSIFIED PASSAGES</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN CAESAR'S <em>DE BELLO GALLICO</em></td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN CAESAR'S <em>DE BELLO CIVILI</em></td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* PASSAGES FROM THE *BELLUM JUGURTHINUM* CONTAINING HISTORICAL INFINITIVES AND NOT LISTED IN CHAPTER IV.
PREFACE

I have taken the liberty of translating the quotations taken from P. Perrochat's articles, "L'Infinitif de Narration en Latin," and, "L'Infinitif de Narration" in the Revue des Études Latines.

Some translations of the historical infinitive passages are my own, others are taken from the Loeb Edition of Sallust's works. I have often taken the liberty of revising the Loeb translation, in particular by breaking long sentences into short, crisp sentences. This, I believe, gives a better tone to the translation of the historical infinitive.

I wish here to acknowledge the generous help of Father Edgar Smothers, S.J. and Mr. James Doyle, S.J. in directing this thesis work, and the aid of Messers Montville, S.J., Condon, S.J., and Osuch, S.J. in proof-reading the thesis.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The infinitive, as its very name indicates, is opposed to the definite moods -- the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative. It differs from these definite moods in this that it expresses neither person, nor number, nor time, and lacks the other characteristics of the definite moods. Yet, and this seems to be a peculiar linguistic curiosity of the Latin language, the infinitive is used most frequently in a construction in which it stands in the place of a verb in the definite moods, namely, the accusative with the infinitive, in which the infinitive expresses one of the most precise notions -- action, mood, and person by its subject accusative and its relation to the main verb upon which it depends.

This is very far distant from the infinitive's primitive value. One can show how such a use originated in constructions where the infinitive in the beginning is merely a simple complement with its basic indeterminate value. It is the subordinate position of the infinitive which explains the development of its use. 1

However, an even more astonishing type of expression is that in which the infinitive has the value of a definite verbal form in a non-complementary sentence. Here the infinitive does not have the support of an introductory verb. The best known type of this peculiar construction is the historical infinitive, sometimes called the infinitive of narration, the infinitive of description, or the infinitive of inception. It is a curious construction since by means of it a fact, stated in a narrative or descriptive passage, instead of being rendered by the normal mood of fact, the indicative, is expressed in an indeterminate manner, the infinitive.

From the name "historical infinitive" one might falsely suppose that this construction is used only or principally by the writers of history. Although it is used most extensively by these writers, it is not confined to them. It is found in the drama, the satire, in the novel, in letters, and in epic poetry. In the more artificial and subjective forms of poetry, such as the lyric, the bucolic, the epigram, and the elegy it is not found until a very late date, at the close of the Golden and the beginning of the Silver Age authors.

So far as we can judge from the fragments preserved to us, the historical infinitive was widely used by the early writers of history, in the Republican drama, and both by Lucilius and Varro in their satires. Apparently it was not used in the epics of Naevius and Ennius, and no trace of its use in this branch of literature is found.
before the Aeneid. The Republican authors who have it in completely preserved works are Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust. It also occurs frequently in the Bellum Africannum, and three times in the Bellum Hispaniense. During the Augustan Age it is found in Horace, Vergil, and Livy, and at least once in the Elder Seneca, but not in the other writers of the period. There is a gap of about a half century, when we do not meet it at all in the works preserved to us, and we have evidence that by the middle of the first century A.D. it was regarded by the grammarians as a thing of the past. Yet it lived for some centuries after that, in literature, if not in speech. The influence of Vergil served to keep it in epic poetry, and the revival of interest in Cicero and the archaic writers brought it back into prose also, while the influence of Sallust is especially marked in the later historians. Thus the whole history of the construction after Augustus shows quite clearly that it was kept up, so far as it was kept up at all, chiefly by the influence upon the writers of their reading in the earlier authors. 2

There is something of natural interest in a construction such as the historical infinitive. By nature men tend to express their ideas in the shortest and briefest manner. Frequently we find in all languages sentences whose subject or predicate, or both are not definitely expressed. This happens

when the thought can be expressed as a unit or block through the medium of a grammatical form having a very general value. That such constructions should be found is not surprising, especially in spoken language, for language is made to fit the man, not man to fit the language. There is a psychology behind the use of such abbreviated forms. Emotion, haste in speaking, laziness, a tendency to economize words which are not indispensable gives rise to these clipped, concise sentences. This form of expression, clipped, concise, abbreviated, often expressed without subject or predicate, is at the base of many grammatical forms, frequent in spoken language, but often also employed in written language when the author is striving to catch something of the ease and vivacity of the spoken word. Such a grammatical structure is the historical infinitive.

The significant note about the historical infinitive is the fact that in all probability it was used by the common people in everyday life, and at the same time and more especially under Sallust's pen by the authors of Rome's great literature. Not too much is known about the common speech of the Romans. We may argue to the use of the historical infinitive along these lines. The historical infinitive is used in a very general manner, without reference to time, person, or number. It is an abbreviated form that gives a schematic outline of the thought to be expressed. The fact that Plautus used this infinitive in his plays, plays which depict the
manners, customs, and language of the slaves and the common
people, might lead one to suspect that it was in common use
among the lower classes. The fact that the great bulk of his-
torical infinitives preserved to us are from the writers of the
Golden and Silver Ages only proves that these writers raised a
colloquial form of speech to a form of literary and artistic
technique. There is some discrepancy among the scholars on
this point. It will not be out of place to give two quota-
tions: the one holding that this infinitive was used in the
sermo urbanus of the last century and a half of the Republican
era, and the other that it was a spontaneous expression of the
common people.

J. J. Schlicher, in his article on the origin of the
historical infinitive, has this to remark:

In its original form the con-
struction is especially characteristic
of the refined native idiom of the
capital, the sermo urbanus of the last
century of the Republic. It does not
appear to have been used much in the
language of the masses. Plautus, with
more than three times the bulk of
Terence, has only about two-fifths as
many examples. 3

On the other hand, M. Perrochat says:

It may seem surprising at first
blush that the same form of expression
belongs at once to spontaneous language
and to a more polished style. However,
from this point of view the case of the
historical infinitive is not isolated,

-------------
3 J.J.Schlicher, ibid.
and stylistic specialists declare that there is not always occasion to distinguish between the familiar or even the common procedures and the literary techniques: M. Bally remarks that the spontaneous inventions of speech and the inventions of style are derived from the same state of soul, and reveal techniques quite similar. He speaks of the principal analogy between the creations of life and the creations of literature. M. Marouseau has shown the importance of this remark; the interjection, the oratorical question, the apostrophe, suspension, hyperbole .... are these artistic or common techniques? Is the metaphor a common or a learned technique? Cicero observes that it characterizes the language of the people as well as high poetry. What of the ellipsis? It is equally frequent in Virgil and Plautus. What of composition? The slaves of the comedy coin more composite words than Ennius ....

At least this can be said in general. Whether or not the historical infinitive was a form used by the common people or only by the more educated, its primitive value rested in its spontaneity. There is a common element between a familiar type of speech, and we presume that the historical infinitive was such a type, and the literary. That common element is the aesthetic. Spoken or spontaneous language is always potentially beautiful, but its natural function is not the expression of beauty so much as the transmission of ideas. On the other hand, the raison d'etre of literary effort is the intention to pro-

duce an impression of beauty. This aesthetic element is primary in literary language, secondary in the spoken language. Living language is subjected to the social necessities. The utilitarian end of the speaker leaves little room for the aesthetic, or at least reduces it to a secondary level. M. Perrochat has a penetrating remark on this point:

If it sometimes happens that the means employed to fulfill this utilitarian function carry in them an aesthetic value, this character is either additional, or unconscious, or unknown to him who speaks and even to him who listens; or indeed, this character is perceived with a vague feeling that it serves better than another for the function intended by the expression. The aesthetic value of the fact of language is then looked on from the utilitarian point of view. Thus that which is an end for the artist is but the means for the man who lives and works. Style imitates the aesthetic in nature .... The relation between familiar and literary values of the type of expression can be set down in the following way: The writer perceives in a phrase of living speech a phrase due to special conditions of this speech, the artistic possibilities which it contains; the phrase remains language, it is developed artificially and the technique in the case of certain stylists is overworked. This fact applies in particular to the historical infinitive as well as to the techniques which accompany it in usage; the noun phrase, the asyndeton, chiasma, and antithesis. 5

It is generally admitted that the historical infinitive

5 ibid.
is more or less equivalent to the imperfect indicative. We believe with Perrochat that the common element between these two forms is the notion of infectum. The essential difference is the temporal notion. In both cases there is question of past facts, but the infinitive does not present them precisely as such. The use of a past temporal form, like the imperfect, withdraws the facts far from the reader and, as it were, slows down their expression. The use of an a-temporal form like the historical infinitive puts the reader in swift and immediate touch with the facts.

There are two outstanding nuances of the historical infinitive. One is the notion of infectum which is basic; the other is the notion of ingressive or inceptive action which is favored by the a-temporal value of the infinitive and which oftentimes may be easily deduced from the context. Often these two notions co-exist; sometimes one of them is dominant. Even in the case where the idea of duration imposes itself to the exclusion of the ingressive idea, translation by the imperfect makes the expression lose something of the rapidity and vividness which are due and proper to the a-temporal value of the infinitive. Thus in many cases, translation by the historical present will be preferable to translation by the imperfect. The historical present tends to give the idea translated something of the coloring of the spoken word, of popular language, an emotional aspect, as it were. The use of this infinitive
seems to instill into the reader a feeling of living, personal experience.

A personal verb form expresses an ensemble of diverse notions; the notion of action or state, of mood, time, subject whose presence deprives the verbal expression of its swiftness and vividness. With the historical infinitive, the expression is much more light and swift as regards form and meaning. It has no temporal value, merely an aspect or outline of the thought, and a great independence of the verb in regard to its subject. The reader is placed in immediate touch with the action presented in its development, and the swiftness of the expression is increased by the likeness of a form which has no personal ending. Thus from a popular form of expression, the historical infinitive became in the hands of the Roman historian, Sallust, a technique of art, for by means of it a fact already achieved in reality is presented as being on the way to accomplishment even at the very moment one is reading about it. In some way or other these past facts couched in a grammatical or literary form like the historical infinitive take on the aspect of living reality and seem to be placed before the eyes of the reader as at this very moment taking place.

Thus as an artistic technique, the historical infinitive brings out the swiftness of the action, especially when there is question of multiple and successive actions. With this infinitive the effects of succession, accumulation, opposition
are more tangible than with the personal forms of the verb. The actions are presented swiftly and immediately one after the other without the delay introduced by the expression of temporal and personal ideas. The contact between the ideas, therefore, is much more direct and spontaneous. United as it often is with asyndeton, the historical infinitive will be seen to be a literary technique par excellence to render rapidity, movement, physical or moral agitation, trouble or confusion.
CHAPTER II
GRAMMARIANS ON THE HISTORICAL INFINITIVE

Since the purpose of this thesis is to attain a more perfect knowledge of the historical infinitive in general, and in particular to describe its use in the works of Sallust, it will not be out of place to quote several grammarians and their descriptions of the historical infinitive.

N. Madvig, A Latin Grammar.

The present infinitive is often used in a peculiar way in the narrative style instead of the imperfect indicative, in passing from the relation of events to the description of a state of things that has suddenly come on and just commenced, and of actions and emotions that follow in rapid succession. The proposition remains otherwise unaltered, precisely as if the indicative had been employed. Usually several such infinitives are found in succession. In this way of expression the picture of a series of actions rapidly following each other or a transient state of things is put before the hearer or reader without the actions being conceived singly and referred to a particular period of time.¹

G. G. Bradley, *Aids to Writing Latin Prose*.

In an animated narrative, as the place of the aorist perfect is often taken by the 'historic present', so the 'historic infinitive', i.e., the infinitive used independently after a subject in the nominative, often takes the place of the descriptive imperfect, especially where a series or rapid succession of events is described. It is a means of introducing variety into a narrative; and it is used by the best Latin writers, when they wish to give a lively picture of past events, side by side both with the imperfect, the aorist perfect, and the historic present. Instances will be found repeatedly in Caesar, Cicero, and Livy. As a rule, at least two or three such infinitives are used in succession: "Clamare omnes, ego instare." "A general cry arose, I pressed the point." 2

Gildersleeve, *Latin Grammar*.

The Infinitive of the Present is sometimes used by the historians to give a rapid sequence of events, with the subject in the Nominative; generally, several Infinitives in succession. The ancient assumption of an ellipsis of coepit, began (Quint. ix, 3, 58) serves to show the conception, although it does not explain the construction, which has not yet received a convincing explanation. A curious parallel is 'de' with the Infinitive in French. The Final Infinitive to be for, may help the conception, as it sometimes does the translation. The Historical Infinitive takes the place of the place of the Imperfect, is used chiefly

in rapid passages, and gives the outline of the thought, and not the details; it has regularly the sequence of a Past Tense. The Historical Infinitive is sometimes found after cum, ubi, etc. This usage is characteristic of Tacitus.3


In lively descriptions, the Present Infinitive, like the Historical Present, is sometimes used for the Imperfect or Perfect Indicative. It is then called the Historical Infinitive, and, like a finite verb, has its subject in the Nominative. The Historical Infinitive sometimes denotes customary or repeated action.4


As in animated narrative the Present Tense occurs in the sense of the Aorist, so the Present Infinitive occurs in the sense of the Imperfect. This use of the Infinitive as the representative of a 'tense' relation is peculiar. In such an office the Infinitive is the offspring of vivid imagination, of active conception. It presents the action or state involved in the verb as a matter of thought or statement. As such it lacks the 'tense' characteristics of time, number, person. The writer or speaker in his hurried transition from one action to another states them as simple conceptions, items,


or units in the past without distinguishing them by the ordinary 'tense' characteristics. This Infinitive is associated with a subject and, particularly in late Latin, with conjunctions as ubi, postquam, etc. The Infinitive Passive as well as the Infinitive Active occur as Historical Infinitives.  

C. E. Bennett, The Syntax of Early Latin.

Of the many explanations offered to account for the origin of this construction, none can be regarded as satisfactory. The earliest of these explanations goes back to Classical times. Quintilian, viii, 6, 21, refers to older grammarians who explained Virgil, Aen. xi, 142, "Arcades ad portas ruere," as the result of an ellipsis. In ix, 3, 58, Quintilian is more explicit. Commenting on the words, "Stupere gau dio Graecus," occurring in a speech of Caelius, he adds; "simul enim auditur 'coepit.'" So Priscian, xviii, 48, "sic ergo et apud nos cum imperfectum sit, 'dicere coepi' pro 'dicebam', 'scribere coepi' pro 'scribebam'; per ellipsis velbi 'coepi' solent auctores proferre verba infinita, ut Terentius And. 146, 'ego illud sedulo negare factum.' Deest enim 'coepi'; 'negare' pro 'negabam.'" Other verbs were sometimes understood besides coepi, eg., Servius on Virg. Aen. x, 458, "ire prior Pallas," says: "subaudis voluit ire." In more recent times this theory has been revived by Janicke who rests his support largely on the fact that coepi with a dependent infinitive often precedes the historical infinitive. But as Kretschmer justly observes, between the failure to repeat coepi with succes-

5 W. E. Peters, The Syntax of the Latin Verb, Anderson Bros., Charlottesville, Va., 1898, #139.
sive infinitives and its complete omission there is a great difference. Janick gives no explanation why coepl alone is thus omitted and why we do not find instances of the omission of other words. Kretschmer further points out that even if we supply coepl with the historical infinitive, there are many cases in which this fails to suit the context, e.g., Merc. 46, "objurigare pater haec noctes et dies;" Virg., Aen., iv, 42; solam nam perfidus ille te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus; Ad. 836, "ille suam semper egit vitam in otio, in convivlis, clemens, placidus nulli laedere os, arridere om-nibus; sibi vixit, sibi sumptum fecit."

The view of Wackernagel makes the historical infinitive originally an imperative infinitive. In support he cites the fact that in various Slavic languages the imperative itself is thus used in narration. The usage is supposed to have arisen by conceiving the occurrence as the execution of an order. Cf. Trin., 288., "quod manu non queunt tangere, tantum fas habent quo manus abstineant; cetera rape, trahe, fuge, late," where the imperatives are equivalent to rapiunt, trahunt, fugiunt, latent. So also Pseud. 137, "eo enim ingenio hi sunt flagritribae qui haec habent consilia; ubi data occasiost, rape, clepe, tene, harpaga, bibi, es, fuge." Psychologically therefore there is no difficulty in the development assumed by Wackernagel. The real difficulty in the way of accepting his theory is the absence of evidence to show that Latin originally had the imperative infinitive, and the fact that the imperative itself did not in Latin (as in Slavic) become an instrument of historical narration.

Wisen explains the historical
infinitive as by origin not an infinitive, but a perfect indicative, third plural (amare for amavere), which was erroneously identified with the infinitive. At the start this, of course, was equivalent only to illi amaverunt. Later it came to function as ille amavit, and (with the subject expressed) as ego amavi. The usage also, according to Wisen, extended to infinitives of other conjugations, monere, dicere audire, including deponents as mirari, tueri, etc. But a conclusive consideration against this theory is the fact that according to Wisen's hypothesis the historical infinitive should have aoristic value, whereas according to actual usage and the express testimony of Priscian, xviii, 48, it has the equivalence of the imperfect.

Kretschmer suggests that the historical infinitive may have developed from some such loose descriptive use of the infinitive as we see in German and other modern languages.

... In one instance we have an interrogative historical infinitive: Eun. 291, "magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi?"

An examination of the early usages of the historical infinitive substantiates fully the conclusions of Wolfflin that in early Latin, reflexive uses are rare, that deponents occur with freedom, while the passive does not yet appear. Wolfflin notes also that the historical infinitive rarely occurs accompanied by a subordinate clause. More commonly, too, we have a group of two or more infinitives. Instances where we have but one are infrequent.

As already stated above, the historical infinitive has the equivalence of the imperfect, not the historical perfect. Hence momentary acts cannot
be expressed by it. This explains the frequent shift from the historical infinitive to the historidal perfect in the same sentence.6

G. M. Lane, A Latin Grammar.

One use of the present infinitive in main sentences as a kind of substitute for the past indicative requires mention here. In animated narration, the present infinitive with a subject in the nominative sometimes takes the place of the imperfect or the perfect indicative. This infinitive occurs in almost all writers, for instance, Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Horace, and particularly Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. Less commonly it occurs in Caesar. Usually two or more infinitives are combined and the infinitives are freely mixed with indicatives. The subject is never in the second person. This infinitive is used to sketch or outline persistent, striking, or portentous action, where description fails; as it merely intimates the action without notation of time, number, or person, it is called the Infinitive of Intimation. It cannot be adequately represented in English. The Infinitive of Intimation is sometimes used without a subject when emphasis centers in the action alone. Thus, Sall. Jug. 191.11: "tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus, sequi fugere, occidi capi;" "then a heartrending spectacle in the open fields, chasing and racing, killing and catching." It may be mentioned here that the infinitive of intimation is sometimes used from Sallust on in relative clauses and with cum, "when." 7

6 C. E. Bennett, The Syntax of Early Latin. The Verb, Allyn & Bacon, Boston, 1910, 419 sq.

Infinitivum historicum Jolly, qui solus in eum inquisivit grammaticae comparativae vestigiis insistens, a primordiis proxime abesse demonstrat tribus de causis, primum quia inveniatur in lingua lituanica, deinde quia in praesenti tempore solo usurpatus ipse indicio sit se ortum esse, priusquam provenirent ceterorum temporum infinitivi, tum quia subjectum ejus non accusativo sed nominativo exprimatur. Hunc grammatici superiores per ellipsis verbi incipiendi quibus Holtzius, per festinationem narrantis, cui non vacet plus quam meram actionis notionem indicare; Jolly, vero usum historicum deducit ex significatione finali, propter quam idoneus fuerit infinitivus ad significandam novam actionem, ad quam aliquis se vertat. Ego quoque hanc vim inesse censeo in infinitivo historico, id quod eo mihi verisimilior est, quia frequentia verbi auxiliaris incipiendi, quod saepe ponunt historici latini, ubi nobis verbum finitum simplex satis est, Romanorum ingeniis ostendit eo spectare, ut translationem, quae fit ad actionem novam, non solum verbi finiti tempore, sed etiam aliter diserte designent. Temporum vero discriminatione carens cum infinitivus historicus quando quid agatur, ipse per se nequeat denktare, ex sententiarum serie, quod sit tempus, elucere oportet. Inde fit, ut ibi plerunque praesto sit infinitivus historicus ubi sententiam antecedentes coordinatae lectori jam ostenderunt tempus, de quo agitur, quodque tribuendum est infinitivo item coordinato. 8

It should be borne in mind that the above descriptions of

-------------------

8 PA. 2265 .D3: De Infinitivo Absoluto, Chapter 2, #2 "De Infinitivo Historico." (Title page missing - rare work.)
the historical infinitive delineate the construction's more
general aspects. The grammarians cited are not considering it
in its early and original form, nor only as the writers of the
late Golden Age and the early Silver Age used it, nor as it
was handled by the Latin writers during the infinitive's de­
cline as an artistic form. The grammarians are rather taking
the historical infinitive in its composite aspect, that is,
they are considering the general force, meaning, usage of the
historical infinitive during the centuries in which it was in
rather common use. A schematic outline of the various aspects
of the historical infinitive as delineated by these gram­
marians will not be out of place.

1. All the grammarians cited agree that the historical infi­
nitive takes the place of the imperfect indicative. Hark­
ness, however, and Lane mention that it may also take the
place of the perfect indicative. This opinion they do not sub­
stantiate, and Bennett gives a general though not all embrac­
ing argument against its use in the place of the perfect in­
dicative active. Passages in which the historical infinitive
occur describe repeated action in past time or a succession of
events. But the perfect indicative does not denote repeated,
successive, continued action, and for that reason would seem
to be ruled out, though occasionally it might be used in the
place of the historical infinitive.

2. Madvig and Peters describe the historical infinitive as
the passing from the relation of events to the description
of a state of things that has suddenly come on and just com-
menced, and is used when the writer or speaker in his hurried
transition from one action to another states them as simple
conceptions, items, or units in the past without distinguish-
ing them by the ordinary tense characteristics.

3. Madvig, Bradley, Gildersleeve, Harkness describe it as re-
presenting actions and emotions that follow in rapid suc-
cession; or a rapid succession of events described; or a rapid
sequence of events; as denoting customary or repeated action.

4. All indicate the fact of several infinitives in succession
as being usual.

5. Madvig and Bradley describe it as used to picture a series
of actions rapidly following each other and as a means of
introducing variety and of painting a lively picture of past
events.

6. Madvig, Gildersleeve, and Lane describe it as representing
a transient state of things past before a hearer or reader,
without being conceived singly or referred to a particular
period of time; as indicating not the details but only the out-
line of the thought; as used to sketch or outline persistent,
striking, or portentous action where description fails; as
merely imitating the action without distinct notation of time,
person, or number.

7. Bradley points out that the historical infinitive is used
side by side with the imperfect, aorist perfect, historic present.

8. Both Bennett and Lane mention the frequent shift from the historical infinitive to the historic perfect or imperfect in the same sentence.

9. A few of the cited grammarians remark the obvious fact that the subject of the historical infinitive, if expressed, is in the nominative case.

10. Lane refers to the fact that the historical infinitive cannot be adequately expressed in English.

11. Gildersleeve, Peters, and Lane state that the historical infinitive is sometimes used, especially in Sallust, and from his time on, in relative clauses and with cum meaning "when." It is also used by Tacitus in temporal protasis with ubi, ut, donec or postquam coordinated with a present or imperfect protasis.

13. A few other scattered notions are the fact that the historical infinitive lacks tense characteristics of time, number, person; that it is sometimes used without a subject when the emphasis centers on the action alone; that is is the offspring of vivid imagination, or of active conception; that reflexive uses are rare in early Latin; that deponents occur with freedom; that passive forms do not occur in early Latin, and that it is rarely accompanied by a subordinate clause in the early period.
It will be proper at this point to give Schlicher's theory on the development of the historical infinitive from its early primitive form to its elaboration immediately preceding Sallust. He points out that a definite change from its earlier form began about the middle of the last century B.C., for up to that time it had been a very simple, primitive form of expression. It had been used only in main clauses and these did not ordinarily have subordinate clauses depending on them. Where such clauses did occur, they were usually some form of indirect discourse, or, sometimes, a substantive clause introduced by ut or ne with the volitive or optative subjunctive. These types of clauses serve merely to complete the meaning of the main verb or to develop it further. They do not strictly modify it, or turn it from its course in any way. They do not make it more complex, or restrict it. Thus they are subordinate clauses of the simplest kind so far as thought is concerned.

Brevity and abruptness is the common characteristic of the construction. Even simple modifiers are relatively uncommon and are confined largely to words which do not so much modify as intensify the meaning of the verb, and make the action appear more vigorous, impetuous, and unrestrained.

Schlicher observes that before Sallust the historical infinitive was confined to a comparatively limited sphere of use. Listing these infinitives in five groups, he later adds a sixth which might be called the transition group because it
opened the door to Sallust's use of the construction in the wide variety of ways unheard of before his time. He groups the infinitives of the long period preceding Sallust under these heads, infinitive-passages which express:

1. EMOTIONS AND THEIR EXPRESSION.
2. STRONG OR IMPULSIVE ASSERTION OR EXPRESSION OF ATTITUDE.
3. DISPOSITION OR HABIT.
4. DESIRE, IMPULSE, ARDENT PURSUIT OF AN END.
5. DISTRESS, EXCITEMENT, DISTRACTED ACTION.

In our present thesis it will be neither necessary nor desirable to give his examples listed under each heading. I do not think his division is mutually exclusive, and he seems to have taken no note of that. I shall briefly synopsize his own comment on each division. That will give us some inkling to the meaning of each division. We are more particularly interested in his sixth division.

He notes that the common feature which stands out must prominently in the early usage of the historical infinitive is a certain directness and impulsiveness, a certain absence of deliberation and restraint, of conscious direction and control. Instead of the actor proceeding according to a premeditated plan, dominating his action or controlling his feeling, the action and feeling rather take possession of him, and drive him along their own path. The absence of premeditation and
control are inherent in Group 1. The infinitive-passages in Group 2 are characterized by the frequent occurrence of such strong words as affirmare, vastidire, confirmare, clamare, conclamitare, instare; by the general brevity and abruptness of the expression, and by the frequent addition of strengthening words like nimio, omnes, sedulo, statim, etc. These characteristics point to spontaneous, impulsive action.

In Group 3, the force of the infinitive is often shown by the context. In Group 4, we again have strong verbs as well as vigorous modifiers. The desire or impulse pursues its course toward its goal with complete absorption of the actor's interest and effort, and, having no competitors, completely dominates him for the time. Group 5 calls for little remark, for it requires no argument that distracted and excited action are not in any important degree under the direction and control of the actor. The actor is drawn hither and thither, according to the various influences or obstacles that press upon him. The action is regularly manifold in character, and is expressed by a number of different verbs.

It is, then, the primary function of the historical infinitive in its original form to express direct, impetuous, unpremeditated action flowing from a strong impulsive feeling or disposition. Deliberation and direction by the actor plays little, if any, part. There is present an element of helplessness, or, rather, of what in Latin is called impotentia.
But the most fundamental thing in speech is not the relation of the actor to the reported act but rather the form which the impression on the writer assumes when he wishes to communicate it to others. The specific quality which an act has as such, for example, impotentia, may become either weakened or intensified as it passes through the speaker's mind on its way to utterance.

It may further happen that the speaker is impressed by the persistence or irresistible momentum of what takes place, even though the actor may not be swayed by any unusual emotion or impulse, but may be acting with entire self-possession. The feeling of impotentia will then be largely in the speaker's or in the writer's own mind. This brings us to Schlicher's sixth division of the historical infinitive which is called:

6. PERSISTENT, UNCONTROLLABLE ACTION.

We see in his examples that many are from the last century of Roman writers. Cicero and Caesar occur frequently. Schlicher remarks that when the infinitive has come to be used in such cases as these, there opens up an opportunity for a wide extension of the construction to include almost any action or condition, even when it is not connected with impulse or emotion, provided it either impresses the narrator as due to the operation of a resistless power, or he wishes to represent it in that light. When this point is reached, there is also
no longer the same ban on the passive voice or upon verbs with static force.

It was reserved for Sallust to take the step which made the construction at once something more than it had been and something different. It is he who, first of the authors preserved to us, used it boldly and extensively as a literary device for effect. It is with him, so far as we know, that the construction ceases to be strictly what it had been before his time, an infinitivus impotentiae. It is Sallust who wishes to impress his readers with persistent, uncontrollable action common to warfare, especially the type of warfare waged in the North African desert by Metellus, Marius, and Jugurtha. It is Sallust who uses the historical infinitive to express a wide variety of actions in the Bellum Catilinae.
CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL INFINITIVE IN THE BELLUM CATILINAE

In this Chapter we wish to note and comment on those passages in which Sallust uses the historical infinitive. We wish to note what human activities are described by this infinitive. Is it used more often to denote one type of human activity than another? There is one point which we must bear in mind. Sallust's two works both begin with the word, Bellum. This means that logically most of his infinitives will be in passages which treat of warfare. However, the first work which we shall discuss, although called the Bellum Catilinae hardly merits the title Bellum. The abortive conspiracy of Catiline was barely a flash in the pan among many bloody and confused civil strifes of the last century of the Roman republic. Now this fact is more readily seen when one examines the texts containing the historical infinitive in the Bellum Catilinae and compares them proportionately with the texts of the Bellum Jugurthinum. In the latter work the vast majority of the texts deal with the various aspects of warfare, while in the former the majority portray, strangely enough, the evil conduct of the citizens of Rome. We must keep in mind that Sallust was something of a moralist at heart, and in his work on Catiline
he is constantly dwelling on the moral aspects of Rome and her citizens. Perhaps he is endeavoring to teach others how to live and rule well by reflection of the past. Be this as it may, it is a fact that the bulk of the infinitive-passages treat of the evil conduct of Rome's citizens.

We shall examine the infinitive-passages under two headings. The first will deal with those passages depicting the various operations incident to war; the second, with those passages which treat of general peacetime pursuits.

Wherever possible, we shall comment on the quoted passages, bringing out some salient points characteristic of the use of the historical infinitive. We may note the frequent use of long series of infinitives to depict rapidity, swiftness, movement, physical or moral agitation, trouble, confusion. We may note the effects of opposition. We shall consider the wide variety of verbs used and the fact that they are often introduced by words showing their relation to what went before. This latter point is quite a departure from the original, abrupt, spontaneous introduction of the historical infinitive. It indicates that deliberation on the part of the author, or even on the part of the actors in the drama being portrayed, is no longer a bar to the use of this infinitive. The historical infinitive is no longer the spontaneous emotional outburst on the lips of the actor, nor the direct, abrupt statement of the historian. And yet, despite this metamorphosis of
a spontaneous form of speech into an artistic technique, the form still retains much of its original spontaneity, directness, and abruptness. We shall try to point out the frequent use of esse, passive, and static verbs; the use of deponents, frequentatives, and intensives. The use of the former types of verb was unheard of in the early stages of the historical infinitive. A reason for this avoidance is that as a general rule these types of verb express states or conditions of inactivity on the part of the actors or in the action being portrayed. Under Sallust's pen, passives, esse, and static verbs could easily be introduced in a long series of historical infinitives without detracting from the rapidity of the action. The other verbs in the series serve as a support for these static, or passive verbs. We shall see how Sallust supports his infinitives by long series and thus makes an impression of vigor and rapidity. Often Sallust will introduce his infinitives by words which will give these infinitives their proper emotional coloring. We shall often note that the historical infinitives are coordinated with indicatives, are introduced by correlative and coordinating words.

All references and all cited passages in the following pages have been taken from W. W. Capes' edition of Sallust.

-----------

In the *Bellum Catilinae* we find the first passage containing the infinitive to be a rather prosaic, colorless statement on early Rome.

6.4
Igitur reges populique finitumi bello temptare, pauci ex amicis auxilio esse: nam ceteri metu perculsi a periculis aberant.

As a result, neighboring kings and peoples attacked them. Few of their friends lent them aid. The rest were smitten with fear and stood aloof from the danger.

However, in Chapters 24 and 27 we find two passages indicating great haste in preparing for war. It is here that the historical infinitive is put to its best use.

24.2
Neque tamen Catilinae furor minuebatur, sed in dies plura agitare, arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuam Faesulas ad Manlium quendam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi.

And yet Catiline's frenzy did not abate. On the contrary, he increased his activity day by day; made collections of arms at strategic points in Italy, and borrowed money on his own credit or on that of his friends. He sent it to Faesulae to a certain Manlius, who afterwards was first to take the field.

27.2
Interea Romae multa simul moliri, consulibus insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere, ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere, hortari uti semper intenti paratique essent; dies noctesque festinare, vi-
Meanwhile Catiline himself was plotting many simultaneous actions at Rome. He was laying traps for the consul, planning fires, posting armed men in strategic places. He himself was armed; ordered others to be likewise prepared; exhorted them to be alert and ready. He kept on the go day and night, took no rest, and was fatigued neither by labor nor the loss of sleep.

In this last example we have ten infinitives. Each verb is one that in itself denotes intense activity. Sallust does not slow up the movement of this passage by opposing the infinitives with verbs in the indicative mood. We may well note the strenuous and feverish activity delineated by this long series of historical infinitives. This artistic technique of using series, long series of infinitives, without an opposing verb in the indicative mood brings out the swiftness of the action, the tremulous haste, and the nervous excitement under which Catiline must have been laboring when attempting to organize his bloody revolution. In the writings of M. Perrochat we find a paragraph which touches off this point:

With the historical infinitive, the effects of succession, accumulation, opposition are more tangible than with the personal form. The actions are presented swiftly and one immediately after the other without delay introduced by the expression of temporal and personal ideas. The contrast between them is thus more direct. United with asyndeton it will be a technique par excellence utilized to render
rapidity, movement, physical and moral agitation, trouble and confusion.  

In three passages of the *Bellum Catilinae* we find Sallust using the historical infinitive to narrate or portray a commander or leader exhorting his men.

17.1
Igitur circiter kalendas Junias, L. Caesare et C. Figulo consulibus, primo singulos appellare, hortari alios alios temptare; opes suas, inparatam rem publicam, magna praemia conjurationis docere.

Accordingly, towards the first of June in the consulate of L. Caesar and G. Figulus, he addressed his followers, one by one at first. He encouraged some, others he sounded out. He pointed to his own generous resources, and the unprepared condition of the state, and the great prizes of the conspiracy.

21.2
Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas....

.... Then Catiline promised the abolition of debts....

21.4
Suorum unum quemque nominans laudare....

.... He praised each of his own followers by name....

In 17.1 we may note the rapid succession of four verbs, appellare, hortari, temptare, docere. It would be quite natural for a leader such as Catiline was to speak in a very

rapid manner, now promising this, now that. The use of these four verbs as historical infinitives increases one's insight into Catiline's character. In 21.2 and 21.4 we may note the use of single infinitives, something of a rarity in Sallust. If we turn to Table I, page 86, we will note that of the thirty-one passages which contain historical infinitives in the *Bellum Catilinae* only six contain a single infinitive. Ten infinitive-passages contain pairs of verbs as infinitives. Four passages have three infinitives. Three passages have four infinitives; three, five infinitives; four, six infinitives; and one passage, ten infinitives. The use of large series of infinitives is not unusual, although in its earlier usage, series of more than five infinitives is very exceptional.

Perhaps the most pronounced and well known peculiarity of the historical infinitive is its frequent appearance in groups of series, instead of singly. But this also is easily explained. Indeed, it is very natural, for impulsive and unpremeditated or emotional action is very likely to take this form. The activities of a child are of this kind, and it is chiefly the guiding hand of purpose and previous deliberation that holds us to a single line of conduct. Hence it is not simply a rhetorical device, but an accurate description of what takes place. If the impulse or feeling is strong enough not to be easily confined or regulated, it will inevitably find more than one outlet to satisfy its need for expression. The acts will then be closely related.3

---

At this point we think it profitable to quote the other five passages of the *Bellum Catilinae* in which the historical infinitive occurs but once. It will be advisable to give the entire passage so that one may see the context in which simple single infinitives occur and so form a more accurate estimate of the use of the single infinitive.

12.5
At hi contra, ignavissumi homines, per sumnummum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissumi viri victores reliquerant; proinde quasi injuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti.

The men of today, on the contrary, basest of creatures, with supreme wickedness are robbing our allies of all that those heroes in the hour of victory had left them; they act as though the one and only way to rule were to wrong.

25.5
Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum: posse versus facere, iocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci; prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

Nevertheless, she was a woman of no mean endowments. She could write verses, bandy jests, and use language -- modest, tender, or wanton. In fine, she possessed a high degree of wit and charm.

28.4
Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore injuriæ novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullæ dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat, praetera latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat, nonullos ex Sullanis coloniis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerat.
Meanwhile, Manlius in Etruria was working on the populace who were already ripe for revolution because of penury and resentment of their wrongs. For during Sulla's supremacy they had lost their lands and all their property. He also approached brigands of various nationalities, who were numerous in that part of the country; and also some members of Sulla's colonies who had been stripped by prodigal and luxurious living of the last of their great booty.

40.4
Haec ubi dixit Allobroges in maxumam spem adducti Umbrenum orare ut sui miseretur: nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissume facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret.

When Umbrenus had said this, the Allobroges were filled with the greatest hope and begged him to take pity on them. They declared that nothing was so dangerous or difficult that they would not joyfully undertake it, provided it would relieve their country of debt.

60.3
Veterani pristinae virtutis memores communus acriter instare, illi haud timidii resistunt: maxuma vi certatur.

The veterans, recalling their old time prowess, advanced fiercely at close quarters. The enemy, not lacking in courage, stood their ground. A terrific struggle ensued.

These single infinitives do not stand alone. They are coordinated with imperfects, perfects, and historical presents. Note the use of posse in 25.5. It only occurs once in the Bellum Catilinae. Posse might be termed something of a static verb, yet the two infinitives it governs denote action. The
use of series of infinitives has attracted the attention of most of the grammarians. Schlicher has a good point on the use of the single infinitive.

But while these series of infinitives are certainly striking enough, and a unique and distinctive feature of the construction, quite too much has been made of them in discussions on the subject. Statements to the effect that single infinitives are very rare, such as have been sometimes made, are far wide of the mark. They are, no doubt, the result of observations made in authors like Sallust and Tacitus, who use the construction extensively, but whose practice in this particular is quite exceptional. Both of them have several times as many series as single infinitives (Sallust about five times as many). (Tacitus has nearly three times as many). But in most authors the difference is not so great, even if there is any difference worth mentioning. In some of them, Cicero, Horace, Livy, and Curtius, for example, the single infinitives are more numerous than the series.

There are reasons for the use of a single infinitive which are quite as strong as those for the use of a series. It depends very largely on the nature of the action. Verbs of assertion naturally aim to convey an air of finality. A series would convey just the opposite impression. Hence we find verbs of assertion (negare, dicere, clamare, affirmare, etc.) used singly in the great majority of cases. A series of such verbs usually indicates intense excitement. A strong emotion, moreover, like joy, surprise, anger regarded apart from the actions in which it is expressed, leaves little room for other emotions side by side with it, and a single infinitive is therefore the most common expression for it also. 4

4 ibid., 289.
Schlicher's observation is borne out admirably in the *Bellum Catilinae*. Note the use of verbs of assertion, as *polliceri, laudare, posse, sollicitare, orare*. Even a word like *instare* may well be used to denote finality of action. Indeed, in 60.3 there is an air of complete finality. The passage is brief. The infinitive occurs in the first line. The passage ends with, *maxuma vi certatur*. Veteran soldiers do not hesitate. When the day of battle dawns they rush into the fray with confidence and spirit. Thus Sallust with one bold stroke, *instare*, gives us the whole picture.

Besides paragraph 60.3 just quoted, there is only one other place in the *Bellum Catilinae* where Sallust makes use of the historical infinitive to describe a battle scene. This is somewhat odd, for in the *Bellum Jugurthinum* he has more than twenty passages out of a hundred and five which depict actual battle scenes. We shall quote the one passage of the *Bellum Catilinae* without comment. We shall reserve comment for Chapter IV in which we shall see the twenty or more infinitive-passages which describe battle scenes.

60.4

*Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie vorsari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis arcessere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem ferire, strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exequebatur.*

Meanwhile Catiline with his light-armed troops was busy in the van. He aided
those who were hard pressed, summoned fresh troops to replace the wounded, had an eye to everything. He often struck down the foe -- thus performing at one and the same time the duties of a valiant soldier and of a skillful general.

The odd thing about the historical infinitive passages in the Bellum Catilinae is the fact that the bulk of them may be classified under the heading of peacetime pursuits. This is the opposite of wartime pursuits. We may divide this division, at least in Sallust's works, into the conduct of government, and into the conduct of the citizens of that government. Now the startling thing is that of the sixteen passages which contain historical infinitives five relate to the conduct of government and eleven to the conduct of its citizens. A still more surprising fact is that of the five passages which refer to the conduct of government not one refers to the good conduct and everyone of the eleven infinitive-passages referring to the conduct of the citizens refers only to evil conduct. Perhaps the historical infinitive is best suited to the portrayal of evil, since one of its characteristics is to give not a definite, precise picture, a thing generally demanded when one speaks of a person's good qualities, but rather to give the broad outlines of thought. It is left to the reader to fill in whatever detail his own imagination or knowledge of the subject being treated might suggest.
We shall first see those passages which treat of the evil conduct of government.

12.5
At hi contra, ignavissumi homines, per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissumi viri victores reliquerant; proinde quasi injuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti.

The men of today, on the contrary, basest of creatures, with supreme wickedness are robbing our allies of all that those heroes in the hour of victory had left them; they act as though the one and only way to rule were to wrong.

20.7
Nam postquam res publica in paucorum potentium jus atque dicionem concessit, semper illis reges tetrarchae vectigales esse, populi nationes stipendia pendere.

For ever since the state fell under the jurisdiction and sway of a few powerful men, it is always to them that kings and potentates are tributary and peoples pay taxes and nations also.

39.2
Ei magistratus provincias aliaque omnia tenere, ipsi innoxii florentes sine metu aetatem agere ceterosque judiciis terrere quo plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent.

These possessed the magistracies, the provinces and everything else. They themselves were rich and secure against attack. They lived without fear, and by resort to the courts terrified the others in order that while they themselves were in office they might manage the people with less friction.

51.30-31
Post ubi paulatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere: ita civitas ser-
virtute oppressa stultae laetitiae gravis poenas dedit.

But afterwards their license gradually increased. The tyrants slew good men and bad alike at will. The rest they intimidated. Thus the nation was reduced to slavery and had to pay the heavy penalty for its foolish rejoicing.

10.6
Haec primo paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari post, ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium ex justissumo atque optumo crudele intollerandumque factum.

Little by little these vices grew; occasionally they were punished. Finally, when the disease had spread like a deadly plague, the state was changed and a government second to none in equity and excellence became cruel and intolerable.

Finally, the last and largest group of our infinitives may be classified under the title of the evil conduct of the government's citizens.

11.4
Sed postquam L. Sulla armis recepta re publica bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores habere, foeda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere.

But after L. Sulla, having gained control of the state by arms, brought everything to a bad end from a good beginning, all men began to rob and pillage. One coveted a house, another lands. The victors showed neither moderation nor restraint, but shamefully and cruelly wronged their fellow citizens.
12.2
Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria
atque avaritia cum superbia invasere;
rapere, consumere, sua parvi pendere,
aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam,
divina atque humana promiscua, nihil
pensi neque moderati habere.

Therefore, as the result of riches,
luxury abounded, and greed united with
insolence took possession of our young
men. They squandered; set little value
on their own and coveted the goods of
others. They disregarded modesty,
chastity, and everything human and di­
vine. In short they were utterly thought­
less and reckless.

12.5
At hi contra, ignavissumi homines, per
summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere,
quae fortissumi viri victores relique­
rant; proinde quasi injuriam facere id
demum esset imperio uti.

The men of today, on the contrary, basest
of creatures, with supreme wickedness are
robbing our allies of all that those
heroes in the hour of victory had left
them. They act as though the one and
only way to rule were to wrong.

13.3
Sed lubido stupri ganae ceterique cultus
non minor incesserat: viri muliebria pati,
mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere;
vescendi causa terra marique omnia ex­
quirere; dormire prius quam somni cupidio
esset; non famem aut sitim neque frigus
neque lasitutudinem opperire sed ea omnia
luxu antecapere.

Nay more, the passion which arose for lewd­
ness, gluttony, and the other attendants
of luxury was equally strong. Man played
the woman, women offered their chastity for
a price. To gratify their palates they
scoured land and sea. They slept before
they needed sleep. They did not wait for
the coming of hunger or thirst, of cold or weariness, but all these things their self-indulgence anticipated.

14.6
Nam ut cuiusque studium ex aetate flagrabit, aliis scorta praebere aliis canes atque equos mercari, postremo neque sump-tui neque modestiae suae parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret.

For, carefully noting the passion which burned in each according to his time of life, he found harlots for some or bought dogs and horses for others. In this respect he spared neither expense nor his own decency provided only he could make them submissive and loyal to him.

16.2
Ex illis testis signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula, vilia habere. .... nihilominus insontis sicut sontis circumvenire,
jugulare ....

From their number he supplied false witnesses and forgers. He bade them make light of honor, fortune, and danger, .... he nevertheless waylaid innocent as well as guilty ....

23.2
Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam audacia: neque reticere quae audierat neque suamet ipse scelera occultare, prorsus dicere neque facere quicquam pensi habebat.

This man was as untrustworthy as he was reckless: he could neither keep secret what he had heard nor even his own misdeeds. He was utterly regardless of what he did or said.

25.2
Haec mulier .... psallere saltare elegantius quam necesse est probrae, ....
This woman... played the lyre and danced more skillfully than an honest woman need....

For the sake of completeness in Chapter III we do not think it out of place to list here the eight infinitive-passages which have not been quoted under one or other of the several headings given in the earlier portion of the Chapter. Early in the *Bellum Catilinae* Sallust gives us a very neat picture of the early Romans, those whom he considered to be the only true Romans. In a short passage, replete with verbs of a nature which of themselves denote speed, rapidity, and manly action Sallust endeavors to make us feel and understand something of the early sturdiness, virtue, and courage of the first Romans, something of their ability to tackle a problem with dispatch and bring it to a successful conclusion. Now this is in sharp contrast with the laziness, graft, political jockeying and general lack of public spirit that Sallust claims held Rome in its grip during the last century of the Republic.

6.5
At Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem patriam parentesque armis tegere.

But the Romans, putting forth their best effort on the home front and in the field, utilized speed and preparedness, encouraged one another, advanced to meet the enemy, protected their liberty, their homes and their parents by force of arms.
We see that the verbs themselves used as historical infinitives, *festinare, parare, hortari, obviam ire, tegere*, seem to add color, vividness, and a sense of strength to the character of the early Romans. An interesting thing is that Sallust is able to use some of these verbs to denote just the opposite effect.

There are two passages in the same chapter which paint a vivid picture of distracted action and despair.

31.1
Ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diurna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit; festinare trepidare, neque loco neque hominiquem satis credere, neque bellum gerere neque pacem habere, suo quiesce metu pericula metiri.

In the place of extreme gaiety and frivolity, the fruit of long-continued peace, there was sudden and general gloom. Men were uneasy and apprehensive, put little confidence in any place of security or in any human being. They were neither at war nor at peace. Each by his own fears measured the peril.

31.3
Ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, adflictare sese, manus supplicem ad caelum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, rogitare, omnia pavere, superbis atque deliciis omissis sibi patriaeque difficere.

The women, too, whom the greatness of our country had hitherto shielded from the terrors of war, were in a pitiful state of anxiety. They raised supplicant hands to heaven, bewailed the fate of their little ones. They asked continual
questions. They trembled at everything, and throwing aside haughtiness and self-indulgence, despaired of themselves and of their country.

In 31.3 we note the use of the frequentative, rogitare. Since the historical infinitive so often contains a note of repeated action, one might suspect that frequentatives would be used much more frequently. Yet, in the Bellum Catilinae we find only one other frequentative, vorsari. If we refer to Table IV we find that two frequentatives are used, and four intensives. Such a relatively limited use of these types of verbs makes it rather difficult to pass any judgment on their inclusion among verbs used as historical infinitives. As mentioned above, one might at first suppose a much wider use of these verbs, but the actuality precludes further study along this line. Since most frequentatives and intensives are usually verbs of the first conjugation, one is likely to attribute the large number of first conjugation verbs used to this source. Again, this theory falls down when one sees that only six of the thirty-seven first conjugation verbs belong to the above mentioned classes. In Bennett's New Latin Grammar the proportion of third to first conjugation verbs stands approximately six to one. Yet, in the Bellum Catilinae the proportion of first to third conjugation verbs is almost equal; in fact, there are more first than third conjugation verbs, thirty-seven of the first and only thirty-one of the
third conjugation. Just why this is so is hard to determine. We must keep in mind that Sallust turned a spontaneous expression into an artistic technique. Adapting it as he did, using long series, coordinating words, and balancing the infinitives with indicatives, permits a much wider use of verbs than the primitive spontaneous form.

To be sure, neither the frequency of its use, nor the length of the series, though striking, in itself proves a new treatment of the construction. And yet both are intimately connected with it. The extensive employment of a construction which in its native state is only moderately common, almost necessarily involves its spread into fields where it had not been used before. That this was actually the case in Sallust is shown, first of all, by the use of a very large number of verbs and expressions of action which would not have been employed in the early period, or at least but very sparingly and in special cases, since they distinctly imply deliberate purposes and preparation rather than impulse or emotion. A small part of Sallust, about one quarter of the passages in the Jugurthine War furnish the following:

\[
\text{Cuncta parare, scrutari loca abdita, hostibus augere, dolis temptare, ad virtutem arrigere, vendere, sedare motus, animos mollire, trahere omnia, polliceri deditonem, metum simulare, consulem ludificare, vineas agere, agerem jacere, missitare legatos, exercitum ductare, centuriones corrumpere, supplementum scribere, auxilia accersere.}
\]

The great majority of these are nothing more than the various operations incident to warfare. Evidently, to Sallust, the distinct presence of an element of calculation and deliberation
of control of his actions by the actor is no longer a bar to the use of the historical infinitive. 5

Two passages depict guile, craft, and treachery.

31.8
Ad hoc maledicta alia cum adderet, obstreper omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare.

When he would have added other insults, he was shouted down by the whole body who called him traitor and assassin.

47.1
Volutricius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid aut qua de causa consili habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; ....

Volutricius, when he was questioned about the journey and the letters and was finally asked what his design was and why he had entertained it, first invented another story and denied knowledge of the conspiracy.

The following two passages I have listed under the heading of passages expressing joy.

48.1
Interea plebs conjuratione patefacta, quae primo cupida rerum novarum nimis bello favebat, mutata mente Catilinae consilia exsecuri, Ciceronem ad Caelum tollere:

Meanwhile, after the disclosure of the plot, the commons, who at first in their

desire for a change of rulers had been only too eager for war, faced about and denounced the designs of Catiline, while they extolled Cicero to the skies.

51.29
Ea populus laetari, et merito dicere fieri.

Whereat the people rejoiced greatly and declared that it was well done.

The final passage containing historical infinitives, which brings the total in the *Bellum Catilinae* to thirty-one passages, we shall classify under the heading of military tactics. Although there is only one such passage in the *Bellum Catilinae*, we shall find many more infinitive-passages listed under this heading in the *Bellum Jugurthinum*. The reason for the paucity of passages dealing with matters incident to warfare has been given earlier in the Chapter.

56.4
Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere, modo ad urbem modo in Galliam versus castra movere, hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare: sperabat prope diem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent.

When Antonius was drawing near with his army, Catiline marched through the mountains, moved his camp now towards the city and now in the direction of Gaul. He gave the enemy no opportunity for battle, hoping shortly to have a large force if the conspirators at Rome succeeded in carrying out their plans.
CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORICAL INFINITIVE IN THE BELLUM JUGURTHINUM

Sallust penned the Bellum Catilinae a few years before he wrote his dynamic description of the Bellum Jugurthinum. I believe that during that interval his style considerably improved. At least, in his use of the historical infinitive this change is very noticeable. In the Bellum Jugurthinum, Sallust seems to use the infinitive to portray scenes and actions much more suitable to this grammatical and literary form. We have seen how he used a majority of his historical infinitives in the Bellum Catilinae to depict the evil conduct of the citizens and their government. By nature, the historical infinitive does not seem geared to such passages. This we can readily see from its forceful use in Sallust's virile depictions of battle, and in his empathic accounts of the psychological pre-battle preparations which provide the infinitive with vigorous framework. It is then that the infinitive's true force is shown; it is then that we see its nuances of meaning, its connotation as well as its denotation.

In the Bellum Jugurthinum we have one hundred and seven infinitive-passages containing from one to as many as eleven historical infinitives. We may consider, first, the division
It is with interest that we note twenty-two passages containing but one infinitive, and these constitute approximately twenty-one percent of the total number of passages. Although Sallust has been accused of introducing an excessively large number of passages containing long series of infinitives, still he does not neglect its original briefer form. While on the subject of long series, we may note that over sixty of Sallust's passages contain three or less infinitives. To have
as many as three infinitives in a single passage was not an uncommon practice in the early days of the historical infinitive.

I believe most Latinists would prefer the use of series, rather long series of infinitives, to the use of the single infinitive. Even though strong verbs are generally used in these single infinitive-passages, for example, agitari, con-rumpere, diffidere, evadere, praedari, resistere, orare, negitare, still they seem to be orphans in rather long sentences, usually two to three lines on the average. They are, however, often correlated with the indicative, imperfect, perfect, or the historical present. This correlation gives the single infinitive some support in these long passages. It is, however, noticeable that the majority of these single infinitives occur at the end of the sentence, thus giving an air of finality or sharpness to the entire passage. For example, 30.1 (cf. p. 139 inf.), ends, Romae.... de facto consulis agitari; 38.3 (cf. p. 75 inf.), centuriones ducesque conrumpere; 50.6 (cf. p. 124 inf.), inter virgulata evadere....; 67.1 (cf. p. 121 inf.), saxa....mittere; 100.1 (cf. p. 127 inf.), ....quadrato agmine incedere.

Due to the arrangement of the infinitive passages according to the action they describe, it is impossible to group these single infinitive passages together as we did in Chapter Three where there were only five such passages. However,
since all the historical infinitives of the Bellum Jugurthisnum are listed either in the body of Chapter IV or in the Appendices, one may easily verify the above statements by referring to the page listed after each chapter number.

Twenty percent of Sallust's infinitive-passages contain pairs of infinitives. It is noteworthy that although these infinitives occur in rather long passages, averaging three to four lines, the two infinitives themselves are generally grouped close together, there rarely being more than a half dozen words intervening. Not only that, they are often correlated; for example, 39.1 (cf. p. 140 inf.), pars dolere .... pars timere; 58.2 (cf. p. 120 inf.), alli fugere .... alli arma capere; 83.2 (cf. p. 142 inf.), ille probare partim, alia abnuere.

Another feature of these pairs of infinitives is the fact that the verbs have some general relationship in meaning, either expressing the same idea or opposition. We have in 13.5 (cf. p. 139 inf.), timere, .... spem habere; 15.2 (cf. p. 136 inf.), contemnere .... extollere; 39.1 (cf. p. 140 inf.), dolere .... timere; 57.5 (cf. p. 120 inf.) volvere .... mittente; 58.2 (cf. p. 120 inf.), fugere .... capere; 83.3 (cf. p. 142 inf.), probare .... abnuere; and 98.2 (cf. p. 61 inf.) remittere .... instare.

Sallust's most numerous combinations in the Bellum Jugurthisnum are the historical infinitive triads. The twenty-seven
passages in which these series occur constitute approximately twenty-five percent of the infinitive-passages. Again the three infinitives are usually closely grouped together giving a certain conciseness and drive to the action of the passage. The use of static verbs, of passives, and of esse and its compounds appear more frequently. This is reasonable, since such verbs, though somewhat foreign to the construction in its earlier form, are aided and supported by other dynamic verbs.

In this group we find four of the ten uses of habere, three of the nine uses of esse, one of the three uses of posse, and one of the two uses of fieri.

There is something attractive about the use of three successive infinitives. There seems to be a rhythmical cadence in this series, lacking as it does the abruptness of two infinitives and the seeming unbalance of a series of four infinitives. Let us consider the rhythm and cadence of a few groups of these infinitives.

11.8 (cf.p.78,inf.) moliri, parare, habere.
29.8 (cf.p.79,inf.) vastare, agere, augere.
30.3 (cf.p.137,inf.) hortari, monere, ostendere.
37.4 (cf.p.66,inf.) agere, jacerer, properare.
41.5 (cf.p.135,inf.) ducere, trahere, properare.
47.4 (cf.p.74,inf.) abnuere, polliceri, expectare.
49.4 (cf.p.78,inf.) conmonfacere, ostentare, excitare.
76.4 (p.129, inf.) festinare, parare, fieri.
79.7 (p. 75, inf.) criminari, conturbare, malle.
92.2 (p.142, inf.) ferre, timere, credere.

In short sentences we find the historical infinitives used alone. In this manner they bear the full force of the indicative. They serve to give the passage a fine sense of swiftness, earnestness, and action. Where the paragraphs or sentences are longer, the infinitives are usually correlated with other verbs in the indicative.

From the thirteen passages containing four infinitives to the two passages containing eleven infinitives there is a gradual tapering-off. Series of four or more infinitives constitute but thirty-six percent of all the infinitive-passages in Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum*. About twelve percent of all the passages contain four infinitives. An interesting point is the fact that one of the twelve passages contains three first conjugation verbs, five contain two, and six, one. Perhaps the long rhythm of the ending -are is more in harmony with the series of infinitives.

There are eleven passages containing series of five infinitives. In these passages the infinitives are generally scattered throughout the sentences which are as a rule long. We may note here something that is not found to be common in those passages which contain four or fewer infinitives. All
but one of the eleven passages depict either battle scenes, military maneuvers, or haste in pre-battle preparations. This seems to be quite logical for even when an author like Sallust uses five or more infinitives, he must have a framework which of its nature can carry such a load. Only actions such as the above-mentioned seem capable of carrying out sustained, protracted vividness.

Passages which contain six infinitives number but five. All express vigorous, excited, distracted action. The verbs are scattered throughout the passages. They are strong verbs, as will be seen from the following examples.

12.5 (p.76,inf.) inrumpere, quaerere, interficere, scrutari, effringere, miscere.

44.5 (p.79,inf.) vastare, expugnare, agere, mittere, mercari, vendere.

58.3 (p.63,inf.) remittere, frustrari, ostendere, caedere, fundere, fugare.

59.3 (p.120,inf.) sequi, cedere, concurrere, implicare, perturbari, dare.

94.6 (p.61,inf.) instare, fundere, sauciare, vadere, petere, morari.

Such long passages demand strong, impulsive supporting action. This holds true for the six passages containing seven infinitives, for the one containing eight, one containing nine, one containing ten, and the two containing eleven historical infinitives.

We have touched upon the fact that it is a characteristic
of Sallust's style to use the historical infinitive in con-
junction with the personal forms of the verb in order to bring
out in a tangible way the characteristics of the infinitive
as opposed to the imperfect, the perfect, and the historical
present. Sallust often opposes the infinitive, a form supple
and swift, to the personal form, more massive and slower. The
infinitive expresses spontaneous movement, vivacity, activity;
the personal form, slowness, laziness, inertia. We may give a
concrete example of this opposition which occurs so frequently
throughout the infinitive-passages. This example contains a
series of eight historical infinitives.

6.1
Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus
decora facie, sed multo maxume ingenio
validus, non se luxu neque inertiae cor-
rumpendum dedit,

sed, uti mos gentis illius
est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum aequalibus
certare, et, cum omnis gloria antiret,
omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque
tempora in venando agere, leonem atque
alias feras primus aut in primis ferire,
plurumum facere minumum ipse de se loqui.

In the first third of the paragraph we have negation and
the verb in the perfect indicative to express pure, simple
action. The remainder of the paragraph, introduced by sed,
gives an accumulation of the supple form of the historical in-
finitive rendering in a striking way the notion of activity,
repeated actions, and swift movement. Thus we have an artistic
technique consisting in expressing consuming activity by the accumulation of infinitives and the opposition of these infinitives to a personal mood contained in the first third of the sentence.

The historical infinitive, therefore, may be considered in Sallust as a technique of style. It is frequently connected with other techniques such as the noun phrase, asyndeton, antithesis, etc. Sallust seems to have considered it a form of expression capable of rendering rapidity, movement, activity, agitation, confusion, the unforeseen, the dramatic and to have used it to give his narrative a vivid, dramatic appeal. In the following pages we shall see how Sallust renders by an accumulation of infinitives the consuming activity of Jugurtha, (cf. 66.1, p. 72, inf.), his artifices, (cf. 36.2, p. 66, inf.) the energetic action of Metellus, (cf. 45.2, p. 67, inf.), the activity of Marius the consul and governor, (cf. 84.2, p. 129 inf.), the conduct of Sulla, (cf. 96.2-3, p. 143, inf.)

Of the one hundred and seven passages which contain one or more historical infinitives, twenty-one depict battle scenes twenty-five treat of military tactics on the part of the Romans or Africans, ten portray haste in the preparations for battle. Strangely enough, eleven passages treat of guile, trickery, and treachery both of the Romans and of the Numidians. Five passages portray distress or distracted action; four, the plundering activities of armies. In eight passages
the historical infinitive is embodied in paragraphs which in some way or other give or report speeches or words of encouragement. The remaining twenty-two passages are difficult to classify under any of the above groups. They are, therefore, given separately in Appendix H. It must be admitted that some of these divisions overlap. This is especially true of the passages listed in Group E, those depicting distracted action. Such action is common to those passages treating of battle, military tactics, or haste in preparation. However, since the main action was one of the three mentioned above rather than the mere portrayal of distress, we have not included them under the five passages listed in Group E.

We have placed half the total of any given group of passages in the body of Chapter IV. The other half has been relegated to the Appendixes. We shall attempt to give brief comments after each of the eight listed groups.
Infinitive-passages in the *Bellum Jugurthinum* which depict general battle scenes.

50.4
Numidae alii postremos caedere, pars a sinistra ac dextra temptare, infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare, quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto proelio ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur neque contra feriundi aut conserundi manum copia erat.

Some of the Numidians cut down the hindermost Romans while a part attacked them on the right and on the left, pressing with vigor and energy, and throwing the ranks into general confusion....

51.1
Ceterum facies totius negoti varia incerta foeda atque miserabilis. Dispersi a suis pars cedere alii insequi, neque signa neque ordines observare, ubi quemque periculum ceperat ibi resistere ac propulsare, arma tela equi viri hostes atque civis permixti, nihil consilio neque imperio agi, fors omnia regere.

Thus the aspect of the whole affair was confused, uncertain, horrible and lamentable. Separated from their comrades, some of our men gave way, others attacked. They could neither follow the standards nor keep their ranks; but wherever each man had been overtaken by danger, there he stood his ground and defended himself. Arms and weapons, men and horses, Numidians and Romans were mingled in confusion. There was no opportunity for advice nor command; chance held sway everywhere.

51.5
Sed ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus erat: circumire, hortari, renovare proelium et ipse cum delectis temptare omnia, subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare,
Meanwhile Jugurtha in his turn was not quiet, but went about and encouraged his men, endeavored to renew the battle; in person with the flower of his troops he tried every device, aided his men, charged the enemy where they wavered, and by attacks at long range held at bay those whom he had found to be unshaken.

57.4
Romani pro ingenio quisque pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare, alii succedere ac murum modo subfodere modo scalis aggredi, cupere proelium in manibus facere.

The Romans acted each according to his own ability; some fought at long range with slings and stones; others advanced and undermined the wall or applied scaling ladders, striving to get at grips with the foe.

60.1
Ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrume niti, neque alius in alio magis quam in sese spem habere, pariterque oppidani agere: obpugnare aut parare omnibus locis, avidius alteri alteros sauciari quam semet tegere, clamor permixtus hortatione laetitia gemitu, item strepitus armorum ad caelum ferri, tela utrimque volare.

Wherever any of the lieutenants or tribunes was in charge, there was the bitterest strife and no one relied more on another than on himself. The Townspeople showed equal courage; men were fighting or making preparations at all points, and both sides were more eager to wound the other than to protect themselves. There was a din of mingled encouragement, exultation and groans; the clash of arms arose to heaven; a shower of missiles fell on both sides.
Nam cum eae paulo processerant, igni aut lapidibus conrumpebantur, milites neque pro opere consistere propter in­iquitatem loci neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare; optumus quisque cadere aut sauciari, ceteris metus augeri.

Mantlets were pushed forward with extreme danger and to no purpose. For when they had gone but a short distance they were ruined by fire and stone. The soldiers could not keep their footing before the works because of the steepness of the hill nor operate within the mantlets without peril. The bravest were killed or wounded, and the rest gradually lost courage.

Quod ubi accidit, eo acrìus Romani in­stare, fundere ac plerosque tantum modo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriae certantes murum petere neque quemquam omnium praeda morari.

Upon this the Romans pressed on with greater vigor, routing the enemy, but for the most part only wounding them. They then rushed on over the bodies of the slain, eager for glory and each striving to be first to reach the wall; not one stayed to plunder.

Qui omnes trepidi improviso metu ac tamen virtutis memores aut arma capie­bant aut capientis alios ab hostibus defensabant; pars equos escendere, ob­viam ire hostibus, pugna latrocínio magis quam proelio similis fieri, sine signis sine ordinibus equites pedes­que permixti cedere alius alius ob­truncari, multit contra adversos acerrume pugnantes ab tergo circumveniri; neque virtus neque arma satis tegere, quia hostes numero plures et undique cir­cumfusi erant.
Our men were all bewildered by the unlooked for danger, but nevertheless did not forget their valor. Some took arms, while others kept off the enemy from their comrades who were arming. A part mounted their horses and charged the foe. The combat was more like an attack of brigands than a battle. Without standards and in disorder, the horse and foot massed together, some gave ground, others slew their opponents; many who were bravely fighting against their adversaries were surrounded from the rear. Valor and arms were insufficient protection against an overwhelming enemy who attacked on every side.

98.1
Neque in eo aspero negotio Marius territus aut magis quam anteae demiso animo fuit, sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissumis magis quam familiarissumis paraverat, vagari passim ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confertissumi obstiterant, invadere; manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat.

In so dangerous a crisis Marius was neither frightened nor less confident than before. With his bodyguard of cavalry, which he had formed of the bravest soldiers rather than of his most intimate friends, he went from place to place, now succouring those of his men who were in pressing circumstances, now charging the enemy where they were coming on in greatest numbers. He directed the soldiers by gestures, since in the general confusion his orders could not be heard.

101.11
Denique hostes jam undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi, fugere, occidi, capi, equi atque viri adflicti, ac multi vulneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati, niti modo ac statim concidere, postremo omnia, qua visus
erat, constrata telis armis cadaveribus et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

Finally the enemy were everywhere routed. Then there was a fearful fight in the open plains -- pursuing, fleeing, killing, capturing; horses and men dashed to the ground, many of the wounded unable either to rise or remain quiet, now making an effort to rise and immediately collapsing. In short, wherever the eye could reach, the ground was soaked in blood and strewn with corpses, weapons and arms.

58.3
Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta memores nominis Romani grege facto locum cepere paulo quam alii edifiorem neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt, sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrari; sin Numidae propius adcessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere et eos maxuma vi caedere fundere atque fugare.

But out of the entire number, forty or less remembered that they were Romans. These gathered together and took possession of a place a little higher than the rest, from which they could not be dislodged by the greatest efforts of the enemy. They threw back the weapons which were thrown at them from a distance, and if the Numidians came nearer, they then showed their real quality, charging them with the greatest fury, routing and scattering them.

Since the Bellum Jugurthinum is a treatise on a hard-fought war, it merits the title Bellum in a way that the brochure on Catiline does not. We find that twenty-one passages treat specifically of battles and another twenty-five of military tactics. If we add to these the ten passages which men-
tion haste in pre-battle preparations and the four which tell of the soldiers' plundering activities, we see that a majority of the passages treat directly of war or of activities intimately connected with war.

In these descriptions of battle scenes Sallust generally uses long series of infinitives, ten of them having six or more. The very nature of the description demands these long series to give the passage that tremendous drive so commonplace on the battle field. Schlicher observes that Sallust supports his infinitives splendidly and never compels them to do service in ordinary situations. When the time to strike comes, he leads forth all his reserves like a general on the field of battle. The great length of his series is for the most part due to a feeling that is was good strategy to back up his sweeping squadrons by others and still others, in order to drive the attack home. It is thus in large part that he produces the impression of vigor and rapidity for which his style is noted. An outstanding example of this style is 51.1 (cf. p. 59, sup.).

In 101.11 (cf. p. 62, sup.) Sallust in portraying the defeat and giving us a general view of the battle field utilizes, almost with the same value, noun phrases, historical infinitives without subjects, such as sequi, fugi, occidi, capi, or with subjects, Multi, neque fugere posse neque quietem pati, niti modo ac statim concideré. These techniques
vividly picture movement, the confusion of the flight and
the pursuit, the terrible massacre and the pitiful efforts of
the wounded.

Sallust describes strong, striking, vibrant action by
contantly using strong, striking, vibrant verbs which fit in
perfectly with the action. Note how often, even in these
long series of verbs, he will group his infinitives, either at
the beginning or at the end of the passage. The actions de-
cribed by the use of the historical infinitives are thus put
in sharp contrast with the slower or less important actions
expressed by the verbs in the indicative mood. Thus in 58.3
(cf. p. 63, sup.) we have in the first half of the sentence
a simple statement on the number of Romans that remained and
on the position they took. Suddenly Sallust breaks into the
use of the historical infinitives to describe the Numidians'
attack, the Romans hurling back the weapons thrown at them,
and their brave charge whenever the enemy came within striking
distance.
There are twenty-five infinitive-passages which depict or describe general military tactics. We shall quote twelve of them in the body of the thesis and thirteen in Appendix B.

36.2
At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia et alias deinde alias morae causas facere, polliceri deditio nem ac deinde metum simulare, cedere instanti et paulo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo modo pacis mora consulem ludificare.

Jugurtha, on the contrary, tried in every way to gain time, inventing one pretext after another for delay. He promised to surrender and then feigned fear, gave way to the consul's attack and then, that his followers might not loose courage, attacked in his turn. Thus he baffled the consul now by the delays of war, now by those of peace.

37.4
Quod quamquam et saevitia temporis et opportunitate loci neque capi neque obsideri poterat -- nam circum murum situm in praerupti montis extremo plano limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat -- tamen aut simulandi gratia quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem jacere, aliaque quae incepto usui fortem properare.

He was unable to take either the town or lay siege to it because of the inclemency of the weather and the strength of its position; for all about the walls, which were built along the edge of a steep cliff, was a muddy plain, of which the winter rains had made a marshy pool. Yet, neither with the idea of making a flank, in order to frighten the king, or because he was blinded by a desire to possess the town for the sake of its treasure, he brought up the mantlets, constructed a mound, and
hastily made other preparations for assault.

45.2
Praeterea transvorsis itineribus co-
tidie castra movere, juxta ac si hostes
adessent vallo atque fossa munire, vi-
gilias crebras ponere et eas ipse cum
legatis circumire, item in agmine in
primis modo modo in postremis, saepe
in medio adesse, ne quispiam ordine
egredetur, ut cum signis frequentes
incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret.

Moreover he broke camp every day for
cross-country marches, fortified it with
a palisade and moat just as if the enemy
were near, and set guards at short in-
tervals, inspected them in person atten-
ded by his lieutenants. On the march
too he was now with those in the van,
now in the rear, often in the middle of
the line, to see that no one left the
ranks, that they advanced in a body
about the standards, and that the sol-
diers carried food and arms.

46.6
Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pa-
riter ac si hostes adessent, munito
agmine incedere, late explorare omnia,
illa deditionis signa ostendit ei credere
et insidiis locum temptare.

None the less, exactly as if the enemy
were close at hand, Metellus advanced
with his line protected on all sides,
and reconnoitered the country far and
wide, believing that these indications
of submission were a pretence and that
the enemy were seeking an opportunity
for treachery.

50.2
Deinde ipse pro re atque loco sicuti
monte descenderat, paulatim procedere,
Marium post principia habere, ipse cum
sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui in
agmine principes facti erant.
Then as the circumstances and situation demanded, he advanced slowly in the same order in which he had come down from the mountain, keeping Marius behind what had been the front line, while he himself was with the cavalry on the left wing, which had now become the van.

Meanwhile Jugurtha would follow along the hills, watching for a suitable time or place for battle. He spoiled the fodder and contaminated the springs, which were very few, in the places to which he had heard that the enemy were doming. He showed himself to Metellus, made an attempt on the hindermost in the line, and at once retreated to the hills. He threatened others, and afterwards others, neither gave battle nor let the enemy rest, but merely prevented them from carrying out their plans.

He changed his routes and his officials from day to day, now went forth to meet the enemy, now took to the desert; often placed hope in flight and shortly afterwards in arms. He was in doubt whether to trust less to the courage or to the
good faith of his countrymen; thus wherever he turned, he faced adversity.

88.2
Sed Marius inpigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter adtendere, cognoscere quid boni utrisque aut contra esset, explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias eorum antevenire, nihil apud se remissum neque apud illos tutum pati.

But Marius watched the conduct of his own men and of the enemy alike untiringly and sagaciously; learned what was to the advantage or disadvantage of both sides; observed the movements of the kings and anticipated their plans and plots, allowing his soldiers no relaxation and the enemy no security.

94.2
Igitur praegrediens Ligus saxa et siquae vetustae radices eminebant laqueis vinciebat, quibus adlevati milites facilius ascenderent, interdum timidos insolentia itineris levari manu, ubi paulo asperior ascensus erat, singulos prae se inermos mittere, deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi, quae dubia nisui videbantur potissimumus temptare ac saepius eadem ascendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere.

Then the Ligurian led the way, fastening ropes to the rocks or to old projecting roots, in order that with such help the soldiers might more easily make the ascent. Sometimes he lent a hand to those whom the unusual nature of the route alarmed, and where the ascent was unusually difficult, he would send men ahead one by one unarmed and then follow himself, bringing the arms. He was first to try places which it seemed dangerous to attempt, and by often climbing and returning the same way, and then at once stepping aside, he lent courage to the rest.
Iamque dies consumptus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere atque, uti reges praeceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius instare.

And now the day was spent, yet the barbarians did not at all relax their efforts, but thinking that darkness would favor them, as the kings had declared, they attacked with greater vigor.

Neque secus atque iter facere, castra munire, ex cubitum in portas cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere, praeterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futurum quae imperavisset, quam uti milites exaequatus cum imperatore labor volentibus esset.

He himself was armed and alert, and he compelled the soldiers to follow his example. With the same care that he showed in making his march he fortified his camp, sent cohorts from the legions to keep ward at the gate and auxiliary cavalry to perform like duty before the camp. In addition he stationed others on the ramparts above the palisade.

Quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrociitate rei quam fide nuntii terrentur, simulque barbari animos tollere et in perculsos Romanos acrius incedere.

When our men heard this, they were shocked rather by the horror of the deed than because they believed the report, while at the same time the barbarians were encouraged and charged upon the appalled Romans with greater vigor.
In this group of passages we again note the plurality of infinitives. They are quite natural since many of the military tactics described require a variety of subordinate actions. Strong verbs are common.

In 94.2 (cf. p. 69, sup.) we have a good example of another of Sallust's devices, the formation of series in which the infinitive is used in co-ordination with indicatives. Its use is often attributed to the "inconcinnity" which Sallust favored. This itself is a striving for effect, resulting in a somewhat artificial and premeditated form of expression. The colors are laid on with foresight and calculation, the infinitive being placed where it will produce the desired effect in its relation to the rest of the passage.

In 98.2 (cf. p. 70, sup.) we have the historical infinitive used in a subordinate "cum inversum" clause. Sallust is probably the first to use the historical infinitive itself in subordinate clauses. This indicates that what was once a spontaneous form of expression is now employed in surroundings which are the result of analysis and deliberation rather than impulsion. As Schlicher points out, Sallust did not carry this practice very far, for in spite of his freedom in the use of the historical infinitive, he had a true feeling for its possible functions and its limitations and did in fact confine it to loosely attached clauses, such as the continuing relative and the "cum inversum".
Of the ten passages which depict battle preparations usually accompanied by much haste on the part of those interested in what is to follow we shall here quote five. In Appendix C will be found the other five.

39.2
.... Et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere, ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia accersere, denique omnibus modis festinare.

.... But in the meantime he enrolled reinforcements, summoned aid from the allies and the Latin people. In short, he bestirred himself in every way.

55.3
Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare, cavere tamen necubi hosti opportunus fieret, meminisse post gloriam invidiam sequi.

Metellus therefore strove the harder for victory, hastened matters in every way, yet was careful not to give the enemy an opening anywhere, remembering that envy follows hard upon glory.

66.1
Interim Jugurtha postquam omissa de- ditione bellum incipit cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare ....

Meanwhile Jugurtha, having abandoned the idea of a surrender and having resumed hostilities, was making all his preparations with great care and dispatch.

100.3
Simul consul quasi nullo inposito omnia providere apud omnis adesse, laudare et increpare merentis.
At the same time the consul was careful, just as if he had no officers, looking out for everything, being everywhere present, and distributing praise and blame where each was deserved.

105.4
Igitur se quisque expedire, arma atque tela temptare intendere, timor aliquantus sed apes amplior quippe victoribus et avorum eos, quos saepe vicerant.

Therefore each man prepared himself, tried his arms and weapons and was on the alert. There was some anxiety, but greater confidence, as was natural to victors in the presence of those whom they had often vanquished.

In this group of passages there is evidence of another feature characteristic of Sallust. The infinitives are carefully introduced by words and phrases showing their relation to what has gone before. "Nam, sed, igitur, eo modo, contra ea, ita, tamen, deinde, itaque, tantum modo, interim, ad hoc, ex eo tempore, praeterea, neque idcirco minus, simul, per idem tempus, denique," and the like are quite common. They are far more common in Sallust than the purely intensifying modifiers of the early period. This indicates that the actions expressed by the historical infinitives are not longer represented as breaking in suddenly and swaying the situation for the time being, as they did in the earlier period of the construction, but that they have their work in the narrative carefully assigned to them in subordination to the whole. The manipulation of the matter by Sallust is thus distinctly ap-
Oddly enough, eleven of the infinitive-passages in the *Bellum Jugurthinum* deal with trickery, treachery, guile and deceit of men. Again, we shall quote five representative examples and relegate the remaining six passages to Appendix D.

11.8
*Itaque ex eo tempore ira et metu anxius moliri parare atque ea modo cum animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur.*

So from that time, filled as he was with fear and rage, he schemed and planned and thought only of the means by which he might outwit Hiempsal.

38.1
*At Jugurtha cognita vanitate atque inperitia legati subdole ejus augere amentiam, missitare supplicantis legatos, ipse quasi vitabundus per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare.*

Jugurtha, however, well aware of the presumption and incapacity of the acting commander, craftily added to his infatuation and constantly sent him suppliant envoys, while he himself, as if trying to avoid an encounter, led his army through woody places and by-paths.

47.4
*Quos item uti priores consul inlectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat, regi pacem quam postulabat neque abnuere neque polliceri et inter eas moras promissa legatorum expectare.*

These envoys too, like the former ones, the consul persuaded to turn traitors and sent home, neither refusing nor promising the king peace for which he asked and meanwhile waiting for the envoys to fulfill their promises.
38.3
.... Centuriones ducesque turmarum
partim uti transfugerent conrumpere ....

.... He bribed the centurions and the
commanders of cavalry either to desert ....

60.5
Quod, ubi Mario cognitum est -- nam is
in ea parte curabat -- consulto lenius
agere ac differentiam rei simulare,
pati Numidas sine tumultu regis proe-
lium visere.

When Marius perceived all this (for he
was in charge at that point) he
purposely slackened his efforts and
feigned discouragement, allowing the
Numidians to witness their king's
battle undisturbed.

79.7
Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto poste-
riores se esse vident et ob rem con-
ruptam domi poenas metuunt, criminiari
Carthageniensis ante tempus domo
digressos, conturbare rem, denique
omnia malle quam victi abire.

Now when the men of Cyrene realized
that they were somewhat belated and
feared punishment for their failure
when they returned, they accused the
Carthaginians of having left home
ahead of time and refused to abide
by the agreement. In fact they were
willing to do anything rather than go
home defeated.

In this following section we shall see three of the five
passages which describe distracted action. As we mentioned at
the beginning of the Chapter, distress and distracted action
played an important role in other infinitive-passages, espe-
cially those dealing with battle scenes and haste in prepara-
tion. However, we deem it necessary to give a special section to these five infinitive-passages since they do not fit into any of the above mentioned divisions. The two passages not quoted here will be found in Appendix E.

12.5
Qui postquam in aedis inrupere, divorsi regem quaerere, dormientis alios, alios occursantis interficere, scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere, strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere; cum interim Hiempsal reperitur occultans se tugurio mulieris ancillae, quo initio pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat.

They rushed into the house, scattered in search of the king, slew some of the household in their sleep and others as they offered resistance. They ransacked all hiding places, broke down doors, and filled the whole place with noise and confusion. Meanwhile, Hiempsal was found hiding in the cell of a maid-servant, where in his first terror, he had taken refuge, as he was unacquainted with the premises.

38.5
Milites Romani percusserunt tumultu insolito arma capere alii alii se abdere, pars territos confirmente, trepidare omnibus locis.

The Roman soldiers were alarmed by the unusual disturbance. Some seized their arms; others hid themselves, a part encouraged the fearful. Consternation reigned.

72.2
Neque post id locorum Jugurthae dies aut nox una quieta fuit; neque loco neque mortali cuquam aut temporis satis credere, civis hostisque juxta metuere, circumspectare omnia et omni strepitu pavescre, alio atque alio loco saepe contra decus
regium noctu requiescere, interdum somno excitus arreptis armis tumultum facere, ita formidine quasi ve/cordia exagitari.

But thence forward Jugurtha never passed a quiet day or night; he put little trust in any place, person, or time. He feared his countrymen and the enemy alike, was always on the watch; started at every sound. He spent his nights in different places, many of which were ill-suited to the dignity of a king. Sometimes on being aroused from sleep he would utter outcries and seize his arms. He was hounded by a fear that was all but madness.

Another evidence of Sallust's manipulation of the construction is his very frequent use of such distinguishing and coordinating words as: pars - pars; partim - partim; modo - modo; alii - alii; etc., to offset the various infinitives against each other.

In 38.5 (cf. p. 76, sup.) we have an excellent example of this technique, "arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare, trepidare omnibus locis." A group of acts by different persons, related in some way, but often contrasted among themselves, are thus bound together in a single whole.

There are eight passages in which the historical infinitive is used to describe a speech of a military commander or other personage. We shall quote four here, and four in Appendix G.

At C. Memmius advocata contione, quam-quam regi infesta plebes erat et pars
in vincula duci jubebat, pars, nisi socios sceleris sui aperiret, more maiorum de hoste supplicium sumi, dignitati quam irae magis consulens sedare motus et animos eorum mollire, postremo confir mare fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore.

But when C. Memmius had called an assembly of the people, the commons were so exasperated at the king that some demanded that he should be imprisoned, others that if he did not reveal the accomplices in his guilt, he should be punished as an enemy after the usage of our forefathers. But Memmius taking counsel of propriety rather than of resentment, quieted their excitement and soothed their spirits, finally declaring that, so far as it was in his power to prevent it, the public pledge should not be broken.

49.4
Ad hoc virítim, uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat, comnonefacere benifici sui et eum ipsum aliiis ostentare, postremo pro cuiusque ingenio pollicendo minitando obtestando alium alio modo excitare:

He also addressed them individually and recalled his favors to the mind of every soldier whom he had ever rewarded with money or honor for any deed of arms. He pointed out the recipient to his comrades. Finally, by promises, threats or entreaties he incited one man after another, each in a different way according to his disposition.

51.4
Simul orare et hortari milites ne deficerent neu paterentur hostis fugientis vincere; neque illis castra esse neque munimentum ullam, quo cedentes tenderent; in armis omnia sita.

At the same time he begged and implored his men not to weaken or allow a fleeing enemy to win the victory. He pointed out
that the Romans had no camp or fortress as a refuge, but must rely upon their arms entirely.

113.2
Postea tempore et loco constituto in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo modo Jugurthae legatum appellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri.

Afterwards, when the time and place were agreed upon for holding the peace conference, Bocchus addressed now Sulla and now the envoy of Jugurtha, received both courteously and made them the same promises.

There are four passages which describe the plundering by an army. As has been our custom, we shall quote two of them here and the remaining two in Appendix F.

20.8
Ceterum qua pergebat urbis agros vastare, praedas agere, suis animum hostibus terror augere.

Wherever he went he destroyed the countryside, snatched booty, increased confidence in his own followers, struck terror into the hearts of the enemy.

44.5
Lixae permixti cum militibus diu noctuque vagabantur et palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino adventicio et alis talibus, praeterea frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari; postremo quaecumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaeque probra in illo exercitu cuncta fuere et alia amplius.

Camp followers and soldiers ranged about
in company day and night. In their forays they laid waste the country, stormed farmhouses, and vied with one another in amassing booty in the form of cattle and slaves, which they bartered with the traders for foreign wines and other luxuries. They even sold the grain which was allotted them by the state and bought bread from day to day. In short, whatever disgraceful excesses resulting from idleness and wantoness can be mentioned or imagined were all to be found in that army and in others besides.

Sallust's use of the historical infinitive amounts largely to the creating of an illusion by the skillful use of various devices. His use of esse and the passive is excellent, for almost invariably they occur in the course of a series which is introduced by words of dynamic force. His infinitives invariably portray the rush and vigor of the scene in hand, and his accumulation of momentum in the use of series is a unique preparation for the explosive act which is the real province of the historical infinitive.
CHAPTER V
THE USE OF THE HISTORICAL INFINITIVE AFTER SALLUST

Conclusion

Caesar and Cicero were Sallust's contemporaries. Caesar wrote accounts of two bloody campaigns. His blitzkrieg tactics so noticeable in the De Bello Gallico might lead one to suspect that his commentary would be replete with such a construction as the historical infinitive. A reading of his two works proves just the opposite to be the fact. In the five books of the De Bello Gallico Caesar uses but seven infinitive-passages. They are listed in Appendix I. In Appendix J the four infinitive-passages of the three books of the De Bello Civili are given. Caesar, reserved, cold character that he was by nature, inclination, and training, was probably somewhat averse to excessive use of so flamboyant a construction. Yet, where he does use it, he leans to the freer forms.

Sallust may be compared to the modern Press war-correspondent, fairly conversant with the art of war and military tactics, but even more so with the art of presenting the facts of war in colorful, vivid style. Sallust, as does the modern correspondent, endeavors to hold the reader's interest by
means of literary techniques, vivid portrayal, analysis of the emotions and feelings of the various participants in the bloody struggle he witnesses. Caesar, on the other hand, briefly, succinctly reports the military operations, bestowing praise where praise is due and withholding all imputation of blame. This would be another explanation of Caesar's restraint in using the historical infinitive. I am sure that if Sallust had put his pen to the Gallic Wars, a much more dynamic piece of Latin prose would have been the result.

Cicero, who might have been temperamentally and artistically fitted for a generous utilization of this construction, evidently shrank from it as being too breezy for his staid character. Then, too, he preferred the Latin style of the older generation. In his use of the historical infinitive he naturally follows the older models. As he advanced in years, he became more and more conservative in his use of the construction. More than half of his historical infinitives occur in one of his earlier works, a work in which he gave vent to his indignation with all the literary and artistic ability at his command, the speeches against Verres.

The historical infinitive is used twelve times by Horace. Like Cicero, he tends towards the older forms. Nine of the passages are in the Satires, one in the Epodes, and two in the Epistles. Eight of the passages contain but one infinitive; only one passage has three infinitives. The expression of the
various emotions account for most of them.

Vergil deserves special mention, for due to his inclusion of historical infinitives in his epic, his later imitators continued the use of this form in their poetry. Vergil has two historical infinitives in the Georgics and thirty in the Aeneid. Only eight of these contain single infinitives. This small proportion places him in the same bracket as Sallust and Tacitus. His preference for series of infinitives may be explained as due to the weight and dignity which the greater fullness of the series carries with it. Thus a series of historical infinitives is eminently adaptable to the epic.

Schlicher has a fine summary of Livy's use of the historical infinitive which deserves to be given in full.

In summing up Livy's use, we may say that he gives the impression of one employing a construction which was not native to him. His usage from the start is composite, showing distinct imitation of both Cicero and Sallust in important particulars. There is considerable waver- ing in his method, as is shown by the changes which his use of the construction undergoes in the course of his work. He has none too firm a grasp of the fundamental force of the construction, as is evident from the way in which he handles the passive voice and esse. It is evident also from his large use of static verbs, and especially from the nature of certain forms of expression which he developed and used a great deal, for example, the single infinitives dicere and credere followed by long and elaborate passages of indirect discourse. That is to say, the types of the historical infinitive
which are most distinctively his own are static and analytic in their character, and have little affinity with the original dynamic and impulsive force of the construction.1

Tacitus appears to have been a pupil of Sallust in his earlier works. He favors long series of infinitives. In some passages there is a striking internal similarity to passages containing the historical infinitive in the Bellum Jugurthinum. However, Tacitus, as he grew older, made his style more personal, and his strong individuality asserted itself. His use of the historical infinitive, like his use of the language as a whole, gradually became a thing peculiarly his own. Tacitus, in his latter works, veers away from the long series. He becomes especially adept at using the historical infinitive to depict panic and demoralization.

Our discussion of the use made of the construction by Tacitus has shown pretty clearly that he shaped it and adapted it vigorously to his own individual style of thought and expression. In the degree in which he did this, he made it difficult for anyone to succeed him in this practice, and, as he lacked imitators as a historian, he had none here. The period of imitation had begun some time before him; indeed, he had himself been an imitator in his early works. But as a mature man he gives the impression of a creative force in the midst of the

Decline. This latter period, which, so far as our construction is concerned, was to continue several centuries longer. 

Tacitus was the last of the great Roman classical authors. With his death further development of the historical infinitive ceased.

As for Sallust, we find that while he extended the use of the historical infinitive into fields which it had not previously occupied, he did so with due regard to its original force and its possibilities. He retained the construction to express direct and strenuous action. He presented his actions swiftly and immediately, one after the other, and used the infinitive to express rapidity, movement, physical and moral agitation, trouble, and confusion. His long series were never cumbersome and he generally adhered to the use of the shorter series. Sallust was an innovator, a stylist, and as such he did much to add vivacity and color to Roman literature.

---

2 ibid, 391-392.
TABLE I
THE HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY OCCUR IN THE PASSAGES CONTAINING THESE INFINITIVES IN THE BELLUM CATILINAE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Infinitives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>temptare esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>festinare parare hortari obviam ire tegere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>crescere vindicari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>rapere trahere cupere habere facere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>rapere consumere pendere cupere habere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>adimere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>pati habere exquirere dormire opperire antecapere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>praebere mercari parcere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.2-3</td>
<td>commodare habere circumvenire jugulare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>appellare hortari temptare docere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>esse pendere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>polliceri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>laudare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>reticere occultare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>agitare parare portare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>psallere saltare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>posse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>moliri tendere parare obsidere esse iubere hortari festinare vigilare fatigari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
28.4 sollicitare
31.1-2 festinare trepidare credere gerere habere metiri
31.3 adflictare tendere miserari rogitare pavere
diffidere
31.8 obstrepere vocare
39.2 tenere agere terrere
40.4 orare
47.1 fingere dissimulare
48.1 exsecrari tollere
51.29 laetari dicere
51.30 interficere terrere
56.4 facere movere dare
60.3 instare
60.4 vorsari succurrere arcessere providere pugnare
terire
### TABLE II

**RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF THE VERBS USED AS HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN THE BELLUM CATILINAE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>temptare</td>
<td>habere</td>
<td>tegere</td>
<td>dormire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>festinare</td>
<td>invasere</td>
<td>crescere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parare</td>
<td>habere</td>
<td>rapere</td>
<td>opperire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hortari</td>
<td>habere</td>
<td>trahere</td>
<td>circumvenire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vindicari</td>
<td>praebere</td>
<td>cupere</td>
<td>moliri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mercari</td>
<td>habere</td>
<td>rapere</td>
<td>metiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commodare</td>
<td>docere</td>
<td>consumere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jugulare</td>
<td>polliceri</td>
<td>pendere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appellare</td>
<td>obsidere</td>
<td>pupere</td>
<td>posse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hortari</td>
<td>jubere</td>
<td>adimere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temptare</td>
<td>habere</td>
<td>facere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laudare</td>
<td>pavere</td>
<td>pati</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occultare</td>
<td>tenere</td>
<td>exquirere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agitare</td>
<td>terrere</td>
<td>antecapere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parare</td>
<td>movere</td>
<td>parcere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>portare</td>
<td>providere</td>
<td>pendere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saltare</td>
<td></td>
<td>reticere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parare</td>
<td></td>
<td>psallere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hortari</td>
<td>festinare</td>
<td>tendere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vigilare</td>
<td></td>
<td>credere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatigari</td>
<td>sollicitare</td>
<td>gerere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agitare</td>
<td></td>
<td>tendere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parare</td>
<td>festinare</td>
<td>diffidere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>portare</td>
<td>trepidare</td>
<td>obstrepetere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saltare</td>
<td>adflictare</td>
<td>agere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parare</td>
<td>miserari</td>
<td>fingere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hortari</td>
<td>rogitare</td>
<td>tollere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vigilare</td>
<td>vocare</td>
<td>interficere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatigari</td>
<td>orare</td>
<td>facere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sollicitare</td>
<td>dissimulare</td>
<td>succurrere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adflictare</td>
<td>dissimulare</td>
<td>arcessere</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miserari</td>
<td>rogitare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vocare</td>
<td>orare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dissimulare</td>
<td>exsecrari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exsecrari</td>
<td>dare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dare</td>
<td>instare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vorsari</td>
<td>pugnare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| 36 | 16 | 31 | 6 | 5 | 88 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adflictare</td>
<td>.31.3 to distress, disquiet, afflict.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agitare</td>
<td>24.2 to put in constant motion, to drive about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appellare</td>
<td>17.1 to call, name; to address, accost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commodare</td>
<td>16.2 to make fit, adapt; to furnish, lend.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dare</td>
<td>56.4 to give.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dissimulare</td>
<td>47.1 to dissemble, disguise, conceal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exsecrari</td>
<td>48.1 to curse, execrate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatigari</td>
<td>27.2 to waary, tire, fatigue, importune.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>festinare</td>
<td>6.5 to begin rapid motion, to hasten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hortari</td>
<td>6.5 to urge, encourage, exhort.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instare</td>
<td>60.3 to be at hand, to approach; to pursue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jugulare</td>
<td>16.2 to cut the throat, to kill, murder, slay.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
laudare  23.4  to praise, commend, extol.
laetari  51.29 to rejoice.
mercari  14.6  to buy, purchase.
miserari  31.3  to deplore, bewail, pity.
ocultare  23.2  to hide, conceal.
orare  40.4  to speak, to beg, entreat, implore.
parare  6.5  to prepare, furnish, procure.
        24.2
        27.2
portare  24.2  to bear, carry, convey, bring.
pugnare  60.4  to fight, combat, give battle.
rogitare  31.3  to ask or inquire frequently or eagerly.
saltare  25.2  to dance with pantomimic gestures.
sollicitare  28.4  to rouse, excite, incite, instigate, urge.
temptare  6.4  to try, prove, attempt, attack.
        17.1
trepidare  31.1  to be in anxious, confused motion.
vigilare  27.2  to be awake, to keep watch, to watch.
vindicare  10.6  to lay legal claim to; to demand; to punish, to avenge.
vocare  31.8  to call, summon.
vorsari  60.4  to turn hither and thither.

2 Frequentitves; 5 Intensives; 4 Deponents; 2 Passives.
SECOND CONJUGATION

docere  17.1  to teach, to instruct.
habere  11.4  to have, to hold.
        12.2
        13.3
        16.2
        31.1

jubere  27.2  to order, to command.
movere  56.4  to move, to set in motion, to stir.
pavere  31.1  to quake with fear, to fear.
polliceri  21.2  to offer, promise, proffer.
praebere  14.6  to offer, hold out; to supply; to show.
providere  60.4  to foresee; to provide; to prepare.
reticere  23.3  to be silent, to keep silence.
tenere  39.2  to hold.
terrere  39.2  to terrify.
        51.30

1 Deponent.

THIRD CONJUGATION

adimere  12.5  to take away.
agere  39.2  to set in motion, to drive.
antecapere  13.3  to seize beforehand, to anticipate.
arcessere  60.4  to fetch, call to a place, to summon.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>consumere</td>
<td>12.2 to take altogether, consume; to destroy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>credere</td>
<td>31.1 to believe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crescere</td>
<td>10.6 to grow up; to spring forth, to arise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cupere</td>
<td>11.4 to desire, long for, wish for. 12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dicere</td>
<td>51.29 to say.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diffidere</td>
<td>31.3 to have no confidence, mistrust, despair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exquirere</td>
<td>13.3 to seek out, to inquire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>facere</td>
<td>11.4 to make, to do. 56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fingere</td>
<td>47.1 to fashion, form, mould.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gerere</td>
<td>31.1 to carry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interficere</td>
<td>51.30 to destroy, put an end to; to murder, slay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obsidere</td>
<td>27.2 to blockade, besiege, invest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obstrepetere</td>
<td>38.1 to make a noise, clamor at.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parcere</td>
<td>14.6 to spare; to moderate; to abstain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pati</td>
<td>13.3 to suffer, bear, endure; to permit, allow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pendere</td>
<td>12.2 to weigh; to suffer; to consider. 20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psallere</td>
<td>25.2 to play or sing to stringed instrument.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rapere</td>
<td>12.2 to snatch, to seize hastily 11.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sucurrere 60.4 to run under; to hasten to help.

tegere 6.5 to cover, conceal, hide; to shield.
tendere 27.2 to stretch, extend; to direct one's course, to aim; to endeavor.
trahere 11.4 to draw, to drag; to plunder.
toller e 48.1 to raise, lift; to remove; to destroy.

1 Deponent. 1 Infinitive.

FOURTH CONJUGATION

circumvenire 16.2 to come around, surround, encircle.
dormire 13.3 to sleep.
metiri 31.3 to measure, to measure out.
ferire 60.4 to strike.
moliri 27.2 to set in motion; to displace; to undermine.
opperiré 13.3 to wait.

3 Deponents.

OTHERS

esse 6.4 to be.
20.7
27.2

obviare 6.5 to go to meet.
posse 25.5 to be able.
### TABLE IV

RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF THE VARIOUS TYPES OF VERBS USED IN THE

**BELLUM CATILINAE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Verb</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First conjugation verbs</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second conjugation verbs</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third conjugation verbs</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth conjugation verbs</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of verbs used as historical infinitives</strong></td>
<td><strong>97</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deponents</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exsecrari</td>
<td>to curse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hortari (3)</td>
<td>to exhort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laetari</td>
<td>to rejoice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mercari</td>
<td>to buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miserari</td>
<td>to pity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polliceri</td>
<td>to promise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pati</td>
<td>to suffer, permit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metiri</td>
<td>to measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moliri</td>
<td>to set in motion, to undermine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passives</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Passives 2

fatigari to be weary
vorsari to be turned hither and thither

esse (3) to be
posse to be able

Intensives 4 (First conjugation only)

adflictare (affligo) to distress
agitare (ago) to put into constant motion
occultare (occulo) to hide
saltare (salio) to dance with pantomimic gestures

Frequentatives 2 (First conjugation only)

rogitare (rogo) to inquire frequently or eagerly
vorsari (verto) to turn hither and thither

Imperfectives 1

credere to believe
TABLE V

THE HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY OCCUR

IN THE PASSAGES CONTAINING THESE INFINITIVES IN THE

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Infinitives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>equitare jacuari certare esse agere ferire facere loqui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>agere habere amplexi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>moliri parare habere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>irrupere quaerere interficere scrutari effringere miscere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>timere habere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>contemnere extollere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>vastare agere augere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>temptare ostentare arrigere parare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>agitari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>hortari monere ostendere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>vendere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>trahere facere polliceri simulare cedere instare ludificare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>sedare molliri confirmare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>agere jacere properare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>augere missitare ductare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>conrumpere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

96
38.5 capere abdere confirmare trepidare
39.1 dolere timere
39.2 scribere accersere festinare
41.5 ducere trahere rapere
41.9 invadere polluere vastare habere
43.3 scribere arcessere parare
44.5 vastare expugnare agere mutare vendere mercari
45.2 movere munire ponere circumire adesse
46.1 diffidere
46.6 incedere explorare credere temptari
47.3 mittere orare dedere
49.4 commone facere ostentare excitare
47.4 abnuere polliceri expectare
50.2 procedere habere esse
50.4 caedere temptare adesse instare conturbare
50.6 evadere
51.1 cedere insequi observare resistere propulsare
agi regere
51.4 orare hortari esse
51.5 circumire hortari movere temptare subvenire
instare retinere
53.7 adventare facere
55.2 decernere agere esse
55.3 niti festinare cavere meminisse
55.4 praedari
55.8 sequi quaerere corrupere ostendere temptare
regredi minitari facere pati retinere
57.4 pugnare succedere subfodere aggredi cupere
57.5 volvere mittere
58.2 fugere capere
58.3 remittere frustrari ostendere caedere fundere fugare
59.3 sequi cedere concurrere implicare perturbare dare
60.1-2 niti habere agere obpugnare parare sauciare tegere ferri volare
60.4 monere hortari significare niti agitare
60.5 agere simulare pati
60.7 resistere
64.2 mirari monere esse debere placere
64.5 grassari abstinere habere loqui
66.1 parare festinare cogere affectare communire reficere commercari adlicere temptare pati agitare
67.1 trepidare
67.1 mittere
67.2 posse obtruncari
69.2 caedere festinare capere posse
70.1 quaerere fatigare
70.5 accusare testari monere
72.2 credere metuere circumspectare pavescere requiescere facere exagitari
73.4 esse
73.5 exagitare arcessere celebrare
74.1 mutare pergere habere dubitare
75.10 parare facere
76.3 agere jacere tutari
76.4 festinare parare fieri
79.7 criminari conturbare malle
82.2 tenere moderari pati
82.3 probare abnuere
83.3 procedere trahi
84.1 instare laedere dictitare
84.2 habere postulare arcessere accire cogere
86.2 scribere
87.1 facere
87.2 adesse videre
88.2 attendere cognoscere explorare antevenire pati
89.1 adire avortere
91.1 lenire parare
91.4 sequi sinere
92.2 ferre timere credere
92.8-9 consistere administrare cadere sauciari augeri
93.1 trahere
94.2 levare mittere sequi temptare addere
94.3 succedere terrere
94.4 agitare dicere objectare minari esse
94.5 canere fugere
94.6 instare fundere sauciare vadere petere morari
95.3 esse
96.2-3 appellare dare accipere reddere repetere laborare agere adesse laedere pati antevenire
97.5 escendere obviam ire fieri cedere obtruncari circumvenire tegere
97.5 facere
98.1 vagari succurrere invadere consulere
98.2 remittere instare
98.6 laetari exultare strepere agere
100.1 incedere
100.3 providere adesse laudare increpare
100.4 facere munire mittere locare circumire
101.4 tegere obtruncare
101.6 ostendere
101.7 tollere incedere
101.11 sequi fugere occidi capi posse niti concidere
105.4 expedire temptare intendere
106.6 credere
107.3 orare
111.2 negitare
111.2 metuere
113.2 appellare habere polliceri
113.2 esse
TABLE VI
RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF THE VERBS USED AS HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN THE BELLUM JUGURTHINUM

FIRST CONJUGATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>equitare</th>
<th>temptare</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jaculare</td>
<td>instare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parare</td>
<td>conturbare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>certare</td>
<td>observare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vastare</td>
<td>propulsare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temptare</td>
<td>orare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ostentare</td>
<td>hortari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parare</td>
<td>hortari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hortari</td>
<td>renovare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sedare</td>
<td>temptare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confirmare</td>
<td>instare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simulare</td>
<td>adventare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instare</td>
<td>festinare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ludificare</td>
<td>praedari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>properare</td>
<td>pugnare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missitare</td>
<td>frustrari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ductare</td>
<td>fugare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confirmare</td>
<td>implicare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trepidare</td>
<td>perturbare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>festinare</td>
<td>dare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vastare</td>
<td>obpugnare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parare</td>
<td>parare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vastare</td>
<td>sauciare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expugnare</td>
<td>volare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutare</td>
<td>hortari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mercari</td>
<td>significari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>explorare</td>
<td>agitare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temptare</td>
<td>simulare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orare</td>
<td>mirari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expectare</td>
<td>grassari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ostentare</td>
<td>parari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excitare</td>
<td>festinare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

101
affectare
conmercari
temptare
agitare
trepidare
obbruncari
festinare
fatigare
accusare
testari
circumspectare
exagitare
celebrare
mutare
dubitare
tutari
festinare
parare
criminari
conturbare
moderari
probare
instare
dictitare
postulare
explorare
parare
administrare
sauciari
levare
temptare
agitare
objectare
minari
instare
sauciare
morari
appellare
dare
laborare
obtruncari
vagari
instare
laetari
exultare
laudare
increpare
locare
obtruncare
temptare
orare
negitare
appellare.
THIRD CONJUGATION

agere
facere
loqui
agere
amplecti
agere
arrigere
ostendere
trahere
facere
credere
agere
jacere
capere
abdere
scribere
arcessere
ducere
trahere
rapere
invadere
polluere
scribere
arcessere
agere
vendere
ponere
incedere
credere
mittere
dedere
abnuere
comnonefacere
procedere
caedere
cedere
insequi
resistere
agi
regere
facere
descernere

agere
niti
succedere
subfodere
aggreddi
cupere
volvere
mittere
fugere
capere
remittere
ostendere
caedere
fugedere
sequi
cedere
concurrere
niti
agere
tegere
niti
agere
pati
viscere
loqui
trahi
cogere
reficere
adlicere
pati
mittere
caedere
capere
quaerere
credere
pavescere
requiescere
facere
arcessere
pergere
agere
jacere
pati
abnuere
procedere
laedere
arcessere
cogere
acribere
facere
adattendere
cognoscere
pati
avortere
sequi
sinere
credere
consistere
cadere
trahere
mittere
sequi
addere
succedere
dicere
canere
fugere
fundere
vadere
petere
accipere
reddere
repetere
agere
laedere
pati
escendere
cedere
tegere
facere
succurrere
invadere
consulere
remittere
strepere
agere
incedere
facere
mittere
tegere
ostendere
tollere
incedere
sequi
fugere
occidi
capi
niti
concidere
intendere
### SECOND CONJUGATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>habere</td>
<td>habere</td>
<td>timere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habere</td>
<td>augere</td>
<td>monere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polliceri</td>
<td>augere</td>
<td>dolere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polliceri</td>
<td>habere</td>
<td>movere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habere</td>
<td>retinere</td>
<td>cavere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habere</td>
<td>monere</td>
<td>monere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monere</td>
<td>debere</td>
<td>placere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abstinere</td>
<td>habere</td>
<td>monere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habere</td>
<td>tenere</td>
<td>habere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habere</td>
<td>videre</td>
<td>timere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>augeri</td>
<td>terrere</td>
<td>providere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metuere</td>
<td>habere</td>
<td>polliceri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### FOURTH CONJUGATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ferire</td>
<td>moliri</td>
<td>mollire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munire</td>
<td>circumire</td>
<td>subvenire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communire</td>
<td>abire</td>
<td>accire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antevenire</td>
<td>adire</td>
<td>lenire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antevenire</td>
<td>circumveniri</td>
<td>munire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circumire</td>
<td>expedire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### OTHERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>esse</td>
<td>adesse</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esse</td>
<td>adesse</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esse</td>
<td>meminisse</td>
<td>ferri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esse</td>
<td>posse</td>
<td>posse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posse</td>
<td>posse</td>
<td>fieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malle</td>
<td>adesse</td>
<td>ferre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esse</td>
<td>esse</td>
<td>adesse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adesse</td>
<td>obviam ire</td>
<td>fieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adesse</td>
<td>posse</td>
<td>esse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 35

Total 17

Total 23
### TABLE VII

**MEANINGS OF THE VERBS USED AS HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN THE BELLUM JUGURTHINUM**

#### FIRST CONJUGATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>accusare</td>
<td>70.5 to accuse, blame; to find fault with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>administrare</td>
<td>92.8 to help, assist; to operate; to work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adventare</td>
<td>53.7 to approach; to arrive at (with haste).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affectare</td>
<td>66.1 to grasp; to aim after; to strive for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agitare</td>
<td>60.4 to move hastily; to put in constant motion, to drive about; to pass the time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agitari</td>
<td>3011 to be driven about.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appellare</td>
<td>96.2 to address, to accost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>celebrare</td>
<td>73.5 to visit frequently; to praise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>certare</td>
<td>6.1 to contend, struggle; to vie with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circumspectare</td>
<td>72.2 to look around repeatedly for something.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confirmare</td>
<td>33.3 to make firm; to assert; to encourage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conmercari</td>
<td>66.1 to buy up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conturbare</td>
<td>50.4 to disturb; to throw into confusion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>criminari</td>
<td>79.7 to charge a person with a crime, to accuse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dare</td>
<td>59.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dictitare</td>
<td>84.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dubitare</td>
<td>74.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ductare</td>
<td>38.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equitare</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exagitare</td>
<td>73.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exagitari</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exspectare</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>explorare</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expugnare</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exsultare</td>
<td>98.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatigare</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>festinare</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frustrari</td>
<td>58.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fugare</td>
<td>58.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grassari</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hortari</td>
<td>30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implicare</td>
<td>59.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>increpare</td>
<td>to rattle; to be noised abroad, to rebuke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instare</td>
<td>to stand in or on; to follow closely, to pursue eagerly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaculare</td>
<td>to hurl the javelin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laborare</td>
<td>to work, toil, labor; to strive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laetare</td>
<td>to rejoice, to take delight in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laudare</td>
<td>to praise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>levare</td>
<td>to raise, lift, elevate; to support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locare</td>
<td>to place, lay, put, set.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ludificare</td>
<td>to make mock of, to deride.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mercari</td>
<td>to carry on trade, to traffic, to buy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minari</td>
<td>to jut out; to threaten, to menace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minitari</td>
<td>to threaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirari</td>
<td>to be astonished at.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missitare</td>
<td>to send repeatedly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moderari</td>
<td>to set bounds to; to restrain; to rule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morari</td>
<td>to linger, loiter, tarry, delay; to retard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutare</td>
<td>to move away; to exchange.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negitare</td>
<td>to deny frequently, to persist in denying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>objectare</td>
<td>to set against; to reproach with anything.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obpugnare</td>
<td>to attack, assuault, storm, beseige.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>observare</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obtruncare</td>
<td>101.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obtruncari</td>
<td>67.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orare</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ostentare</td>
<td>2311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parare</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perturbare</td>
<td>59.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postulare</td>
<td>84.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praedari</td>
<td>55.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>probare</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>properare</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>propulsare</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pugnare</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>renovare</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sauciare</td>
<td>60.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sauciari</td>
<td>92.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scrutari</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sedare</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
significare 60.4 to give a sign, indication; to notify.

simulare 36.2 to represent, imitate; to feign,
60.5 to counterfeit.

temptare 46.5 to touch, feel, handle; to test, try,
50.4 tempt.
51.5
55.8
66.1
94.2
105.4

temptari 23.1 to be tested, tried, tempted.
46.6

testari 70.5 to bear witness; to give evidence, assert.

trepidare 38.5 to be in anxious, confused motion,
67.1 to be agitated.

tutari 76.3 to protect, preserve, watch, keep.

vagari 98.1 to wander about, ramble, rove.

vastare 20.8 to empty; to lay waste, ravage, devastate.
41.9
44.5

volare 60.1 to fly; to move rapidly.

SECOND CONJUGATION

abstinere 64.5 to hold back; to keep away from.

augere 20.8 to make to increase; to strike (terrem).
38.1

augeri 92.8 to be increased.

cavere 55.3 to guard against, to avoid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>debere</td>
<td>to owe, to be obliged.</td>
<td>64.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolere</td>
<td>to suffer pain, to grieve, to bewail.</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habere</td>
<td>to have.</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metuere</td>
<td>to fear, to be afraid.</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monere</td>
<td>to remind, to admonish, to warn.</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miscere</td>
<td>to mix; to confound, confuse; to disturb.</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>placere</td>
<td>to please, be agreeable; to be satisfied.</td>
<td>64.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polliceri</td>
<td>to promise.</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>providere</td>
<td>to look forward to.</td>
<td>100.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retinere</td>
<td>to hold back, to hold fast, to detain.</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenere</td>
<td>to hold, to restrain.</td>
<td>82.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terrere</td>
<td>to terrify.</td>
<td>94.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timere</td>
<td>to fear</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Phrase</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>English Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>videre</strong></td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>to see; to have the power to see.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THIRD CONJUGATION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>abdere</strong></td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>to put away, withdraw; remove; to hide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>abnuere-</strong></td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>to refuse by motion of head, to deny.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>accesere</strong></td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>to fetch or call, to summon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>accipere</strong></td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td>to take; to receive, accept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>addere</strong></td>
<td>94.2</td>
<td>to give to; to inspire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>adlicere</strong></td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>to allure, entice; to draw to oneself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>adtendere</strong></td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>to stretch to, to direct attention toward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>agere</strong></td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>to set in motion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>agi</strong></td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>to be set in motion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aggiredi</strong></td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>to go to, approach, attack, attempt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>amplecti</strong></td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>to surround, encircle; to love, esteem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>arcessere</strong></td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>to fetch or call; to summon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>84.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>arrigere</strong></td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>to erect, lift up; to excite, animate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>avortere</strong></td>
<td>89.1</td>
<td>to turn away; to remove; to divert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cadere</td>
<td>92.8</td>
<td>to fall; to be killed, to fall in battle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caedere</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>to hew, fell, cut down; to kill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canere</td>
<td>94.5</td>
<td>to sing; to sound a signal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capi</td>
<td>101.1</td>
<td>to be taken, seized, captured.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capere</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>to seize, to take possession of by force.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cedere</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>to go, proceed; to give ground, to retire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cogere</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>to bring, drive, assemble, unite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cognoscere</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>to become acquainted with; to remark, to notice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concidere</td>
<td>101.1</td>
<td>to cut up; to strike to ground; to annihilate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concurrere</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>to run together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conmonefacere</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>to remind, to warn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consistere</td>
<td>92.8</td>
<td>to take one's stand, to place for battle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contemnere</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>to think meanly of, despise, contemn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consulere</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>to reflect, weigh, deliberate; to direct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corrumpere</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>to destroy, annihilate; to mar; to bribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>credere</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>to believe, to trust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cupere</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>to desire, long for, wish for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dedere</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>to give up, to surrender.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Definition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decernere</td>
<td>55.2 to decide, to decree; to decide judicially.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dicere</td>
<td>94.4 e.g., male - to revile.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ducere</td>
<td>41.5 to lead.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diffidere</td>
<td>46.1 to have no confidence; to despair.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>effringere</td>
<td>12.5 to break open; to break off.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>descendere</td>
<td>97.5 to climb up, to ascend; to mount.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extollere</td>
<td>15.2 to lift up, to raise up; to praise.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evadere</td>
<td>50.6 to go out; to become; to result.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>facere</td>
<td>6.1 to make, to do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fugere</td>
<td>58.2 to flee, to take to flight.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fundere</td>
<td>58.3 to pour out; to rout, defeat, scatter.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incedere</td>
<td>46.6 to walk, march; to advance.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insequi</td>
<td>51.1 to follow after; to pursue with hostile intent.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intendere</td>
<td>105.4 to stretch out; to direct efforts, be alert.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interficere</td>
<td>12.5 to kill.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invadere</td>
<td>41.9 to enter; to attack, assault, invade.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irrumpere</td>
<td>12.5 to break in, burst into, rush in.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jacere</td>
<td>37.4 to throw, cast, hurl; to build, erect. 76.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laedere</td>
<td>84.1 to hurt, injure, damage; to attack. 96.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loqui</td>
<td>6.1 to speak. 64.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mittere</td>
<td>47.3 to send, let go; to throw.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niti</td>
<td>55.3 to support oneself on anything; to lean upon; to strive, endeavor.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>60.4 100.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ostendere</td>
<td>30.3 to show, display, exhibit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>58.3 101.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occidi</td>
<td>101.11 to be killed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pati</td>
<td>60.5 to suffer, bear, endure; to permit, allow. 66.1 82.2 88.2 96.2 55.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pavescere</td>
<td>72.2 to be terrified.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pergere</td>
<td>74.1 to continue; to proceed with.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petere</td>
<td>94.6 to reach towards; to aim at; to attack.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polluere</td>
<td>41.9 to befoul, defile, pollute.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponere</td>
<td>45.2 to put, place; to station men for battle.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>procedere</td>
<td>50.2 to go forth, go before, proceed, advance.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quaerere</td>
<td>12.5 to seek, to search for.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rapere</td>
<td>41.5 to snatch, to drag away hastily.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reddere</td>
<td>96.2 to restore, requite, repay what is due.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reficere</td>
<td>66.1 to make again; to refit; to repair.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regere</td>
<td>51.1 to guide, direct; to rule.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regredi</td>
<td>55.8 to go back; to retreat.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remittere</td>
<td>58.3 to send back; to throw back.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repetere</td>
<td>96.2 to strive after again; to attack again.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>requiescere</td>
<td>72.2 to rest, repose; to sleep.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resistere</td>
<td>51.1 to remain standing; to resist, oppose.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scribere</td>
<td>39.2 to write; to enroll soldiers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>86.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sequi</td>
<td>55.8 to follow; to pursue.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>91.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>94.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>101.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinere</td>
<td>91.4 to put down; to permit, allow, suffer.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strepere</td>
<td>98.6 to make a loud noise, rattle, clash.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subfodere</td>
<td>57.4 to pierce underneath; to undermine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>succeedere</td>
<td>57.4 to go under; to approach.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>succurrere</td>
<td>98.1 to run or go under; to hasten to help.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tegere</td>
<td>60.1 to cover; to protect; to shield.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>97.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>101.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Inflection</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tollere</td>
<td>101.7</td>
<td>to lift up, raise, elevate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trahere</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>to draw, to drag along.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>93.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trahi</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>to be dragged along.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vadere</td>
<td>94.6</td>
<td>to go, walk, hasten, rush.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vendere</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>to sell, to barter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>volvere</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>to roll, revolve, turn around, twist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accire</td>
<td>84.2</td>
<td>to call to, summon, fetch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adire</td>
<td>89.1</td>
<td>to come to, to approach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antevenire</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>to come before, to anticipate, to prevent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communire</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>to fortify thoroughly on all sides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circumire</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>to go around, to enclose, to surround.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circumveniri</td>
<td>97.5</td>
<td>to be surrounded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expedire</td>
<td>105.4</td>
<td>to disentangle; to provide, to prepare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ferire</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>to strike, knock, beat, hit, smite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenire</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>to make mild, to alleviate, mitigate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mollire</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>to make pliable, soft, supple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moliri</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>to set in motion; to undermine; to toil.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
munire 45.2 to build; to fortify. 100.4
subvenire 51.5 to come up to aid; to help, assist.

OTHERS
adesse 45.2 to be at hand, to be present. 50.4 96.2 87.2 100.3
esse 6.1 to be. 50.2 51.4 55.2 64.2 94.4 95.3 113.2
ferre 92.2 to bear, carry, bring.
ferri 60.1 to be carried.
fieri 76.4 to bedome. 97.5
malle 79.7 to prefer.
meminisse 55.3 to remember.
obviam ire 97.5 to go to meet.
posse 67.2 to be able. 69.2 101.11
## TABLE VIII

**RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF THE VARIOUS TYPES OF VERBS USED IN THE BELLUM JUGURTHINUM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Type</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First conjugation verbs</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second conjugation verbs</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third conjugation verbs</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth conjugation verbs</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>350</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Deponents (38) / Intensives (16) / Passives (10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deponents</th>
<th>Intensives</th>
<th>Passives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>conmercari</td>
<td>appellare</td>
<td>frustrari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>criminari</td>
<td>adventare</td>
<td>jugulari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grassari</td>
<td>agitare (3)</td>
<td>obtruncari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hortari (4)</td>
<td>ductare</td>
<td>sauciari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laetari</td>
<td>exagitare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ludificari</td>
<td>exagitari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minitari</td>
<td>hortari</td>
<td>augeri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morari</td>
<td>negitare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moderari</td>
<td>objectare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praedari</td>
<td>ostentare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scrutari</td>
<td>propulsare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>testari</td>
<td>temptare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutari</td>
<td>tutari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vagari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polliceri</td>
<td></td>
<td>Frequentitivs (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aggredi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amplifici</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insequi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loqui (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niti (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pati (6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sequi (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moliri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX A
PASSAGES FROM THE BELLUM JUGURTHINUM CONTAINING HISTORICAL INFINITIVES AND NOT LISTED IN CHAPTER IV

BATTLE SCENES

57.5
Contra ea oppidani in proxumos saxa volvere, suedes pila, praeterea picem sulphure et taeda mixtām ardentia mittere.

The townsmen met their attacks by rolling down stones upon the foremost and hurling beams, pikes, and torches made of burning pitch and sulphur at them.

58.2
At nostri repentino metu perciński sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere alii arma capere, magna pars volnerati aut occisi.

Our men were struck with a sudden panic and sought safety each according to his temperament; some fled, others armed themselves; nearly all were killed or wounded.

59.3
Quibus illi freti non, uti equestri proelio solet, sequi, dein cedere, sed adversis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem: ita expeditis peditibus suis hostis paene victos dare.

For the Numidian horsemen, trusting to this infantry, did not alternately advance and retreat, as is usual in a cavalry skirmish, but charged at full speed. They rushed into our battle-line and broke it. Thus with their light armed infantry they all but conquered their enemy.
60.4
Eos, uti quaeque Jugurthae res erant, laetos modo modo pavidos animadvo- teres ac, sicuti audiri a suis aut cerni possent, monere alii alii hor- tari aut manu significare aut niti corporibus et ea huc et illuc quasi vitabundi aut jacientes tela agitare.

As Jugurtha's fortunes shifted, you might see them now joyful, now alarmed; acting as if their countrymen could see or hear them. Some shouted warnings, others urged them on. They gesticulated or swayed their bodies, moving them this way and that as if dodging or hurling weapons.

60.7
Nostri primo resistere, deinde, ubi unae atque alterae scalae conminutae, qui supersteterant adficti sunt, ceteri quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri magna pars volneribus con- fecti abeunt.

At first our men resisted. Then, as ladder after ladder was shattered and those who stood upon them were dashed to the ground, the rest made off as best they could, some few unharmed, but the greater number badly wounded.

67.1
Ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis aedificiorum saxa et alia quae locus praebebat certatim mittere.

Moreover, women and children from the roofs of the houses were busily pelt- ing them with stones and whatever else they could lay hands on.

67.2
Ita neque caveri aniceps malum neque a fortissumis infirmissumo generi resisti posse: juxta boni malique strenui et inbelles inulti obtuncari.

It was quite impossible to guard
against the double danger and brave men were helpless before the feeblest opponents. Side by side valiant and cowardly, strong and weak fell without striking a blow.

69.2
Equites peditesque repente signo dato alii volgum effusum oppido caedere, alii ad portas festinare, pars turris capere: ira atque praedae spes amplius quam lassitudo posse.

Then on a sudden the signal sounded and some of the cavalry and infantry began to cut down the crowd which was pouring from the town. Others hurried to the gates, while a part took possession of the towers. Anger and desire for booty triumphed over their weariness.

95.4
Interim omnibus Romanis hostibusque proelio intentis, magna utrimque vi pro gloria atque imperio his illis pro salute certantibus repente a tergo signa canere: ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere, deinde uti quique muro proximus erat, postremo cuncti armati inermesque.

In the meantime, while all the Romans and all the enemy were intent upon the conflict, and both sides were exercising themselves to the utmost, the one for glory and dominion, the other for safety, suddenly the trumpets sounded in the rear of the foe. Then the women and children, who had come out to look on, were first to flee, followed by those who were nearest the wall, and finally by all, armed and unarmed alike.

101.4
Interim Sulla, quem primum hostes attigerant, cohortatus suos turmatim et quam maxume confertis equis ipse aliique Mauros invadunt, ceteri in
loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare.

Meanwhile, Sulla, whom the enemy had reached first, after encouraging his men attacked the Moors with a part of his force, charging by squadrons and in as close order as possible. The rest of his troops held their ground, protecting themselves from the javelins which were hurled at long range, and slaying all who succeeded in reaching them.
APPENDIX B

MILITARY TACTICS

50.6
Ita numero priores, si ab perseguendo hostis deterrere nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo aut lateribus circumveniebant; sin opportunior fugae collis quam campi fuerat, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulata evadere, nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

Thus even if they had been unable to check the enemy's pursuit, with their superior numbers they cut off the stragglers in the rear or on the flanks. If the hill proved to be more favorable for their flight than the plains, there too the horses of the Numidians, being acquainted with the ground, easily made their escape amid the thickets, while the steep and unfamiliar ground proved a hindrance to our men.

55.4
Ita quo clarior erat, eo magis anxius erat, neque post insidias Jugurthae effuso exercitu praedari; ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu praesidium agitabant; exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat.

Hence the greater his fame, the more caution he showed. After Jugurtha's ambuscade he no longer ravaged the country with his army in disorder. When he required grain or fodder, a number of cohorts stood on guard along with the cavalry. He led part of the army himself and Marius the rest.

124
83.3
Eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nuntiis tempus procedere et ex Metelli voluntate bellum intactum trahi.

In this way, while messengers were continually being sent to and fro, time passed and, as Metellus wished, the war remained at a standstill.

87.1
Sed consul expletis legionibus cohortibus auxiliariis in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur, omnia ibi capta militibus donat, dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita aggreditur, proelia multa, ceterum levia, alia aliis locis facere.

The consul, after having filled up the ranks of the legions and the cohorts of auxiliaries, marched into a district which was fertile and rich in booty. There he gave to the soldiers everything that was taken, and then attacked some fortresses and towns not well defended by nature or by garrisons, fighting many battles, but slight ones and in various places.

87.2
Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse, videre fugientes capi aut occidi, fortissimum quemque tutissimum, armis libertatem patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi, gloriam atque divitiias quaeri.

Meanwhile the raw soldiers learned to enter battle fearlessly and saw that those who ran away were either taken or slain, while the bravest were the safest. They realized that it was by arms that liberty, country, parents, and all else were protected, and glory and riches won.
89.1
Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire, partim vi alia metu aut praemia ostentando avortere ab hostibus.

But the consul, as he had planned, appeared before the fortified towns and strongholds, and in some cases by force in others by intimidation or bribery took them away from the enemy.

91.1
Ceterum in itinere cotidie pecus exercitui per centurias item turmas aequaliter distribuerat et ex coriis utres uti fierent curabat, simul inopiam frumenti lenire et ignaris omnibus parare, quae mox usui forent.

Now every day during the march Marius had distributed cattle equally among the centuries and the divisions of cavalry, taking care that bottles for water should be made from hides. Thus at the same time he made good the lack of grain and without revealing the purpose provided something which soon was to be useful.

91.4
Deinde ipse intentus propere sequi neque milites praedari sinere.

Then he himself quickly followed, keeping on the alert and not allowing the soldiers to plunder.

94.3
Marius ubi ex nuntiis quae Ligus egerat cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos proelio Mumidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine acta succedere et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere.
Marius had devoted the whole day to keeping the Numidians intent upon the battle; but as soon as he heard that the Ligurian had accomplished his mission, he began to urge on his soldiers. He himself went outside the mantlets, formed the tortoise-shed, and advanced to the wall. At the same time he tried to terrify the enemy at long range with artillery, archers, and slingers.

97.5
Denique Romani veteres novique et ob ea scientes bellii, siquos locus aut casus conjunxerat, orbis facere atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

At last the Romans, both the raw recruits and the veterans (who as such were skilled in warfare), if the nature of the ground or chance brought any of them together, formed a circle, thus at once protecting themselves on every side and presenting an orderly front to the attacks of the enemy.

100.1
Neque tamen victoria socors aut insolens factus, sed pariter atque in conspectu hostium quadrato agmine incedere.

His victory, however, did not make him careless or overconfident, but he advanced in square formation, as though he were under the eyes of the enemy.

76.3
Deinde locis ex copia maxume idoneis vineas agere, aggerem jacere et super aggerem inpositis turribus opus et administrum tutari.

Then in the two most suitable places that he could find he brought up
mantlets, built a mound, and upon it placed turrets to protect the besiegers and their work.

101.6
Simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna satis in-pigre occiso pedite nostro cruent-taverat.

And with these words he displayed a sword smeared with blood, which he had made gory during the battle by valiantly slaying one of our foot-soldiers.
APPENDIX C

HASTE IN PRE-BATTLE PREPARATIONS

43.3
Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui
milites scribere, praesidia undique
arcessere, arma tela equos et cetera
instrumenta militiae parare ....

Accordingly, being distrustful of
the old army, he enrolled soldiers,
summoned auxiliaries from every side,
got together arms, weapons, horses
and other munitions of war ....

75.10
.... Nihilo segnis bellum parare;
item nostri facere.

.... They none the less made diligent
preparations for battle; our men did
the same.

76.4
Contra haec oppidani festinare parare,
prorsus ab utriusque nihil relicum
fieri.

The townsmen for their part hastened
their preparations; indeed, nothing
was left undone by either side.

84.2
Interim quae bello opus erant prima
habere, postulare legionibus sup-
plementum, auxilia a populis et re-
gibus sociisque arcessere, praeterea
ex Latio fortissumum quemque, pleros-
que militiae paucos fama cognitos
accire, et ambiundo cogere homines
emeritis stipendiis secum proficisci.

All the while he gave his first atten­tion to preparation for the war. He asked that the legions should be reinforced, summoned auxiliaries from foreign nations and kings, besides calling out the bravest men from Latium and from our allies, the greater number of whom he knew from actual service, a few, only by reputation. By special inducements, too, he persuaded veterans who had served their time to join his expedition.

86.2
Ipse interea milites scribere ....

He himself in the meantime enrolled soldiers ....


APPENDIX D

TRICKERY, TREACHERY, GUILE, DECEIT

64.2
Itaque primum conmotus insolita re
mirari ejus consilium et quasi per
amicitiam monere ne tam prava in-
ciperet neu super fortunam animum
gereret.

At first then he was astonished at
the unusual request, expressed his
surprise at Marius' design, and with
feigned friendship advised him not
to enter upon so mad a course nor to
entertain thoughts above his station.

64.5
Ita cupidine atque ira pessumis con-
sultoribus grassari, neque facto
ullo neque dicto abstinere, quod
modo ambitiosum foret, milites quibus
in hibernis praeerat laxiore imperio
quam antea habere, apud negatiores
quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat,
criminose simul et magnificae de bello
loqui; dimidia pars exercitus si sibi
permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugur-
tham in catenis habiturum; ab impe-
ratore consulto trahi, quod homo
inanis et regiae superbiae imperio
nimis gauderet.

Accordingly, he allowed himself to be
swayed by the worst counsellors, am-
bition and resentment. He hesitated
at no act or word, provided only it
could win him popularity. He was less
strict than before in maintaining dis-
cipline among the soldiers under his
command in winter quarters, and talked
about the war to traders, of whom there
were a great number in Utica -- at the same time disparagingly and boastfully .... if but half the army were given to him, within a few days he would have Jugurtha in chains. The war was being deliberately dragged on by the commander-in-chief, a man who reveled in the power of vain, proud rule.

70.1

Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditioem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspexit regi et ipse eum suspiciens novas res cuperer, ad perniciem ejus dolum quae-rere, die noctuque fatigare animum; denique omnia temptando socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem magnis opibus, carum acceptumque popularibus suis, qui plerumque ssum ab rege exercitum ductare et omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quae Jugur-thae fesso aut majoribus adstricto superaverant; ex quo illi gloria opes-que inventae.

At this same time Bomilcar, who had induced Jugurtha to begin negotiations for surrender which he later discontinued through fear, being an object of suspicion to Jugurtha and himself looking on the king with suspicion, was desirous of a change of rulers. He therefore began to cast about for a stratagem by which to effect the ruin of Jugurtha, and racked his brain day and night. Finally, while trying every device he won the support of Nabdalsa, a man of rank, wealth, and distinction, who was very popular with his countrymen. This man was in the habit of exercising a command independently of the king and of attending to all business which Jugurtha could not transact in person when he was weary or engaged in more important duties. In this way he had gained fame and power.
73.5
Praeterea seditiosi magistratus volgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus contionibus captis arcessere, Mari virtutem in majus celebrare.

More than this, seditious magistrates were working upon the feelings of the populace, in every assembly charging Metellus with treason and exaggerating the merits of Marius.

107.3
Ille lacrumans orare ne ea crederet; nihil dolo factum ac magis calliditate Jugurthae, cui videlicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset.

The young man begged Sulla with tears not to believe such a thing. He insisted that the situation was due to no treachery on his part, but to the cunning of Jugurtha, who had evidently learned from spies of their expedition.

111.2
Ad hoc metuere ne fluxa fide usus popularium animos avorteret, quis et Jugurtha carus et Romani invisierant.

Moreover he feared that if he showed treachery he would alienate his subjects to whom Jugurtha was dear and the Romans hateful.
47.3
Inter haec negotia Jugurtha inpensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, præter suam liberorumque vitam omnia Metello dedere.

While this was going on, Jugurtha with even greater insistence sent suppliant envoys; begged for peace; and offered Metellus everything except his own life and that of his children.

67.1
Romani milites, improviso metu incerti ignarique quid potissimum facerent, trepidare.

The Roman soldiers, being bewilderened by this unexpected peril and not knowing what to do first, were thrown into disorder.
APPENDIX F

PLUNDERING ACTIVITIES

41.5
Namque coepere nobilitas dignitatem
populus libertatem in lubidinem
vortere, sibi quisque ducere trahere
rapere.

For the nobles began to abuse their
position and the people their li-
berty. Every man for himself robbed,
pillaged, plundered.

41.9
Ita cum potentia avaritia sine modo
modestiaque invadere, polluere et
vastare omnia, nihil pensi neque
sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praes-
cipitavit.

Thus, by the side of power, greed
arose, unlimited and unrestrained,
violated and devastated everything,
respected nothing, and held nothing
sacred until it finally brought about
its own downfall.
APPENDIX G

DESCRIPTION OF SPEECHES

15.2
Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consultur. Fauores legatorum, praeterea senatus magna pars gratia depravata Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus: gratia voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio sua quasi pro gloria nitebantur.

Then both parties left the House and the matter was at once laid before the Senate. The partisans of the envoys, and a large number of the other senators who had been corrupted by their influence, derided the words of Adherbal and lauded the virtues of Jugurtha; exerting their influence, their eloquence, in short every possible means, they labored as diligently in the defence of the shameful crime of a foreigner as though they were striving to win honor.

23.1
Jugurtha ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque propter loci natura Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa moenia circumdat, turris extruit easque praesidiis firmat, praeterea dies noctisque aut per vim aut dolis temptare, defensoribus moenium praemia modo modo formidinem ostentare, suos hortando ad virtutem arrigere, prorsus intentus cuncta parare.
At C. Memmius, of whose independence and hatred of the power of the nobles I have already spoken, urged the assembled people to vengeance, warned them not to prove false to their country and their own liberties, pointed out that many were the arrogant and cruel deeds of the nobles. In short, he did his utmost in every way to inflame the minds of the commons.

Now Marius, as we have already said, was chosen consul with the ardent support of the commons. While even before his election he had been hostile to the nobles, as soon as the people voted him the province, Numidia, he attacked the aristocracy persistently and boldly, assailing now individuals, now the entire party. He boasted that he had wrested the consulship from them as the spoils of victory, and made other remarks calculated to glorify himself and exasperate them.
APPENDIX H
UNCLASSIFIED PASSAGES

6.1
Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus decora facie sed multo maxume ingenio validus, non se luxu neque inertiae conrumpendum dedit, sed, utimos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare, et cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire, plurumum facere minumum ipse de se loqui.

As soon as Jugurtha grew up, endowed as he was with physical strength, a handsome person, but above all with a vigorous intellect, he did not allow himself to be spoiled by luxury or idleness, but following the custom of that nation, he frequently rode, he hurled the javelin, he ran races with his fellows. Although he surpassed them all in renown, he nevertheless won the love of all. Besides this, he devoted much of the time to the chase. He was, if not the first, at least among the first to strike down the lion and other wild beasts. He distinguished himself, but spoke little of his own exploits.

7.6
Igitur imperator omnis fere res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque eum in dies amplecti, quippe cujus neque consilium
neque inceptum ullum frustra erat.

Thus the commander-in-chief entrusted almost all the difficult enterprises to Jugurtha. He admitted him into his circle of friends, and day by day held him in greater esteem as one whose council or whose undertakings never failed.

13.5
Tum Jugurtha patratis consiliis, postquam omnis Numidiae potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum neque advores iram ejus usquam nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua spem habere.

Now that Jugurtha had fulfilled his plans and held all Numidia under his sway, he had a few spare moments to ponder his crime. Thus he began to fear the Roman people and consider that he could make no headway against their wrath except through the greed of the nobles and by means of his own wealth.

30.1
Postquam res in Africa gestas quoque modo actae forent fama divolgavit, Romae per omnis locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari.

When the news was circulated in Rome of what had happened in Africa and how it was brought about, the consul's conduct was discussed wherever men gathered together.

32.3
Fuere, qui auro corrupti elephantos Jugurthae traderent, ali perfugas vendere, pars ex pacatis praedas agebant: tanta vis avaritiae in animos eorum veluti tabes invaserat.

Some were induced by bribes to return his elephants to Jugurtha, others sold
him his deserters, and a part plundered those who were at peace with us. So strong was the love of money which had attacked their minds like a pestilence.

39.1
Pars dolere pro gloria imperi, pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati, Aulo omnes infesti ac maxume qui bello saepe praecleri fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat.

Some grieved for the glory of the empire, others, who were unused to matters of war, feared for their freedom. All men, especially those who had often gained renown with war, were incensed at Aulus, because with arms in his hands he had sought safety by disgrace rather than by combat.

46.1
Interea Jugurtha ubi quae Metellus agebat ex nuntiis accepit, simul de innocentia ejus certior Roma factus, diffidere suis rebus ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est.

Jugurtha meanwhile learned through messengers what Metellus was about. At the same time he received word from Rome that his opponent was incorruptible. Therefore he began to lose heart in his cause and for the first time attempted to arrange a genuine surrender.

53.7
Ac primo obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu velut hostes adventare, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere, et paene inprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi equites rem exploravissent.

It was now dark night. At first, when
the armies were not far apart, the sound, as of a hostile force approaching, caused fear and confusion on both sides. The mistake might have led to a deplorable catastrophe, had not the horsemen who were sent out by both sides to reconnoiter discovered what the situation was.

55.2
Itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta dis immortalibus supplicia decernere, vitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu laeta agere, de Metello fama praecelara esse.

The senate accordingly voted a thanksgiving to the immortal gods because of these successes, while the community, which before this had been in fear and anxiety as to the outcome of the war, gave itself up to rejoicing.

70.5
.... In quis, mollitiam socordiamque viri accusare, testari deos, per quos juravisset, monere ne praemia Metelli in pastem convorteret.

.... In this he upbraided the man for his weakness and cowardice, called to witness the gods by whom he had sworn, and warned him not to exchange ruin for the rewards offered by Metellus.

73.4
Imperator nobilitas, quae antea decori fuit, invidiae esse, at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat.

The general's noble rank, which before this had been an honor to him, became a source of unpopularity, while to Marius his humble origin lent increased favor.
Rursus imperator contra postulata
Bocchi nuntios mittit; ille pro-
bare partim, alia abnuere.

Upon this, Metellus again sent envoys
to object to the demands of Bocchus,
who partily heeded and partly re-
jected his remonstrances.

Omnia non bene consulta in virtutem
trahebantur, milites modo imperio
habit simul et locupletes ad
caelum ferre, Numidae magis quam
mortalem timere, postremo omnes,
socii atque hostes, credere illi
aut mentem divinam esse aut deorum
nutu cuncta portendi.

All his rash acts, even when ill-
advised, were regarded as proofs of
his ability. The soldiers, who were
kept under mild discipline and at
the same time enriched, extolled him
to the skies. The Numidians feared
him as if he were more than mortal;
all, in short, friends and enemies
alike, believed that he either pos-
sessed divine insight or that every-
thing was revealed to him by favor
of the gods.

At Marius multis diebus et laboribus
consumptis anxius trahere cum animo
suo omitteret inceptum, quoniam
frustra erant, an fortunam opperiretur,
qua saepe prospere usus fuerat.

After Marius had spent many days in
great labor, he was anxiously con-
sidering whether he should abandon the
attempt as fruitless or await the
favor of fortune, which he had so
often enjoyed.

At Numidae saepe antea vineis Roma-
norum subvorsis item incensis, non
castelli moenibus sese tutabantur,
sed pro muro dies noctisque agitare,
malè dicere Romanis ac Mario vecor-
diam objectare, militibus nostris
Jugurthae servitium minari, secundis
rebus feroce esse.

But the Numidians, since they had
often before overturned the mantlets
of the enemy and set fire to them, no
longer protected themselves within
the walls of the fortress, but spent
the day and night outside, reviling
the Romans and taunting Marius with
madness. Emboldened by their suc-
cesses, they threatened our soldiers
with slavery at the hands of Jugur-
tha.

95.3
Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis
fuit familia jam prope extincta ma-
jorum ignavia, litteris Graecis et
Latinis juxta atque doctissumi eru-
ditus, animo ingenti, cupidus volup-
tatum sed gloriae cupidior, otio
luxurioso esse.

Sulla, then, was a noble of patrician
descent, of a family almost reduced
to obscurity through the degeneracy
of his ancestors. He was well versed
alike in Graecian and Roman letters,
of remarkable mental power, devoted
to pleasure but more devoted to glory.

96.2-3
Ad hoc milites benigne appellare, mul-
tis rogantibus aliis per se ipse dare
beneficia, invitus accipere, sed ea
properantibus quam aes mutuum reddere,
ipse ab nullo repetere, magis id la-
borare ut ille quam plurimi debereat,
joca atque seria cum humillumis agere,
in operibus in agmine atque ad vigilias
multus adesse neque interim, quod
prava ambitio solet, monsulis aut cujus-
quam boni famam laedere, tantum
modo neque consilio neque manu
priorem alium pati, plerosque ante-
venire.

Moreover he was courteous in his
language to the soldiers, granted
favors to many at their request and
to others of his own accord, unwill-
ing himself to accept favors and
paying them more promptly than a debt
of money. He himself never asked
for payment, but rather strove to
have as many men as possible in his
debt. He talked in jest or earnest
with the humblest, was often with
them at their work, on the march, and
on guard duty. But in the meantime
he did not, like those who are actua-
ted by depraved ambition, try to un-
dermine the reputation of the consul
or of any good man. His only effort
was not to suffer anyone to outdo him
in counsel or in action, and as a
matter of fact he surpassed almost all.

98.6
Dein crebris ignibus factis plerumque
noctis barbari more suo laetari exul-
tare, strepere vocibus et ipsi duces
feroces, quia non fugerant, pro
victoribus agere.

Then after building many fires, the
barbarians, as is their usual habit,
spent the greater part of the night
in rejoicing, in exultation and in
noisy demonstrations, while even their
leaders who were filled with confidence
because they had not been put to flight,
acted as if they were victorious.

106.6
Quod postquam auditum est, tum vero
ingens metus nostros invadit; credere
se proditos a Voluce et insidiis
circumventos.

Upon hearing this, the Romans were at
last seized with great fear; they believed that they had been betrayed by Volux and led into a trap.

111.2
Rex primo negitare, cognitionem affectionem, praeterea foedus intervenisse.

At first the king refused, saying that relationship and kinship forbade, as well as the treaty.

113.2
Illi pariter laeti ac spei bonae pleni esse.

Both alike were joyful and full of good hope.
APPENDIX I

PASSAGES CONTAINING HISTORICAL INFINITIVES IN CAESAR'S
DE BELLO GALLICO

I 16.1
Interim cotidie Caesar Aeduos frumentum quod essent publice polliciti flagitare.

Meanwhile Caesar was daily demanding the grain which had been publicically promised.

I 16.4
Diem ex die ducere Aedui: conferri, comportari, adesse dicere.

The Haedui put him off day after day, declaring that the corn was being collected, was being brought in, was at hand.

I 32.3
Nihil Sequani respondere, sed in eadem tristitia taciti permanere.

The Sequani made no reply. They continued in the same sullen silence.

II 30.3
Ubi vineis actis, aggere extracto, turrim procul constitui viderunt, primum irridere ex muro atque increpitare vocibus quod tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio instrueretur:

When our mantlets had been pushed up and a ramp constructed, and when they saw a tower set up in the distance, they first of all laughed at us from the wall, and loudly railed us for erecting so great an engine
at so great a distance.

III 4.1
Brevi spatio interjecto, vix ut eis rebus quas constituissent collo-
candis atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus signo dato decurrere, lapides gaesa-
que in vallum conjicere.

After a short interval -- so short that it scarcely allowed time to com-
plete the disposition and arrangements determined upon -- the enemy, upon a given signal, charged down from all sides, and hurled volleys of stones and javelins against the rampart.

III 4.2
Nostri primo integris viribus for-
titer repugnare neque ullum frustra
telum ex loco superiore mittere, ut quaeque pars castrorum nuda
defensoribus premi videbatur, eo oc-
currere et auxilium ferre, sed hoc superari quod diurnitate pugnae
hostes defessi proelio excedebant,
alii integris viribus succedebant ....

At first the Roman troops repelled them gallantly with strength unimpaired, and discharged not a missile in vain from their higher positions. If any seemed to be hard pressed, they sped thither to render assistance. But they were at a disadvantage, because when any of the enemy, wearied by the long continuance of the battle, retired from the fighting line, others with strength unimpaired would step into their places ....

V 33.1
Tum demum Titurius, qui nihil ante pro-
vidisset, trepidare et concursare co-
hortisque disponere ....

Then indeed, as he had anticipated nothing, Titurius was alarmed. He ran hither and thither posting cohorts ....
And now throughout the camp the men gathered in groups, indignantly complaining that the enemy were allowed to slip from their hands, and that the war was being needlessly protracted to an undue length. They went to the centurions and military tribunes, and besought them to assure Caesar that he was not to shrink from exposing them to labor and peril. "We are ready," they said, "we can and we dare to cross the river by the way the cavalry passed over."

And this made Varro hurry all the more to reach Gades with his legions as soon as possible, that he might not
be cut off from his route or from the crossing, so great and enthusiastic did he find the feeling of the province in favor of Caesar.

III 12.2
Illi vero daturos se negare neque portas consuli praeciserus neque sibi judicium sumpturos contra atque omnis Italia populusque Romanus judicavisset.

But they refused to give them or to shut their gates against the consul, or to decide anything for themselves that should be contrary to the decision of the whole of Italy and of the Roman people.

III 17.5
Libo neque legatos Caesaris recipere neque periculum praestare eorum, sed totam rem ad Pompeium rejecere; unum instare de indutiis vehementissimeque contendere.

Libo neither receives Caesar's envoys nor guarantees them from peril, but refers the whole matter to Pompey. One point he urges about the truce, and contends for it with the utmost eagerness.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

TEXTS


PERIODICALS


GRAMMARS


PA 2265 D3 : Chapter II, De Infinitivo Absoluto, #2, De Infinitivo Historico. (Rare book and the title page was destroyed. Indiana University Library.)