

## SALLUST, JUGURTHA 93.2 F.:

### *ANIMUM INVADIT?*<sup>1</sup>

Much attention has been devoted lately to the celebrated text of Sallust's *Jugurtha* which tells how Marius' vain assault on the impregnable fortress at the Muluccha was unexpectedly turned into victory when a rank-and-file Ligurian auxiliary inadvertently scaled the height by gathering snails<sup>2</sup>. In Reynolds' new OCT edition this passage reads as follows:

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1) Works are cited according to Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum (Leipzig<sup>2</sup>1990).

2) This sole episode has recently been the object of an entire monograph by G. Brescia, *La 'scalata' del Ligure: Saggio di commento a Sallustio, Bellum Iugurthinum 92–94* (Bari 1997); cf. ead., *Natura e cultura in Sallustio (a proposito di Jug. 92–94)*, *Aufidus* 10 (1996) 23–36.

*Quae* (sc. *omitteretne inceptum*) *quom multos dies noctisque aestuans agitare, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli quod auorsum proeliantibus erat animum aduortit inter saxa repentis coeleas; quarum*  
 5 *quom unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paulatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Vbi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more ingeni humani cupido difficilia faciundi animum inuadit* (93.2f.)<sup>3</sup>.

With the aid of an oak growing out of the escarpment the Ligurian then reaches the very top.

The *animum inuadit* which Reynolds has now chosen to introduce into l.7 reproduces a late reading which can be shown to be open to serious philological objections. The databases of classical Latin<sup>4</sup> provide no fewer than ten examples of the collocation *animum* (-os) *inuadere*<sup>5</sup>. It may be observed that without exception these passages have a negative reference: the mind is always ‘assaulted’. Whenever Sallust himself employs *animum* (-os) *inuadere*, the subject of the verb is invariably a vice<sup>6</sup>. Sallust’s highly commendable *cupido difficilia faciundi* is accordingly an inappropriate subject for the collocation *animum inuadit*; hence Reynolds’ recent preference for this lection is unlikely to be right.

In this passage the oldest MSS give the reading *animum aduortit*<sup>7</sup>, while the others have *animum uortit*. Kurfess’ Teubner edition had adopted Wirz’s emendation and read *animum* (<*alio*) *uortit*<sup>8</sup>; however Koestermann’s commentary rightly observes that “*alio* ist zu nichtssagend”<sup>9</sup>. Ahlberg’s earlier Teubner had instead pre-

3) L. D. Reynolds, C. Sallusti Crispi: *Catilina, Iugurtha, Historiarum fragmenta selecta*, appendix sallustiana (Oxford 1991) 131.

4) Viz. Packard Humanities Institute CD ROM #5.3 (1991); Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina (Stuttgart-Turnhout 1999).

5) Viz. Apul. met. 3.1.2 (*aestus inuadit animum uespertini recordatione facinoris*); 5.15.1 (*adfectione simulata paulatim sororis inuadunt animum* [sc. *scelestae . . . feminae*; ib. 3]); Iust. 26.2.3 (*tanta rabies feros animos inuaserat*); Liv. 4.30.9 (*nec corpora modo adfecta tabo, sed animos quoque multiplex religio et pleraque externa inuasit* [ib. *superstitio*]); Sall. Catil. 36.5 (*tanta uis morbi atque uti tabes plerosque ciuium animos inuaserat*); Iug. 32.4 (*tanta uis auaritia* [in] *animos eorum ueluti tabes inuaserat*); Sall.(?) rep. 2.10.9 (*animos socordia atque ignauia inuasit*); Sen. contr. 1 praef. 8 (*somnus languorque ac somno et languore turpior malarum rerum industria inuasit animos*); Tac. hist. 3.63.2 (*tanta torpedo inuaserat animum*); Val. Max. 8.10 pr. (*homines adgreditur* [sc. *eloquentia*], *animos eorum ipsa inuadendo*).

6) Catil. 36.5 (*tanta uis morbi atque uti tabes*); Iug. 32.4 (*tanta uis auaritia . . . ueluti tabes*); cf. perhaps also rep. 2.10.9 (*socordia atque ignauia*).

7) On *aduortit* Reynolds’ *apparatus criticus* states: ‘fort. ex u. 21 [= l. 4] *inlatum*’.

8) A. Kurfess, C. Sallusti Crispi: *Catilina, Iugurtha, fragmenta ampliora* (Leipzig <sup>3</sup>1957) 129. This reading is also accepted by Brescia 1997 (above, n. 2) 80, 82, 85; ead. 1996 (above, n. 2) 24 n. 5.

9) E. Koestermann, C. Sallustius Crispus: *Bellum Iugurthinum* (Heidelberg 1971) 333.

ferred Eussner's conjecture *animum adorta*<sup>10</sup>; again however Koestermann points out that "eine solche Verbindung mit dem hier notwendigen Sinn ist sonst nirgends belegt". Koestermann concludes that "irgendeine Sicherheit ist nicht zu erzielen". He himself was inclined to favour the reading of the oldest MSS: *animum aduortit*. The only evidence he thought could be adduced in support of this surmise was a fragment of papyrus: however the highly lacunose piece at issue in fact provides no corroboration whatsoever, since here *aduortit* is merely a supplement of the scholar who identified its context<sup>11</sup>. Two novel arguments can nonetheless be advanced which would seem to show that the correct reading in this passage of the *Jugurtha* must indeed be *animum aduortit*.

Ernesti's discussion of the rhetorical figure he calls *copulatio* defines it as "figura elocutionis ... in qua idem uerbum aut nomen bis continuo positum diuersa significat"<sup>12</sup>. Volkman gives the figure various names<sup>13</sup>, while Lausberg, who calls it *distinctio*, provides the following definition: "Die *distinctio* besteht in der steigernd-semanticen Unterscheidung zwischen der normalen (habituellen) Bedeutung der ersten Setzung eines Wortes und der emphatisch-ausschöpfenden Bedeutung der zweiten Setzung des gleichen Wortes"<sup>14</sup>. The rhetorical figure in question occurs with particular frequency in Cicero's early *Pro Roscio Amerino*<sup>15</sup>. Of special interest for the present note is this speech's second instance of the figure: *primum a Chrysogono peto ut pecunia fortunisque nostris contentus sit, sanguinem et uitam ne petat* (7). Here *petere* is being used both absolutely and with an object. Sallust would appear to be employing *animum aduortere* in an exactly comparable way in the *Jugurtha*: *animum aduortit* ... *repentis cocleas* (l. 4) / *animum aduortit* (l. 7).

Further confirmation that *animum aduortit* should be read at the end of this passage of the *Jugurtha* is provided by Sallust's application of precisely the same rhetorical figure to precisely the same verb in the speech of the tribune Macer in the

10) A. W. Ahlberg, C. Sallusti Crispi: *Catilina, Iugurtha, orationes et epistulae excerptae de Historiis* (Leipzig 1919) 128.

11) The fragment was first published by J.W.B. Barns and H. Zilliacus, *The Antinoopolis Papyri III* (London 1967) 109 (no. 154), who stated that "the nature of the text is uncertain". The correct identification was then made by W. Morel, *A New Papyrus of Sallust*, CR n. s. 18 (1968) 23 f., where he restores *animum aduortit*. However only a single letter of the line in question survives: *animum aduortit, et] f[orte in eo*. Apropos of 'the word following *animum*' Morel remarks that considerations of space are indecisive. He accordingly concludes: "alas, we cannot guess what was in this mangled line".

12) I. C. T. Ernesti, *Lexicon technologiae latinorum rhetoricae* (Leipzig 1797; repr. Hildesheim 1983) 98. This definition is taken from Aquila, *rhet.* 28 p. 31.7 f. Ernesti also cites Cic. de orat. 3.206 (*eiusdem uerbi crebrius positi quaedam distinctio*) and orat. 135 (*cum ... continenter unum uerbum non in eadem sententia ponitur*).

13) R. Volkman, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig <sup>2</sup>1885; repr. Hildesheim 1987) 480 f. (viz. ἀντανάκλασις, ἀντιμετάθεσις, σύγκρισις, πλοκή, ἀντίστασις, διαφορά, *tradioctio*).

14) H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Stuttgart <sup>3</sup>1990) 333–335. The first passage he cites is *carm. de fig. 49: si uerbum diuerse iteres, distinctio fiet*.

15) Cf. G. Landgraf, *Kommentar zu Ciceros Rede Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino* (Leipzig-Berlin <sup>2</sup>1914), Register s.vv. πλοκή, *tradioctio* (add pp. 73 and 271).

*Histories*. There Macer addresses the *plebs* on the importance of the tribunate in the following terms:

*Quod ego uos moneo quaesoque ut animaduortatis neu nomina rerum ad ignauiam mutantes otium pro seruitio appelletis. Quo iam ipso frui, si uera et honesta flagitium superauerit, non est condicio; fuisset, si omnino quiessetis: nunc animum aduortere et nisi uiceritis, quoniam omnis iniuria grauitate tutior est, artius habebunt* (or. Macri 13).

As in the *Jugurtha*, Sallust has once more availed himself of the figure of *distinctio* in order to invest *animum aduortere* with the same difference of meaning in two similarly adjacent sentences: while in the first of them he again uses the verb with a direct object to mean simply ‘notice’ (l. 1: *Quod ego uos moneo quaesoque ut animaduortatis*), it is then employed absolutely in the fuller and more pregnant sense of ‘direct or focus the mind’ (l. 4: *nunc animum aduortere*)<sup>16</sup>. The same signification of ‘focussing the mind’ is also perfectly suited to the end of the passage from the *Jugurtha*: the *cupido difficilia faciundi* ‘focussed the mind’ of the Ligurian, who now realized that with the aid of the excrescent oak he could reach the very top. Here too the next editor should accordingly read *animum aduortit*.

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16) Cf. the recent translation by P. McGushin, Sallust: The Histories II (Oxford 1994) 29: “keep it in mind ... they are on their guard”. While the second sentence of the *Histories* assigns a personal subject to this verb, it is given an abstract one in the corresponding passage of the *Jugurtha* (*cupido ... animum aduortit*). For this rare usage TLL II 74.42 (s. v. *animaduerto*) adduces a parallel at Tac. hist. 3.48.1 (*aduertit ea res Vespasiani animum*), where the impersonal subject does not lead TLL to modify its definition of the verb’s meaning as simply ‘animum intendere’ (ib. 47). It is noteworthy that here Tacitus also resembles Sallust in placing his use of *animum aduortere* in this sense of ‘to focus the mind’ shortly after he has employed the same term with the meaning ‘to notice’ (hist. 3.38.1: *Vitellius ... turrim ... concludere per noctem crebris luminibus animaduertit*).