

Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*:

A New English Translation

with text, translation, and commentary

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Ἐλάττους τε γὰρ ὄντες [30] ὅπως ἴσοι ὥσι στασιάζουσι, καὶ ἴσοι ὄντες ὅπως μείζους.

They being subservient would be revolutionaries so as to be equals, and they being equals would be revolutionaries so as to be mighty. (Aristotle, *The Politics* 5.1302a29-30)

Contents

FOREWORD	7
SALLUST'S BELLUM CATILINAE	10
Prologue	10
Second Conspiracy, June 1, 64 B.C.	30
First Conspiracy, Jan. 1st – Feb. 5th, 66 B.C.	32
First Speech of Catiline at the home of Procius Laeca, June 1, 4 B.C.	35
Election of Consuls Silanus and Murena. Second Conspiracy, July 63 B.C.	40
Manlius, Septimius of Camerinum, and Gaius Julius, et al take to the field at Faesulae, Picene, and Apulia respectively, Oct. 27.	45
Second meeting at Laeca's house, Nov. 6 & <i>ad Baculum Argumentum</i> against Cicero, Nov. 7	46
Cicero ascends as Dictator	47
Senate informed about the activities of Manlius, Nov. 1 & Quintus Pompeius Rufus dispatched to Capua and Quintus Metellus Celer to Picene	48
Catiline departs for the camp of Manlius	49
Catiline makes insulting remarks to the Consul	51
Catiline departs for the camp of Manlius	52
Manlius sends instructions to Marcius Rex	52
Reply of Quintus Marcius	54
Quintus Catulus reads a letter from Catiline to the Senate	55
Catiline and Manlius declared <i>hostes rei publicae</i> , Nov. 17	56
Publius Umbrenus seeks the ambassadors of the Allobroges	61
The Allobroges inform Quintus Fabius Sanga about the plot	63
Plot to Assault Cicero at his door, <i>ad Baculum Argumentum in Ciceronem</i>	64
Allobroges secure letters from conspirators, Letter of Volturcius to Catiline	66
Arrest of the conspirators at the Mulvian Bridge, Dec. 2	67
Cicero convenes the Senate and reads out the letters of the conspirators	68

Volturcius granted immunity	70
Evidence given by Lucius Tarquinius against Marcus Crassus	71
Cicero asked to introduce false charges against Julius Caesar	74
Rewards voted for the Allobroges and Titus Volturius	75
The opinion of Decimus Silanus	76
Speech of Julius Caesar, <i>ad Senatum Argumentum</i>	77
Speech of Cato Minor, <i>ad Senatum Argumentum</i>	85
Senate adopts the resolution of Cato	93
Sallust's character analysis of Caesar and Cato Minor	95
Execution of the conspirators, Dec. 5: <i>ad Baculum Argumentum</i>	96
Catiline arms his men, forms two legions, refuses the help of the slaves	97
News of the execution of the conspirators reaches Catiline's camp, his men begin to desert	99
Final speech of Catiline, <i>ad Socios Argumentum</i>	100
<i>In Catilinam ad Baculum Argumentum</i> , at Pistoria, Jan. 62	103
Denouement	107
WORKS CITED	109

Foreword

Although this translation of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* is as yet an unfinished work, and there as yet remains not only some errata but also some difficult passages, I have determined to externalize this piece now in accordance with the demands of Time, Fortune, and Necessity. I hope the reader will keep in mind that this is a first draft and that since the Commentary to the text of the *Bellum Catilinae* is incomplete at this time, the Notebooks shall serve in lieu of a complete commentary. It is also my intention to render a complete translation and commentary to Cicero's *In Catilinam I-IV* and that the two of these works be included into *Discontents at Rome : 63 B.C.* Which I hope someday to complete. But because of a serious lack of resources and time, the reader for the time being will be compelled to accept this work as is.

It has been my intention neither to lead the reader to believe that the translations of the great Hellenists and Latinists of Oxford and Harvard are wholly inadequate nor that they beyond reproach; nor have I intended to lead the reader to believe that one rendering of these works into English is altogether much better than all others and, on account of that, to be relied upon alone. Ezra Pound said somewhere that every generation requires a new translation. But there is more to it than this: it is necessary for the student to become acquainted with the translations both of the old and of the new, and, consequently, I believe that one should familiarize oneself with as many of these translators, textual critics, and commentators as they have time for, not just with one work alone. Many of the standard translations are quite good, some however as not quite so good as the others.

The work done by the English grammarians, authenticating texts, translating the Greek and Latin library, codifying Greek and Latin grammar, and certifying the Latin and Greek dictionaries and lexicon, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries c.1885-1925, should not however be underestimated and are indubitably of singular importance to the history of Western thought. But we must at this time in history now ask: How is it that these works, particularly the *Bellum Catilinae*, which were once of such grand importance that countless scholars, the best and the brightest of western civilization, who were employed for well nigh forty years standardizing this library, have all but vanished from American higher education? The loss of this enormous amount of dedication, this wisdom of inestimable value, the energy and resources of those scholars now demands a rational account and its recompense. I offer this translation with the sincere hope that it may ignite an academic movement for the serious study of the Latin authors, especially the Latin historians, and primarily this work by Sallust.

I must confess, however, that J. C. Rolf's translation of the *Bellum Catilinae* has not suited my purposes. Indeed, in his translation of the *Bellum Catilinae*, he took, in my opinion, far too many liberties with respect to the exactness of grammar and syntax; though the gist of what it says in Latin truly is there, and indubitably I could not have achieved what I have achieved with out his work being ahead of me, indeed I often relied on it for the gist of Sallust; but it did not have the precision that I have required.¹ And on account of the fact that I seldom agreed with his translation, and therefore would not

¹ "In not a few instances, perhaps oftener than a more gifted translator would have found necessary, Sallust's sententious brevity has been sacrificed to clearness." Cf. Rolf's translation of *Bellum Catilinae*: viii.

render Sallust's epigrams among my own words in the manner that he chose; I concluded that a complete translation of the *Bellum Catilinae* by my own hand was necessary.

Edward H. Campbell,

Olympia Washington,

May 13, 2008.

Sallust's Bellum Catilinae

Prologue

[1.1] Omnis homines, qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet, ne vitam silentio transeant veluti pecora, quaenatura prona atque ventri oboedientia finxit. [2] Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est: animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur; alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum beluis commune est. [3] Quo mihi rectius videtur ingeni quam virium opibus gloriam quaerere et, quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxume longam efficere. [4] Nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus clara aeternaque habetur. [5] Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vine corporis an virtute animi res militaris magis procederet. [6] Nam et, prius quam incipias, consulto et, ubi consulueris, mature factu opus est. [7] Ita utrumque per se indigens alterum alterius auxilio eget.

[1.1] It suits all men who are themselves eager to be distinguished from other animals to strive with all their might not passing through life in silence just as cattle who were made by nature stooping forward and obeying the belly. [2] But as a whole all power is situated in the body and soul, moreover the soul is used to rule, the body to serve. The one thing by us is held in common with gods, the other with beasts. [3] Wherefore it seems to me to be correct character to strive for glory by means of moral resources because life itself, which we may enjoy, is short, to make our memory enduring. [4] For riches and beautiful reputation is fleeting and frail, virtue is held bright and eternal. [5] But long ago there was great contention among the mortals; whether strength of body or virtue of soul would succeed better in military affairs. [6] For both before you begin you

must deliberate and, when one has deliberated act when needed. [7] In such a way each through itself is needy, the one needs the help of the other.

[2.1] Igitur initio reges [nam in terris nomen imperi id primum fuit] divorsi pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant: etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur; sua cuique satis placebant. [2] Postea vero, quam in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbis atque nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maxumam gloriam in maxumo imperio putare, tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum est in bello plurimum ingenium posse. [3] Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita ut in bello valeret, aequabilius atque constantius sese res humanae haberent neque aliud alio ferri neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneret. [4] Nam imperium facile iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. [5] Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus inmutatur. [6] Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transferetur. [7] Quae homines arant, navigant, aedificant, virtuti omnia parent. [8] Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam sicuti peregrinantes transiere; quibus profecto contra naturam corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque iuxta aestumo, quoniam de utraque siletur. [9] Verum enim vero is demum mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui aliquo negotio intentus praeclari facinoris aut artis bonae famam quaerit. Sed in magna copia rerum aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

[2.1] And so, in the beginning, kings, for that was the name of the supreme authority in the lands, turned in different directions, part pursued the mind, others the body. Now at

the time the life of man was not driven by evil desire, and each one was satisfied with his own possessions. [2] Indeed later on, when Cyrus began to subjugate nations in Asia and the Athenians and Lacedaemonians cities in Greece, to hold in their lust for power a cause for war, to see the greatest glory in the greatest dominion, at last through these dangerous enterprises it was discovered in war that it was possible to multiply talent. [3] But if the mental ability of kings and rulers were as vigorous in peace as it is in war human affairs would in themselves be held equal and constant, everything would be borne neither from one thing to another nor be changed and all mixed up. [4] For dominion is easy to retain by those practices by which was brought forth. [5] Truly when before labor idleness, before continence and equanimity lust and pride have invaded; good fortune changes with the practices, [6] and in this way dominion will always pass to whoever is best from the less good. [7] All things which men do plowing, sailing, building, come to be through virtue. [8] But man men give themselves up to the belly and slumber, uncultivated and untaught, pass through life as travelers; for whom indeed, contrary to nature, the body was a pleasure, the soul was a burden, and I in my opinion the life and death of those men to be about the same, since both are silent. [9] But in very truth, only he appears to me to live, and to enjoy life, who, intent on some employment, seeks fame through some illustrious deed or good art. But among the great abundance of things, nature shows one way to one man and another to the other.

[3.1] Pulchrum est bene facere rei publicae, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est; vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet; et qui fecere et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi

laudantur. [2] Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequitur scriptorem et auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum, quod facta dictis exaequanda sunt; dehinc, quia plerique, quae delicta reprehenderis, malevolentia et invidia dicta putant, ubi de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat, aequo animo accipit, supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit. [3] Sed ego adolescentulus initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad rem publicam latus sum ibique mihi multa advorsa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute audacia, largitio, avaritia vigeant. [4] Quae tametsi animus aspernabatur insolens malarum artium, tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur; [5] ac me, cum ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem, qua ceteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

[3.1] To act well for the Republic is a beautiful thing, moreover to speak well is by no means absurd; to do a brilliant thing, the one in peace the other in war, is to be valued, and to have done; those who act and those who write about the acts of others are to be praised. [2] And to me certainly, although by no means altogether does equal glory follow the writer of things and the doer of things, still it seems difficult to write down the *res gestae* in the first place: firstly because the things said must equal the things done, secondly, because men for the most part consider whatever crimes you pass judgment against are words of envy and malevolence; when you remember the great virtue and the glory of good men, that which he himself thinks easy to do, the soul equally receives without effort, everything beyond these things as fiction before leading to deception. [3] But when I was a young man, beginning, just as most, being borne into public life and there

were many obstacles for me. For before shame, before abstinence, before virtue, audacity, bribery, and greed flourished. [4] Although my soul, unaccustomed to evil ways, was repulsed, I nevertheless, among so many vices, was, on account of my tender age, captivated by ambition and corruption. [5] And though I myself would differ with the evil practices of the others, I nevertheless, on account of desire for honors, was vexed by the same reputation and envy as the others.

[4.1] Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit et mihi reliquam aetatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere neque vero agrum colundo aut venando, servilibus officiis, intentum aetatem agere; [2] sed, a quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere, eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus rei publicae animus liber erat. [3] Igitur de Catilinae coniuratione, quam verissime potero, paucis absolvam; [4] nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo sceleris atque periculi novitate. [5] De cuius hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

[4.1] As I was saying, when my soul rested from the many troubles and perils, I resolved to spend the rest of my life at a distance from public affairs. It was not my intention to occupy my precious leisure in laziness and idleness, certainly not cultivating land or hunting, leading a life having been directed to slavish occupations, [2] instead I undertake the study from which evil ambition detained me, returning to the same purpose, considering the things done at different times by the Roman people, and to record them in

a manner by which they would appear to be worthy of memory, all the more to me on account of the fact that my soul was free from hope, fear, and factions of the Republic. [3] Therefore, I shall pass judgment [absolvo] on the conspiracy of Catiline which I shall be able to do truthfully and by means of few words, [4] for I regard that deed as particularly memorable on account of its wickedness and the uniqueness of its danger. [5] Before beginning to narrate, I should first compose a few words which explain the morals of that man.

[5.1] *L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. [2] Huic ab adulescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis grata fuere ibique iuventutem suam exercuit. [3] Corpus patiens inediae, algoris, vigiliae supra quam quoiquam credibile est. [4] Animus audax, subdolos, varius, quous rei lubet simulator ac dissimulator, alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus; satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum. [5] Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. [6] Hunc post dominationem L. Sullae lubido maxuma invaserat rei publicae capiundae; neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat. [7] Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum, quae utraque iis artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. [8] Incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac divorsa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. [9] Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere ac paucis instituta maiorum domi militiaeque, quo modo rem publicam habuerint quantamque reliquerint, ut paulatim*

immutata ex pulcherruma <atque optuma> pessuma ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.

[5.1] Lucius Catiline was begotten by the nobility; great in energy both in body and soul, but with an evil and depraved nature. [2] Civil war, murder, rapine, and civil discord were gratifying to this young man from a very young age and there occupied his youth. [3] His body could endure hunger, cold, and sleeplessness to an incredible degree. [4] His mind, reckless, cunning, and treacherous, was agreeable to any form of pretense or concealment.² Coveting the things of another he out did himself burning with cupidity, great in eloquence, but little in wisdom, [5] his wasted mind, immoderate beyond belief, always longed for the great beyond measure. [6] After Sulla's domination, a great desire for seizing the Republic entered this man, if only to make himself supreme, he weighed out anything, and not by what standard [mode] he should pursue it. [7] His fierce soul was being driven onward more and more by the day by poverty at home and the guilt of his crimes; both of these he had augmented by the practices that I recounted above. [8] Besides that the corrupt morals of the State, which were shaken to the ground by evils opposite between themselves,³ luxury and greed, were inspiring. [9] The appearance of the affair itself urges discussion about the morals of the State, since to recall earlier times, and in particular a few institutions of our forefathers at home and at war, in what manner they maintained the Republic and how great they would have bequeathed it; how little by little it was changed, how the most beautiful and best was made worst and ugliest.

² *simulator*, 'similitude,' *ac dissimulator*, 'or dissimilitude.'

³ "He was spurred on, also, by the corruption of the public morals, which were being ruined by two great evils of an opposite character, extravagance and avarice."—Rolf

[6.1] *Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur, cumque iis Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. [2] Hi postquam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alii alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est, quam facile coaluerint: ita brevi multitudo dispersa atque vaga concordia civitas facta erat. [3] Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. [4] Igitur reges populique finitimi bello temptare, pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri metu perculsi a periculis aberant. [5] At Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem, patriam, parentisque armis tegere. Post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant magisque dandis quam accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant. [6] Imperium legitimum, nomen imperi regium habebant. Delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, rei publicae consultabant; hi vel aetate vel curae similitudine patres appellabantur. [7] Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandae libertatis atque augendae rei publicae fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque se convortit, inmutato more annua imperia binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo mimume posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.*

[6.1] The city of Rome, as I have learned, was founded and initially held by Trojans, who, as exiles, were wandering about homeless and unsettled under the leadership of Aeneas, and along with them the Aborigines, a savage race of men, without laws, without government, free and unrestrained. [2] How easily they united, with a disparate origin, a dissimilar language and one having a different way of life from the other, after they came

together within the same walls, is unheard of in all memory: thus, after a short while, the great differences were smoothed out and harmony and citizenship was built. [3] But after that, their civic affairs, the mores, with expanding domains, enough prosperity and sufficient power appeared, just as most mortal things have, jealousy out of opulence arose. [4] Consequently, neighboring kings and peoples assailed them with war, few friends were to be of help; for the remainder, struck by fear, were absent from dangers. [5] But the Romans were eager, at home and in the field, to hasten, to prepare, urging each other on to go to meet the enemy, they protected liberty, country, and parents by means of arms. [6] They had lawful sovereignty, in name it was commanded by kings.⁴ Chosen men whose body was weakened by years, whose character was strengthened by wisdom, held council for the Republic; these, whether by age or by similar diligence, were called Fathers. [7] Afterwards, when the monarchy, which had been initiated to preserve liberty and develop the Republic, haughtiness and supremacy converted it, they changed its manner and created two dictators who ruled for a year: by this small measure to be able to prune the growth of the human soul to insolence due to license.

[7.1] Sed ea tempestate coepere se quisque magis extollere magisque ingenium in promptu habere. [2] Nam regibus boni quam mali suspiciores sunt [3] semperque iis aliena virtus formidulosa est. Sed civitas incredibile memoratu est, adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriae incesserat. [4] Iam primum iuventus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usum militiae discebat magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis atque conviviis lubidinem habebant. [5] Igitur talibus viris non labor insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus

⁴ *I.e.* ‘a monarchy.’

hostis formidulosus: [6] virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriae maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat: se quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici, dum tale facinus faceret, properabat. Eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant. Laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant, [7] gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possum, quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbis natura munitas pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.

[7.1] But at that time everyone began to extol himself higher and higher, to have his talents on display. [2] For by kings the good as well as the bad are suspects [3] and to them the virtue of another is always dreadful. But the free State, by means of gaining freedom, came into being is worthy of mention; desire for glory grew forth. [4] A youth, at first, as soon as he was tough enough for war learned, through labor in the camp, military skills. And they had more pleasure in beauty of arms and horses for war than in prostitutes and parties. [5] Accordingly, to such distinguished men, no task was unfamiliar, not any place too rough or steep no armed stranger too formidable; manliness conquered all. [6] But in fact rivalry for the greatest glory was between themselves; each one made haste to himself strike the enemy, to climb the wall while conspicuously doing such a deed. These they considered riches, this good reputation and great renown. They were greedy for praise, generous with money; they wished for great fame, honorable wealth. [7] I could mention the places in which the Roman people routed a great number of enemies with a small handful, those cities seized by natural fighting ability, if this matter did not draw me away from our undertaking.

[8.1] *Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubricitate magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque. [2] Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. [3] Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. [4] Ita eorum, qui fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. [5] At populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissimus quisque maxime negotiosus erat: ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat, optimum quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis bene facta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.*

[8.1] But in reality Fortune is master in all things, She, according to Her pleasure, everything with greatness celebrated or obscure apart from truth. [2] The things done by the Athenians, as I see it, were sufficiently distinguished and magnificent, nevertheless in truth somewhat less than fame represents them. [3] But because they produced writers of great genius there, deeds of the Athenians were very greatly celebrated throughout the whole world. [4] Thus the virtue of those who did the things is held to be as great as those things excellent minds have been able to extol by means words. [5] But the Roman people were never abundantly furnished with this thing because everyone of good sense was very busy, nobody engaged the mind without the body; everyone good acted rather than spoke; they preferred their benefaction to be praised by others rather than to tell of them himself.

[9.1] *Igitur domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur; concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat; ius bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat. [2] Iurgia,*

discordias, simultates cum hostibus exercebant, cives cum civibus de virtute certabant. In suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. [3] Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat, aequitate, seque remque publicam curabant. [4] Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta haec habeo, quod in bello saepius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant quique tardius revocati proelio excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere aut pulsi loco cedere ausi erant; [5] in pace vero, quod beneficiis magis quam metu imperium agitabant et accepta iniuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

[9.1] Accordingly good morals were cultivated at home and in war; there was great harmony, little greed; justice and good will prevailed among them not on account of laws more than nature. [2] Strife, discord and rivalry were carried out with the enemies, citizens vied with citizens out of virtue; they were magnificent in supplications for the gods, frugal at home, and loyal in friendship. [3] Having practiced these two arts, bold in war, fair in peace, they care for themselves and the Republic. [4] Of which things I have this great evidence, because punishing in war was frequently upon those who against orders attacked the enemy and whoever tardily withdrew when they had retired from battle rather than those who relinquished the standard or those who gave ground when they were being overcome; [5] truly in peacetime, they ruled through great kindness rather than by means of fear, and preferred to ignore it when receiving injury rather than to follow it up.

[10.1] Sed ubi labore atque iustitia res publica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, aemula imperi Romani, ab stirpe interiit,

cuncta maria terraeque patebant, saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit. [2] Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, iis otium divitiaeque optanda alias, oneri miseriaeque fuere. [3] Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi⁵ cupido crevit: ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. [4] Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvertit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. [5] Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere, amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re, sed ex commodo aestumare magisque voltum quam ingenium bonum habere. [6] Haec primo paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari; post, ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium ex iustissimo atque optumo crudele intolerandumque factum.⁶

[10.1] But when the Republic became distinguished through labor and justice, when great kings had been subdued through war, when savage nations and great peoples had been subjugated by force, when Carthage, rival of Rome's dominion, perished root and branch, and all lands and seas lay open, Fortune began to grow fierce and to mix everything up. [2] To those who had easily endured toils, dangers, uncertainties, and perils, things were leisure and wealth; desiring otherwise, burdensome and woe some.⁷

[3] Consequently, first lust for power, and thereafter money, was decided; these things were just about the source of all evils. [4] For greed subverts trust, honesty, and all other

⁵ Rolfe's MSS reads *Igitur primo imperi, deinde pecuniae* and is translated thus here. McGushin relied on the Teubner edition of A. Kurfess, 1957 which reads *Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi*. As does W. W. Capes who relied on Sorb. 500 also known as MSS P. Rolfe's progression here, however, seems more logical for first one ought to desire power and then realize wealth was a means to getting it.

⁶ neut. nom. sing. perf. pass. part. of *facio* and in *apposition* with *imperium*.

⁷ *Qui...iis: iis* is a dat. pl., thus "to those who had easily tolerated toils, dangers, uncertainties, and perils, *res* (things or affairs) *fuere* (3rd pl. perf. act. ind.) were leisure and wealth." *Optanda alias: alias* is a f. acc. pl in *apposition* with *res*, thus "desiring other things" (or wishing for affairs besides toils, dangers, uncertainties, and perils) *res fuere*, i.e., "things were burdensome and woe some" where *oneri* (n. dat. sing.) and *miseriae* (f. dat. sing.) are *predicative datives*. "The dative marking the end, whether intended or simply resulting, is most commonly used in combination with a dative of the person interested, and predicated with the verb 'to be.'" Woodcock §68.

good arts; arrogance, cruelty, to neglect the gods, and to set a price on everything was taught before these. ⁸ [5] Ambition⁹ trained¹⁰ many men to become deceptive; to have one thing enclosed in the breast another in public on the tongue, to value friendships and enmities not from circumstances but out of convenience and to have a grand visage rather than good character. [6] At first these things came into being little by little, punished now and then; finally, when this disease invaded like the plague, citizenship was being changed, government of the best and most just was becoming cruel and intolerable.

[11.1] Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat, quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. [2] Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium bonus et ignavus aequae sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. [3] Avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit: ea quasi venenis malis imbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat, semper infinita, insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia minuitur. [4] Sed postquam L. Sulla armis recepta re publica bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, rapere omnes, omnes trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores habere, foeda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere. [5] Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem maiorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat. Loca amoena, voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. [6] Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata mirari, ea privatim et publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra

⁸ "In place of these."

⁹ *ambitio*: the going about of candidates for office, striving for favor; desire for honor, popularity or flattery (*Lewis and Short*).

¹⁰ *subegit*: McGushin counts this verb to be the equivalent of *cogere*: to drive together, collect, crowd, bring together, summon, congregate, convene (*Lewis and Short*).

profanaque omnia polluere. [7] Igitur ii milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant: ne illi corruptis moribus victoriae temperarent.

[11.1] But, at first, great ambition, rather than greed, occupied the minds of men, which was, nevertheless, a vice nearer to a virtue. [2] For glory, honor, power the good and the cowardly equally desire; but the one strives by way of the truth, the other destitute of the good arts, by fraud and deceit contends. [3] Greed has money as its object, which no wise man has desired: it, as if imbued by a deadly poison, feminizes the manliness of the body and soul, it is always infinite and insatiable, diminished neither abundance nor indigence. [4] But after Sulla seized the Republic by means of arms, having made a bad end from good beginning, all men robbed, all men pillaged, some desired houses, others lands; the victors had neither limits nor moderation, committed filthy and cruel deeds on the citizens. [5] Hither to, because L. Sulla was approaching his army which he had led into Asia, which he hoped to make loyal to himself which, contrary to the mores of the Greats, he had held through luxury and freedom beyond measure, who in leisure, those lovely voluptuous places easily softened the spirit of the fierce soldiers. [6] There an army of the Roman people first became accustomed to love and to drink; to admire statues, paintings, and engraved vases; to steal them from public and private places, to pillage shrines and to desecrate everything sacred and profane. [7] Therefore these soldiers, after they have achieved a victory, left nothing to the vanquished. As one might expect, inferior things vex the even souls of the wise; could victories restrain these men of bad morals?

[12.1] *Postquam divitiae honori¹¹ esse coepere¹² et eas¹³ gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur, hebescere¹⁴ virtus, paupertas probro haberi, ¹⁵ innocentia pro malevolentia duci coepit. [2] Igitur ex divitiis iuventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere: rapere, consumere, sua¹⁶ parvi pendere, aliena cupere, pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere. [3] Operae pretium est, cum domos atque villas cognoveris¹⁷ in urbium modum exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri maiores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere. [4] Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant neque victis quicquam praeter iniuriae licentiam eripiebant. [5] At hi contra, ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissimi viri victores reliquerant: proinde quasi iniuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti.*

[12.1] After that, wealth began to be honorable and glory, dominion, personal power¹⁸ followed this, virtue became blunt, poverty was being held to be a shameful act, innocence began to be taken for malevolence. [2] Consequently, on account of riches, luxury, and greed, along with arrogance, seized upon the youth. Considering their own things to be of little value, desired the things of another; shame, chastity they held to be nothing, mixing the human and the divine, being inconsiderate and immoderate. [3] It is worth the effort when you become acquainted with homes and villas being built in the

¹¹ *honori*; masc. nom. pl. here is a *Predicate Nominative*.

¹² *coepere* is an *Historical Infinitive*: “The Infinitive is often used for the Imperfect Indicative in narration, and takes a subject in the Nominative.” (Allen and Greenough 463)

¹³ fem. nom. pl. pronoun in agreeing with *divitiae* in gender, number and case. Translated in the singular as wealth in English is also expressed in the singular.

¹⁴ also an *Historical Infinitive*.

¹⁵ pres. inf. pass. *Historical Infinitive*.

¹⁶ neut. acc. pl.: “their own things.”

¹⁷ 2nd sing. Fut. perf. act. ind.

¹⁸ *potential*: to be distinguished from *potestas*. “The former denotes power attained by personal means, wealth, influence etc., and used largely for personal ends. The latter is used of power that is associated with public office, properly constituted authority.” (McGushin 98-99)

size of cities to visit the temples of the gods which were built by our Forefathers, most religious men. [4] Indeed these men adorned the shrines of the gods with piety, their own homes with glory, and didn't take anything from the vanquished beyond the freedom to injure. [5] But these men, on the contrary, the most lazy men, through everything wicked took away from these allies which the most powerful men had left the vanquished, accordingly as if the only way to employ imperium is to commit injury.

[13.1] Nam quid ea memorem, quae nisi iis, qui videre, nemini credibilia sunt: a privatis compluribus subvorsos montis, maria constrata esse? Quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae: quippe, quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed libido stupri, ganeae ceterique cultus non minor incesserat: viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius, quam somni cupido esset; non famem aut sitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed omnia luxu antecapere. Haec iuventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant: animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile lubricinibus carebat; eo profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat.

[13.1] But why is this remembered, which is credible to except to those who saw it; mountains completely destroyed and the sea made firm by many private men? [2] It seems to me, to those men, riches were but a plaything; naturally it is lawful to have them respectably, they made haste to use them up disgracefully. [3] But desire for disgrace, brothels, and for other things was spread about no less; men submitted to feminine things, women put their chastity up for sale, feeding this they searched for everything on land

and sea,¹⁹ to sleep first before there was much need for sleep, to not await hunger or thirst, neither cold nor weariness but to anticipate everything with extravagance. [4] This aroused the youth, when they had used up their family wealth, to crime. [5] Their minds, having been steeped in the bad arts, was not easily freed from inordinate desires.

[14.1] *In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id quod factu facillum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se tamquam stipatorum catervas habebat. [2-3] Nam quicumque inpudicus, adulter, ganeo manu, ventre, pene bona patria laceraverat quique alienum aes grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret, praeterea omnes undique parricidae, sacrilegi, convicti iudiciis aut pro factis iudicium timentes, ad hoc, quos manus atque lingua periurio aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat, ii Catilinae proximi familiaresque erant. [4] Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam eius inciderat, cotidiano usu atque illecebris facile par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. [5] Sed maxime adulescentium familiaritates adpetebat: eorum animi molles et fluxi dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. [6] Nam ut cuiusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praebere, aliis canes atque equos mercari; postremo neque sumptui neque modestiae suae parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret. [7] Scio fuisse nonnullos, qui ita existumarent: iuventutem, quae domum Catilinae frequentabat, parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis, quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, haec fama valebat.*

[14.1] In a community so great and so corrupt, Catiline, on account of the fact that doing so was easy, gathered around himself a band of men as a bodyguard. [2-3] Every lewd

¹⁹ *Vescendi* is a masc. nom. pres. pass. gerundive governing the ablatives *terra*, and *marique*. *Omnia* as a neut. acc. pl. is the direct object. *Exquirere* is an infinitive. *Causa* expresses purpose *Allen and Greenough* 504 b). The antecedent for this is in 13.1 *subvorsos montis, maria constrata esse*.

man, adulterer, and gambler who had wasted his patrimony through gluttony, anyone inflamed by great debt who sought to be rescued from crime or disgrace, and besides them from every direction all fearing conviction by the courts, or who was already convicted, for sacrilege or murder, and add to this those whose hand and tongue was fed through perjury or civil war, and finally all those whose mind was disturbed by wants or disgrace. [4] But if anyone free from guilt fell into friendship with him, daily intercourse and allurements would make him equal or similar to the others. [5] But mostly he sought intimacy with young men, whose minds were still impressionable and pliable, their souls were seized by trickery without difficulty. [6] For by learning that each burned with a passion, some he gave whores, for others he purchased dogs and horses while he made them obedient and loyal to himself. [7] I am aware that there have been some who thus thought that the youth who frequented Catiline's home had little respect for their chastity, but for more important reasons this rumor arose rather than because anyone had learned that.

[15.1] Iam primum adulescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestae, alia huiusce modi contra ius fasque. [2] Postremo captus amore Aureliae Orestillae, cuius praeter formam nihil unquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat timens privignum adulta aetate, pro certo creditur necato filio vacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. [3] Quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse facinus maturandi. [4] Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat: ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. [5] Igitur color

ei exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus incessus: prorsus in facie vultuque vecordia inerat.

[15.1] Already as a young man, Catiline had done many unspeakable things with a noble virgin, with a priestess of Vesta, and other things of this sort against law and sanctity.

[2] Finally seized by love for Aurelia Orestilla, about whom a good man has praised nothing save her beauty; when she hesitated to marry him, fearing his stepson, a grown man, it is resolved for certain that murdering his son made a vacant home for the criminal marriage. Which affair indeed, it seems to me to have been the primary cause maturing the plot, [4] for surely his vile soul, at odds with gods and men, was able to be calm neither waking nor sleeping; in such a way his conscience destroyed his disturbed mind.

[5] Hence his pallid complexion, his bloodshot eyes; his gait now fast, now slow; in his face and his every glance showed him a madman.

[16.1] Sed iuventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. [2] Ex illis testis signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere, post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, maiora alia imperabat.

[3] Si causa peccandi in praesens minus suppetebat, nihilo minus insontis sicuti sontis circumvenire, iugulare: scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. [4] His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat et quod plerique Sullani milites largius suo usu rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores civile bellum exoptabant, opprimundae rei publicae consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus, Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris

bellum gerebat; ipsi consulatum petenti magna spes, senatus nihil sane intentus: tutae tranquillaeque res omnes, sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

[16.1] But the youth he seduced, about whom we spoke above, he taught terrible crimes of many kinds. [2] From these men he supplied perjurers and forgers; to hold honor, fortunes, and dangers worthless. Afterwards, when he had exhausted their reputation and sense of shame, he ordered even greater crimes. [3] If grounds for sinning in the present was not at hand, he nevertheless encircled the guilty and the innocent alike and cut their throats. Evidently he was gratuitously evil and cruel rather than allow through leisure, their hands and minds to grow numb. [4] With friends and associates such as these, Catiline, both because of his debt throughout the whole world was immense and because most of Sulla's soldiers used up their wealth and were mindful of rapine and victory, now wished for civil war, for overthrowing the Republic and seizing the consulship. In Italy there was no army for Gnaeus Pompeius was fighting a war in far away lands, himself desiring the consulship with great hope. The Senate was not very attentive, everything was entirely tranquil, and this was, in a word, an opportunity for Catiline.

Second Conspiracy, June 1, 64 B.C.

[17] Igitur circiter Kalendas Iunias L. Caesare et C. Figulo consulibus primo singulos appellare, hortari alios, alios temptare; opes suas, inparatam rem publicam, magna praemia coniurationis docere. [2] Ubi satis explorata sunt, quae voluit, in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxuma necessitudo et plurimum audaciae inerat. [3] Eo convenere senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et

Ser. Sullae Ser. filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius; praeterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius; ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis domi nobiles. [5] Erant praeterea complures paulo occultius consili huiusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut alia necessitudo. [6] Ceterum iuventus pleraque, sed maxime nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat; quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant. [7] Fuere item ea tempestate, qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum eius consili fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat, cuiusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si coniuratio valisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

[17.1] Accordingly, about the first of June in the consulate of Lucius Caesar and Gaius Figulus [64 B.C.], he first appealed to them individually, encouraging some, testing others; showing them their power, the unpreparedness of the Republic, and the great prizes of the conspiracy. [2] When thing had been sufficiently explored, who had the greatest need, and who the greatest audacity to enter upon the which he desired, he called them together as one. [3] There convened from the senatorial order were Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Gaius Cethegus, Publius and Servius Sulla, sons of Servius, Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Marcus Porcius Laeca, Lucius Bestia, Quntus Curius; and besides them of the equestrian order were Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinius Capito, Gaius Cornelius; add to this many men from the colonies and municipalities of noble rank at home. [5] There were moreover several nobles you might include by a little more secretly in this council,

men who were encouraged by hope for great power rather than by poverty or any other necessity.²⁰ On the other hand, most of the youth, also of great renown, favored Catiline's undertaking; for although in peace were able to live magnificently and patiently, preferred uncertainty to certainty, war to peace. Moreover, there were those at the time who thought Marcus Licinius Crassus was not ignorant of this plot, because his great enemy Gaius Pompeius was himself leading a great army, he wished the influence of anyone to grow against his power; at the same time confident, if the conspiracy were to prevail he himself would easily become the leader among them.

First Conspiracy, Jan. 1st – Feb. 5th, 66 B.C.

[18.1] Sed antea item coniuravere pauci contra rem publicam, in quibus Catilina fuit. De qua, quam verissime potero, dicam. [2] L. Tullo et M'. Lepido consulibus P. Autronius et P. Sulla designati consules legibus ambitus interrogati poenas dederant. [3] Post paulo Catilina pecuniarum repetundarum reus prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverat. [4] Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rem publicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. [5] Cum hoc Catilina et Autronius circiter Nonas Decembris consilio communicato parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Ianuariis L. Cottam et L. Torquatam consules interficere, ipsi fascibus correptis Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. [6] Ea re cognita rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium caedis transtulerant. [7] Iam tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. [8] Quod ni Catilina maturasset pro

²⁰ There were, *erat*, moreover, *preatrea*, several nobles, *complures nobiles*, you might include, *participes*, by a little more, *paulo*, secretly, *occultius*, in this council, *huiusce consili*, men who were encouraged by hope for great power rather than by poverty or any other necessity.

curia signum sociis dare, eo die post conditam urbem Romam pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit.

[18.1] But earlier, moreover, there was a small conspiracy against the Republic in which Catiline was, about which I shall speak as truly as I am able. [2] In the consulship of Lucius Tullus and Manius Lepidus the consuls elect were indicted for bribery and payed the penalty. [3] A little while later, Catiline, convicted of extortion, had been forbidden to run for the consulship, because he would be unable to announce it during the lawful days. [4] At the same time there was a young noble Gnaeus Piso, of great audacity, poor, seditious, was excited to upset the Republic by his poverty and bad morals. [5] With him Catiline and Autronius, about the fifth of December, communicated a plan there were preparing to murder the Consuls Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus in the Capitol on the first of January; they themselves were to creep against and seize-up the fasces and to send Piso, with an army, to the desired two Spanish provinces. [6] Upon the discovery of it, they postponed the attack to the fifth of February. [7] Then at that time, not the Consuls alone, but many Senators were to be killed by their pernicious mechanizations. [8] If not for the fact Catiline gave a signal to his accomplices in front of the Senate-house before it was time,²¹ it would have been the worst crime ever executed since the day after the founding of the Roman city. [9] But because the crowd of soldiers had not yet gathered together as a crowd, this affair failed.

[19.1] Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quaestor pro praetore missus est adnitente Crasso, quod eum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. [2] Neque tamen senatus

²¹ If not for the fact, *Quodni*, Catiline, *Catilina*, gave, *dare*, a signal, *signum*, to his accomplices, *sociis*, in front of the Senate-house, *pro curia*, before it was time, *maturasset*, etc.

provinciam invitus dederat; quippe foedum hominem a republica procul esse volebat, simul quia boni conplures praesidium in eo putabant et iam tum potentia Pompei formidulosa erat. [3] Sed is Piso in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens occisus est. [4] Sunt, qui ita dicant: imperia eius iniusta, superba, crudelia barbaros nequivisse pati; [5] alii autem: equites illos, Cn. Pompei veteres fidosque clientis, voluntate eius Pisonem aggressos; numquam Hispanos praeterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia saeva multa antea perpessos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiore coniuratione satis dictum.

[19.1] Afterwards, on account of pressure from Crassus, Piso, Quaestor with praetorian powers, was sent to Hither Spain because he was known to be a dangerous enemy of Pompey. [2] The Senate was, nevertheless, willing to give him a province, obviously withing this vile man to be far removed from the Republic and because at the the same time several good men were thinking they found a defense through him now that the power of Pompey was formidable. [3] But this Piso was killed by the Spanish cavalry which he was leading as an army. [4] There are some who tell the story in this manner, the barbarians were unable to tolerate his unjust, haughty, and cruel command; [5] others, on the other hand, say that the knights, that were veterans and loyal vassals to Pompey, attacked Piso and the instigation of him. Never had the Spanish done such a deed, but had previously suffered savage command many times. We shall leave this affair undecided. Enough has been said about the first conspiracy.

First Speech of Catiline at the home of Procius Laeca, June 1, 4 B.C.

[20.1] *Catilina ubi eos, quos paulo ante memoravi, convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens univorsos appellare et cohortari in abditam partem aedium secedit atque ibi omnibus arbitris procul amotis orationem huiusce modi habuit: [2] “Ni virtus fidesque vostra spectata mihi forent, nequiquam opportuna res cecidisset; [3] spes magna, dominatio in manibus frustra fuissent, neque ego per ignaviam aut vana ingenia incerta pro certis captarem. Sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortis fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maximum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere, simul quia vobis eadem, quae mihi, bona malaque esse intellexi; [4] nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. [5] Sed ego quae mente agitavi, omnes iam antea divorsi audistis. [6] Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cum considero, quae condicio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. [7] Nam postquam res publica in paucorum potentium ius atque dicionem concessit, semper illis reges, tetrarchae vectigales esse, populi, nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, sine gratia, sine auctoritate, iis obnoxii, quibus, si res publica valeret, formidini essemus. [8] Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiae apud illos sunt aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere pericula, repulsas, iudicia, egestatem. [9] Quae quousque tandem patiemini, o fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem praestat quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? [10] Verum enim vero, pro deum atque hominum fidem, victoria in manu nobis est: viget aetas, animus valet; contra illis annis atque divitiis omnia consenuerunt. Tantummodo incepto opus est, cetera res expediet. [11] Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium est,*

tolerare potest illis divitias superare, quas profundant in exstruendo mari et montibus coaequandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? Illos binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullam esse? [12] Cum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant, tamen summa lubidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. [13] At nobis est domi inopia, foris aes alienum, mala res, spes multo asperior: denique quid reliqui habemus praeter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? [14] En illa, illa, quam saepe optastis, libertas, praeterea divitiae, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt; [15] fortuna omnia ea victoribus praemia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magna magis quam oratio mea vos hortantur. [16] Vel imperatore vel milite metimini! Neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. [17] Haec ipsa, ut spero vobiscum una consul agam, nisi forte me animus fallit et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis.”

[20.1] Although he had often carried this out with them individually many times, he nevertheless believed it would be necessary to address and encourage everyone who was about to in the affair. He withdrew to a secret part of the building and there, far removed from all witnesses, he gave an oration of this sort: [2] “If your bravery and loyalty was not apparent to me, this opportune affair would be presented to no purpose; [3] high hopes, dominion, might be at hand in vain nor through cowards or hollow characters it seized with certainty, but, on account of many great tests, I know you are strong and faithful to me, and because of that my soul dares to undertake a great and glorious crime and, at the same time, because I think what is good and bad are to you and me the same; [4] for to like the same and dislike the same, that is true friendship. [5] But in fact those

things which I have in mind separately you have all already heard before. Moreover, my soul is by the day set ablaze when I consider what our condition of life will be unless we set ourselves free. [7] For when the Republic yielded law and authority up to a few powerful men, it is always to them that kings and princes are to be paying tribute, peoples and nations pay taxes. All the rest of us, vigorous and good, noble and ignoble, are a crowd without esteem, without authority, subservient to those who, if the Republic was free, we would be terrifying. [8] Thus, all respect, power, power, honors, and riches are with them or where they wish them to be; to us they left danger, defeat, indictments, and want. [9] At last, how long may you endure, O bravehearts. Is not better to die in a show of strength than to lose one's pitiful and disgraceful life through shame after arrogant men have made you a fool? [10] Yes, yes indeed! By the gods and men I swear, to us victory is at hand; life flourishes, spirit is strong. To them, on the contrary, years and riches have made everything fade. I only need to begin, the rest shall take care of itself. [11] As a matter of fact, what man of virile nature can tolerate those who abound in riches; those who waste, building upon sea and leveling mountains, yet, with respect to necessities, we fell short at home? They however join homes in pairs, or more, while we never have anyplace for Lares; [12] while they buy paintings, statues, engraved vases, destroy new things, build others, and finally squander money in every possible way and attack their weath, yet even with the utmost extravagance they are unable to vanquish they wealth? [13] To us, on the other hand, there is poverty within, debt without, wicked affairs, hope for greater auterity; in short, what do we have left but worthless air? [14] Look, look at this! How for liberty you have often wished for feedom; besides that wealth, honor, and glory have been there before your eyes. [15] Fortune to the victors

has placed all these things as prizes. The object, the opportunity, the danger, the need; the magnificent spoils of war say more to you than any speech of mine. [16] Use me either as you commander or your soldier, neither my body nor my soul shall abandon you. [17] With your help, I hope, as a Consul, I may carry out; unless by chance my mind has failed me and you prefer to be slaves more than rulers.”

[21.1] Postquam acceperere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis quietam movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulavere plerique, ut proponeret, quae condicio belli foret, quae praemia armis peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. [2] Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quae bellum atque libido victorum fert. [3] Praeterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consili sui participes; petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum; cum eo se consulem initium agendi facturum. [4] Ad hoc maledictis increpabat omnes bonos, suorum unumquemque nominans laudare; admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suae, compluris periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. [5] Postquam omnium animos alacris videt, cohortatus, ut petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit.

[21.1] After this was received by those men who had every kind of misfortune in abundance, but neither the means nor hope for anything good, and although disturbing the peace to them appeared wages enough, still many demanded that he explain under what conditions the war was to be waged; what prizes by means of arms were sought, by

what hope and what means and where they were to be had. [2] Catiline, thereupon, promised a clean slate, the proscription of the rich, magistrates, priesthoods, plunder, everything else that war brings, and the caprice obtained by the victorious. [3] Besides that, Pison was in Hither Spain, Publius Sittius of Nuceria was in Maurentania with an army; themselves partners in the plot. Gaius Antonius, whom he hoped would be his colleague, was striving for the consulship; a man both a friend and encircled by necessities of every kind, with he himself Consul, he would begin leading the undertaking. [4] Thereupon, he heaped abuse on all good men, and lauded each of his followers by name; reminded one of his needs, the other of his desires, several of their danger or disgrace, many of the victories of Sulla, to whom he had been prey. [5] When all their spirits he saw aflame, he dismissed the meeting; urging them to have at heart, his candidacy.

[22.1] Fuere ea tempestate, qui dicerent Catilinam oratione habita, cum ad iusiurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse: inde cum post exsecrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in sollemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum; [2] idque eo dicitur fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. [3] Nonnulli ficta et haec et multa praeterea existimabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

[22.1] At the time there were those who said Catiline, after having given the speech, bound his fellow criminal with an oath, handed around, in Patera, human blood mixed with wine. Next, after pronouncing a curse, all drank just as in sacred rites a thing comes

to be consider an act of worship, and then he disclosed his plan. [2] It is said that to do that thing, they would be made more trustworthy among themselves through sharing, one with the other, the knowledge of such a crime. [3] Moreover, there are some who reckoned both this and many other things to be fictions from men who sought, to weaken the enemies of Cicero who later arose through the hideousness of the crimes of those who payed the penalties.²² Too little has been learned about that affair in the face of its magnitude for us.

Election of Consuls Silanus and Murena. Second Conspiracy, July 63 B.C.

[23.1] *Sed in ea coniuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus, quem censores senatu probri gratia moverant. [2] Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam audacia: neque reticere, quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare, prorsus neque dicere neque facere quicquam pensi habebat. [3] Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo. Cui cum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montisque polliceri coepit et minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret, postremo ferocius agitare, quam solitus erat. [4] At Fulvia insolentiae Curi causa cognita tale periculum re publicae haud occultum habuit, sed sublato auctore de Catilinae coniuratione, quae quoque modo audierat, compluribus narravit. [5] Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. [6] Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat*

²² Moreover, *praeterea*, there are some, *nonnulli*, who reckoned, *existimabant*, both this and many other things, *et haec et multa*, to be fictions, *ficta*, from men who, *ab eis qui*, who sought (i.e. were thinking, or believing), *credebant*, to weaken, *leniri*, the enemies, *invidiam*, of Cicero, *Ciceronis*, who later arose, *quae postea orta est*, through the hideousness of the crimes, *atrocitate sceleris eorum*, of those who payed the penalties, *qui poenas dederant*.

et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novus adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere.

[23.1] But in this conspiracy there was Quintus Curius, not born in obscure position, overflowing with scandals and crimes, who Censors expelled from the Senate for reason of a shameful act. [2] This man undertook not only minor lying but recklessness as well, reticent neither about anything he heard nor inducing himself to conceal his own crimes; in a word valued little neither what he said nor what he did. [3] This man had a long standing relationship with Fulvia, a noble woman, to whom, when he was less gratuitous on account of poverty, was less able to give, suddenly began boasting and promised seas and mountains, and on occasion, when at last his ferocity was agitated more than usual, threatened her with a sword if she would not submit. [4] But when Fulvia became aware of the cause of Curius' insolence, she did not keep such a great danger to the Republic secret; but concealing the source about the conspiracy of Catiline also told a number of people that which she had recently heard. [5] It was primarily this affair that made men eager to entrust the consulship to Marcus Tullius Cicero. [6] For before that envy stewed most nobles and they thought the consulship to be defiled, so to speak, if a "new man" obtained it however exceptional he might be. But when the danger arrived, envy and arrogance were left behind.

[24.1] Igitur comitiis habitis consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius. Quod factum primo popularis coniurationis concusserat. [2] Neque tamen Catilinae furor minuebatur, sed in dies plura agitare: arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide sumptum mutuum Faesulas ad Manlium quendam

portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. [3] Ea tempestate plurimos cuiusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur, mulieres etiam aliquot, quae primo ingentis sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant, post, ubi aetas tantummodo quaestui neque luxuriae modum fecerat, aes alienum grande conflaverant. [4] Per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adiungere sibi vel interficere.

[24.1] Accordingly when the elections were held, Marcus Tullius and aius Antonius were declared Consuls, and as I was saying, this fact as, at first, alarming to the members of the conspiracy. [2] Yet atiline's frezy was not diminished, but increased by the day gathering arms in convenient locations all over Italy, paying the cost with borrowed money on his own credit or that of his friends; sending it to a certain Manlius in Faesulae, who later was to be the first to make war.²³ [3] It is said that at the time he received to himself very many men from each rank, indeed even some women who primarily supported their huge expenses by the defilement of their bodies, later, when age put a limit to their only source of profit, but not to their extravagance, they had acquired huge debt. [4] Through them, Catiline believed he was able to incite the city slaves to set the city ablaze, the husbands of those women to join him or to be killed.

[25.1] Sed in iis erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis audaciae facinora commiserat.

[2] Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro atque liberis satis fortunata fuit; litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere et saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probae,

²³ Paying the cost, *sumptam*, with borrowed money, *pecuniam mutuam*, on his own credit, *fide*, or that of his friends, *aut amicorum*; sending it, *potare*, to a certain Manlius in Faesulae, *Faesulas ad Manulium quondam*.

multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt. [3] Sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres; libido sic accensa, ut saepius peteret viros quam peteretur. [4] Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abiuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat; luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat. [5] Verum ingenium eius haud absurdum: posse versus facere, iocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci; prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

[25.1] But Semponia, who was often mixed up in crimes of masculine daring was also involved in this. [2] This woman, fortunate enough in birth and beauty, and in husband and children besides, learned in Latin and Greek literature, in playing the lute and lyre, and in elegant dancing more than was necessary and proper, and in many other things which are instrumental to extravagance. [3] But to her nothing was more rotten than honor and chastity; which she used less sparingly, money or reputation? It would be difficult to tell. Her libido was so overflowing that she often sought men more often than she was sought. [4] But often before this affair she betrayed trust, repudiated her debts, and privy to murder. Extravagance and poverty drove her head long. [5] Yet her character was not silly; able to compose verse, to tell a joke, speak with modesty, or tenderness, or brashness. In short, she was very clever and quite charming.

[26.1] His rebus comparatis Catilina nihilo minus in proximum annum consulatum petebat sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. [2] Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae deerant. [3] Namque a principio consulatus sui multa

pollicendo per Fulviam effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet; [4] ad hoc collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciae perpulerat, ne contra rem publicam sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. [5] Postquam dies comitiorum venit et Catilinae neque petitio neque insidiae, quas consulibus in campo fecerat, prospere cessere, constituit bellum facere et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam, quae occulte temptaverat, aspera foedaque evenerant.

[26.1] Having arranged these things, Catiline, nevertheless, sought the consulship the next year hoping, if he was elected, he would easily be able to use Antonius according to his own desire. [2] Neither was he idle, in the meantime, but was preparing many traps for Cicero; nor was he, however, failing to guard against deceit and cunning. [3] For as a matter of fact, after the beginning of his consulship, by promising many things through Fulvia, was able to cause Quintus Curius, about whom I spoke a little while ago, to reveal Catiline's plans to him. [4] And to this purpose he had very strongly persuaded his colleague Antonius, by means of agreement for a province, not to entertain designs against the Republic. [5] When the day of the elections came, and neither Catiline's suit nor plots which he had attempted against the Consuls had come to be, he attempted everything most extreme and made war because that which he had secretly attempted had come to be adverse and disgracefull.²⁴

²⁴ When the day of the elections came, *postquam dies comitiorum venit*, and neither Catiline's suit, *et Catilinae neque petitio*, nor plots, *neque insidiae*, which, *quae*, he had attempted, *temptaverat*, against the Consuls, *consulibus*, had come to be, *evenerant*, he attempted, *experiri*, everything most extreme, *extrema omnia*, and made war, *bellum facere*, because, *quoniam*, that which he had secretly attempted, *quae occulte temptaverat*, had come to be, *evenerat*, adverse, *aspera*, and disgracefull, *foedaque*.

Manlius, Septimius of Camerinum, and Gaius Julius, et al take to the field at Faesulae, Picene, and Apulia respectively, Oct. 27.

[27.1] Igitur C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Iulium in Apuliam dimisit, praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. [2] Interea Romae multa simul moliri: consulibus insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere; ipse cum telo esse, item alios iubere, hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent; dies noctisque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. [3] Postremo, ubi multa agitant nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte coniurationis principes convocat ad M. Porcium Laecam ibique multa de ignavia eorum questus [4] docet se Manlium praemisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat, item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent, seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis multum officere.

[27.1] Therefore he sent Manlius to Faesulae and to that part of Etruria a certain Septimius of Camerinum to the field at Picene, Gaius Julius to Apulia, and other to other places as well; who and to where he believed they would be about to be²⁵ an opportunity for him. [2] Meanwhile at Rome, he, at the same time exerted himself in many ways; laying traps for the Consuls, planning arson, occupying commanding places with armed men, was himself armed with a sword, ordered others to do the same, and urged all to be alert and prepared. Staying on the move night and day, was himself awake; succumbing neither to sleeplessness nor labor.” [3] At last, when of the many things he had set in motion, and nothing came forth, through Marcus Porcius Laeca, he summoned back the

²⁵ *Fore*, for *futurus esse*, is a fut. inf., hence ‘to be about to be.’

ringleaders of the conspiracy in the dead of night, and thereupon complained in several ways about their laziness and instructed them that Manlius had been sent on ahead and that a multitude had prepared to lay hold by means of arms, that others likewise were in locations of opportunity who were ready to initiate the war, and that he himself wanted to begin if only Cicero, who had greatly hindered his plans, could first be overpowered.

Second meeting at Laeca's house, Nov. 6 & *ad Baculum Argumentum* against Cicero, Nov. 7

[28.1] Igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris C. Cornelius eques Romanus operam suam pollicitus et cum eo L. Vargunteius senator constituere ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem ac de improviso domi suae inparatum confodere. [2] Curius ubi intellegit, quantum periculum consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum, qui parabatur, enuntiat. [3] Ita illi ianua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra susceperant. [4] Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare egestate simul ac dolore iniuriae novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullae dominatione agros bonaque omnis amiserat, praeterea latrones cuiusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat, nonnullos ex Sullanis coloniis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerat.

[28.1] As I was saying, the others were stricken by fright and doubt, But Gaius Cornelius, a Roman knight, affirmed his promise, and with him Lucius Vargunteius, a Senator; that night, after a little while, a band of armed men, entering, as if giving a salutation, to Cicero at home, and stab him unexpectedly when he was unprepared. [2] When Curius became aware of the great danger to the Consul, he revealed the plot that had been

prepared. [3] In this way, they, who were prevented at the door, undertook such a great crime for nothing. [4] In the meantime, Manlius, in Etruria, was inciting the Plebs into revolt, who, on account of poverty and pain from an injury, were desiring new affairs, because during the tyranny of Sulla they lost lands and everything good, and besides them [the Etrurians], criminals of every kind, a great abundance of whom were in this region from Sulla's colonies; to whom, on account of luxury and desire, nothing of their great plunder remained.

Cicero ascends as Dictator

[29] Ea cum Ciceroni nuntiarentur, ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat neque, exercitus Manli quantus aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert iam antea vulgi rumoribus exagitatam. [2] Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, darent operam consules, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. [3] Ea potestas per senatum more Romano magistratui maxuma permittitur: exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis, domi militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere; aliter sine populi iussu nullius earum rerum consuli ius est.

[29.1] When this was reported to Cicero, he was disturbed by the twofold peril because he was able neither to defend the city from plots by his private measures long, nor was the size of Manlius' army, or what his plans would be, sufficiently authenticated; he referred the matter to the Senate, already excited by the rumors of the populace. [2] Then, because it is usual in frightful situations, the Senate decreed the Consuls give attention not

to let anything cause harm to the Republic. [3] This power, according to Roman custom, the greatest granted to a magistrate, permits him to raise an army, to wage war, to coerce allies and citizens in every possible way, and to have supreme command and unlimited jurisdiction at home and in the field; otherwise, without the order of the people, none of these things are lawful to a Consul.

Senate informed about the activities of Manlius, Nov. 1 & Quintus Pompeius Rufus dispatched to Capua and Quintus Metellus Celer to Picene

[30.1] Post paucos dies L. Saenius senator in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Faesulis adlatas sibi dicebat, in quibus scriptum erat C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magna multitudine ante diem VI. Kalendas Novembris. [2] Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nuntiabant, alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. [3] Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca missi—[4] ii utrique ad urbem imperatores erant, impediti, ne triumpharent, calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat,— [5] sed praetores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum iisque permissum, uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent. [6] Ad hoc, si quis indicavisset de coniuratione, quae contra rem publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et sestertia centum, [7] libero inpunitatem eius rei et sestertia ducenta itemque decrevere, uti gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur pro cuiusque opibus, Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur iisque minores magistratus praeessent.

[30.1] A few days later, the Senator Lucius Saenius read a letter in the Senate, which he said was brought to him from Faesulae, in which was written that Manlius along with a multitude had taken up arms before the 27th of October. [2] At the same time, because it is usual in affairs of this kind, some reported portents and prodigies, others that there was a meeting, arms being carried, and that the slaves of Capua and in Apulia were in revolt. [3] Thereupon, by decree of the Senate, Quintus Marcius Rex was sent to Faesulae, Quintus Metellus Creticus to Apulia and the area around this place—[4] both of these men were generals for the city, being obstructed by the misrepresentations of a few men who were in the habit of selling everything honorable and dishonorable, were not able to make a triumphal procession,—[5] but the Praetors Quintus Pompeius Rufus was sent to Capua and Quintus Metellus Celer to Picene, and these men were permitted to gather an army suitable to the times and the danger. [6] And to this, if anyone informed about the conspiracy which had been made against the Republic, to a slave the reward was liberty and one hundred thousand sesterces, [7] to a free man, immunity to this affair and two hundred thousand sesterces, and furthermore that Capua be diminished in such a way so as to be the home of the gladiators and that they be distributed in other municipalities according to each one's wealth. Rome, through the whole city was to be held under watch, and that minor magistrates would be responsible for this.

Catiline departs for the camp of Manlius

[31.1] Quibus rebus permota civitas atque inmutata urbis facies erat. Ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit: [2] festinare, trepidare, neque loco neque homini cuiquam satis credere, neque bellum

gerere neque pacem habere, suo quisque metu pericula metiri. [3] Ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, adflectare sese, manus supplices ad caelum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, rogitare omnia, omni rumore pavere, superbia atque deliciis omissis sibi patriaeque diffidere. [4] At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi praesidia parabantur et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. [5] Postremo dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi, sicut iurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. [6] Tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam eius timens sive ira conmotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit.

[31.1] These things were panicking the citizens and altering the face of the city. Great levity and playfulness ended with a long silence; then suddenly everything was seized by sadness, [2] hurrying about nervously; trusting neither any place nor any man enough, there were neither making war nor having peace, every man judged thing out of his fear. [3] Add to this the women too, to whom, by the greatness of the Republic, had been yielded unaccustomed to the terror of war, were themselves afflicted, raised their hands in supplication, pitied their small children, asked questions, trembled at everything; abandoning arrogance and allurments, despaired themselves and the fatherland. [4] But this very thing moved Catiline's soul even if defenses were being prepared and he himself had been charged by Lucius Paulus under the Plautian law. [5] At last, either to conceal his plans or to clear himself; as though he was being provoked by a quarrel, he came to the Senate. [6] Then Marcus Tullius, Consul, whether fearing his presence or moved by anger, delivered a brilliant speech, also of utility to the Republic, which he later published.

Catiline makes insulting remarks to the Consul

[31.7] *Sed ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso voltu, voce supplicis postulare a patribus coepit, ne quid de se temere crederent: ea familia ortum, ita se ab adulescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet; ne existumarent sibi, patricio homini, cuius ipsius atque maiorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita re publica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romae. [8] Ad hoc maledicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. [9] Tum ille furibundus: “Quoniam quidem circumventus”, inquit, “ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam.”*

[31.7] But when he²⁶ took his seat, Catiline, just as he was, prepared to conceal everything, with a dejected look, in a tone of supplication, he began to demand the fathers not believe anything about him without sufficient cause; originating from a family in such a way, from youth he governed his life so that he should have hope for everything good. They must not think that he a Patrician, who himself as well as his forefathers were of great benefit to the Roman people, would need to ruin the Republic, while Marcus Tullius, a tenant, would save it? And to this abuse he would have added others, but everyone shouted him down, calling him a traitor and an assassin. [9] Then he said in a fury: “Seeing that indeed I am surrounded and being driven headfirst off a cliff, I shall extinguish my fire with ruin.”

²⁶ Cicero

Catiline departs for the camp of Manlius

[32.1] Deinde se ex curia domum proripuit. Ibi multa ipse secum volvens, quod neque insidiae consuli procedebant et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augere ac, priusquam legiones scriberentur, multa antecapere, quae bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. [2] Sed Cethego atque Lentulo ceterisque, quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, caedem, incendia aliaque belli facinora parent: sese propediem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum.

[32.1] Then he dashed out of the Curia to home, and there, by himself, alone, he thought over many things because the traps for the Consul were not making progress as he was aware the city was defended from arson by watchmen, he believed the best thing to do as to increase the army, particularly before the legions were enlisted. Taking before hand many things which were useful in war, and in the dead of night, with a few others, set out for the camp of Manlius. [2] But to Cethagus, Lentulus and others, whom he knew were bold and ready, he trusted to the affairs to be able to carry out the work of the faction; they were to ripen the plots for the Consul, prepare murder, arson, and other war crimes; he himself would soon be at the gates of the city with a large army.

Manlius sends instructions to Marcius Rex

[32.3] Dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit cum mandatis huiusce modi:

[32.3] While this was going on at Rome, Gaius Manlius set emissaries from his numbers to Marcius Rex with instructions of this sort:

[33.1] *“Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab iniuria tuta forent, qui miseri, egentes violentia atque crudelitate faeneratorum plerique patria, sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus. Neque cuiquam nostrum licuit more maiorum lege uti neque amisso patrimonio liberum corpus habere: tanta saevitia faeneratorum atque praetoris fuit. [2] Saepe maiores vostrum, miseriti plebis Romanae, decretis suis inopiae eius opitulati sunt ac novissime memoria nostra propter magnitudinem aeris alieni volentibus omnibus bonis argentum aere solutum est. [3] Saepe ipsa plebs aut dominandi studio permota aut superbia magistratuum armata a patribus secessit. [4] At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum causa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt, sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima simul amittit. [5] Te atque senatum obtestamur: consulatis miseris civibus, legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis neve nobis eam necessitudinem inponatis, ut quaeramus, quonam modo maxime ulti sanguinem nostrum pereamus!”*

[33.1] “We call to witness gods and men, General, we have taken up arms neither against the fatherland nor do we make danger for others, but so as our bodies may be protected from injury; we are those who are the most pitiable and needy of the fatherland on account of the cruelty of the moneylenders, but we are devoid of good reputations and fortunes. Neither anything of our bodies and liberty, having lost our patrimony, been permitted according to the laws and customs of our fore fathers; such the brutality of the

moneylenders and the Praetor was. [2] Often your forefathers pittied the Plebs of Rome and decreed their assistance to them because of their poverty; and in our recent memory, because of their debt, with the general consent of the Good, because of the size of their debt, freely paid silver with copper. [3] Often the Plebs themselves enthusiastically movered, either for domination or were roused to arms by the arrogance of the magistrates, seceded from the Patricians. [4] But we desire neither power nor riches, which are the causes of wars and all rivalries among men, but freedom, which no man gives up except with his soul at the same time. [5] We implore you and the Senate: consider the misery of the people, rebuild the primacy of the laws, which the unfairness of the Praetor has snatched away, not imposing on us this necessity, that, we desire, pray, in such an extreme way having taken our revenge by destroying our own blood.”

Reply of Quintus Marcius

[34.1] Ad haec Q. Marcius respondit: Si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur; ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populi Romani semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit.

[2] At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, praeterea optumo cuique litteras mittit: Se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, Massiliam in exsilium proficisci, non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti res publica quieta foret neve ex sua contentione seditio oreretur.

[34.1] To this Quintus Marcius responded, that if they wanted to demand anything from the Senate, they should abandon arms and set out for Rome as suppliants; that he Senate of the Roman people has always been gentle and compassionate, and that no one who

would ever seek help from it in vain. [2] But Catiline, en route, sent letters to the consular authorities, and many others, who were in the nobility, besides: That he was surrounded by the false accusations of a faction of his enemies and he would be unable to remain, and conceded to Fortune and that he was departing into exile at Massilia; not that he was admitting that he was a party to the great crime he was being accused of, but so that the Republic would be calm, that a sedition not arise out of this contention.

Quintus Catulus reads a letter from Catiline to the Senate

[34.3] Ab his longe divorsas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditas dicebat. Earum exemplum infra scriptum est:

[34.3] Not long after that, Quintus Catulus read out a letter in the Senate, which he said had been returned in the name of Catiline.

[35.1] "L. Catilina Q. Catulo. Egregia tua fides re cognita, grata mihi magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam commendationi meae tribuit. [2] Quam ob rem defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare; satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, quam, me dius fidius, veram licet cognoscas. Iniuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi, non quin aes alienum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere non possem et alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillae suis filiaeque copiis persolveret, sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam meque falsa suspicione alienatum esse sentiebam. [4] Hoc nomine satis honestas pro meo casu spes reliquae dignitatis conservandae sum secutus. [5]

Plura cum scribere vellem, nuntiatum est vim mihi parari. [6] Nunc Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei trado; eam ab iniuria defendas per liberos tuos rogatus! Haveto!”

[35.1] I recognize your exceptional loyalty, it greatly pleases me in my time of peril, and it has bestowed upon me confidence in my own worth. [2] Wherefore, I have determined not to prepare a defense for my current decision; that I have resolved to give an account is not because of a feeling of guilt, [3] God willing, you know the truth, it is permitted. Having become agitated by insults and injuries, because I was not able to keep the fruits of my labor and industry, or a private position of honor; following my usual custom, I have I have taken up the public cause of the wretched; not that I am unable to pay the debts in my name with my own properties, and of course the liberality of Orestilla has paid of abundantly on those in the names of others; but because I saw undignified men honored and became aware that I was alienated because of false suspicions about me. [4] For this reason, hoing to preserve what dignity remains, I am following this path; it is honorable enough considering my cause. [5] While I would desire to write many things, it was announced that force is being prepared against me. [6] And now I hand over Orestilla, commending her to your protection, that you defend her from injury as one of your own children, is all I ask. Farewell!”

Catiline and Manlius declared *hostes rei publicae*, Nov. 17

[36.1] Sed ipse paucos dies conmoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem antea sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperi insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. [2] Haec ubi Romae comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam

et Manlium hostis iudicat, ceterae multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere praeter rerum capitalium condemnatis. [3] Praeterea decernit, uti consules dilectum habeant, Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet, Cicero urbi praesidio sit. [4] Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxime miserabile visum est. Cui cum ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque divitiae, quae prima mortales putant, adfluerent, fuere tamen cives, qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. [5] Namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta multitudine neque praemio inductus coniurationem patefecerat neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat: tanta vis morbi ac veluti tabes plerosque civium animos invaserat.

[36.1] But he himself, lingering a few days with Gaius Flaminius in the territory of Aretium, while supplying arms to a neighborhood already incited, with the Fases and other symbols of authority, he rushed to the camp of Manlius. [2] When these things were discovered at Rome, the Senate declared Catiline and Manlius foreigners²⁷ and fixed a day before which the others were permitted to lay down arms without harm, except those condemned to capital crimes. [3] Besides that, decided that the Consuls would hold a draft, Antonius would immediately pursue Catiline with an army, Cicero would defend the city. [4] At that time, the authority of the Roman people appeared to me, in many ways, most pitiable. Everything, subdued by arms, from sunrise to sunset, was obedient to her. At home there was wealth and leisure, which mortal men value first and foremost; there were, nevertheless, citizens who were so overflowing with obstinance that they would go on ruining both themselves and the Republic by means of arms. [5] For, despite two decrees from the Senate, neither was anyone out of such a multitude

²⁷ *Hostis* here can mean both enemy and stranger. Cf. Varro 5.3

persuaded to expose the conspiracy, nor did anyone desert from Catiline's camp; such was the power of the sickness which, like a plague, invaded the souls of very many citizens.

[37.1] Neque solum illis aliena mens erat, qui conscii coniurationis fuerant, sed omnino cuncta plebes novarum rerum studio Catilinae incepta probabat. [2] Id adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullae sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt, vetera odere, nova exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student, turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea vero praecepta erat de multis causis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxime praestabant, item alii per dedecora patrimoniis amissis, postremo omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, in Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant. Deinde multi memores Sullanae victoriae, quod ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, ut regio victu atque cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis foret, ex victoria talia sperabat. Praeterea iuventus, quae in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerat. Eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum est homines egentis, malis moribus, maxuma spe, rei publicae iuxta ac sibi consuluisse. Praeterea, quorum victoria Sullae parentes proscripti, bona erepta, ius libertatis imminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum expectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque aliarum atque senatus partium erant, conturbari rem publicam quam minus valere ipsi malebant. Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem revorterat.

[37.1] Not only those who were involved in the conspiracy, but together with all the Plebs eager for new affairs, there were other minds as well who approved of the enterprise. [2] In this very thing they appeared to act foolishly, [3] for in every State there are those who, being without power, envy the good, extol the bad, hate the old, long for the new, and are eager, out of their hatred for everything, to change things, for in the turmoil and the insurrections they are easily maintained without difficulty, seeing that having poverty is easy to have without harm.

[38.1] Nam postquam Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus tribunicia potestas restituta est, homines adulescentes summam potestatem nacti, quibus aetas animusque ferox erat, coepere senatum criminando plebem exagitare, dein largiundo atque pollicitando magis incendere, ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. [2] Contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas senatus specie pro sua magnitudine. [3] Namque, uti paucis verum absolvam, post illa tempora quicumque rem publicam agitavere honestis nominibus, alii sicuti populi iura defenderent, pars quo senatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes pro sua quisque potentia certebant. [4] Neque illis modestia neque modus contentionis erat: utriusque victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

[38.1] Now when the tribunician power was restored by the Consuls Gnaeus Pompeius and Marcus Crassus, those whom, on account of age and spirit, were warlike, began to stir up the Plebs with slander against the Senate, the inflamed them more greatly with promises and gifts, and in this way made themselves famous and powerful. [2] Against these men, very many nobles struggled with all their might, ostensibly for the Senate, but

really for their own aggrandizement. [3] For in fact, in order to truly do justice to this in a few words, whoever, after that time, agitated against the Republic, some as if defending the rights of the people, another part were most of all defending the authority of the Senate, simulating the public good, each one was fighting for his own power. [4] For these men there was neither discretion nor moderation; both exercised victory with cruelty.

[39.1] Sed postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes inminutae, paucorum potentia crevit. [2] Ei magistratus provincias aliaque omnia tenere; ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu aetatem agere ceterosque iudiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent. [3] Sed ubi primum dubiis rebus novandi spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum adrexit. [4] Quod si primo proelio Catilina superior aut aequa manu discessisset, profecto magna clades atque calamitas rem publicam oppressisset; neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus, qui plus posset, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. [5] Fuere tamen extra coniurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt. In iis erat Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere parens necari iussit. [6] Isdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se aut per alios sollicitabat, neque solum civis, sed cuiusque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret.

[39.1] But after Gnaeus Pompeius was sent to the maritime war and the Mithridatic war; the power of the Plebs was diminished, and the power of the few increased. [2] These men held magistratedpovinces and everything else; themselves safe, prosperous, lead a

life without fear and terrified others with the courts, in order that, when in office, quietly managed the Plebs. [3] But as soon as affairs showed themselves to be doubtful, hopes renewed, old rivalries roused their souls. [4] But if, in the first battle, Catiline would have proved himself superior or at least equal in violence, really, great ruin and calamity would have overwhelmed the Republic, nor would they who were victorious be permitted their gains long; exhausted and feeble, a greater one would be able to wretch away power and liberty. [5] Yet there were several men, outside the conspiracy, who went to Catiline at the beginning. Among them was Fulvius a Senator's son, who was brought back from the adventure and killed by order of his father. [6] About this same time, Lentulus at Rome, just as Catiline had instructed, either through himself or through others, was soliciting whomsoever he believed suitable, by disposition or fortune, for new affairs, and not only citizens, but whatever manner of people, insofar as he would be able to use them in war.

Publius Umbrenus seeks the ambassadors of the Allobroges

[40.1] Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum requirat eosque, si possit, inpellat ad societatem belli, existumans publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. [2] Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat atque eos noverat. Itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percontatus pauca de statu civitatis et quasi dolens eius casum requirere coepit, quem exitum tantis malis sperarent. [3] Postquam illos videt queri de avaritia magistratuum, accusare senatum, quod in eo auxili nihil esset, miseris suis

remedium mortem exspectare: “At ego”, inquit, “vobis, si modo viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis.” [4] Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maxumam spem adducti Umbrenum orare, ut sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissime facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. [5] Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat neque aliena consili propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. [6] Praeterea Gabinium arcessit, quo maior auctoritas sermoni inesset. Eo praesente coniurationem aperit, nominat socios, praeterea multos cuiusque generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset. Deinde eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit.

[40.1] Then he gave a certain Publius Umbrenus the business of searching out the ambassadors of the Allobroges, in order, if he was able, to persuade them to be an ally in the war; thinking that since they were oppressed by debt public and private, and beside that the Gallic people were bellicose by nature, it would be easy to draw them into a plan of such a kind. [2] Umbrenus, because he had business in Gaul, knew and was known to many leading men of the State. And so, without delay, when he first saw the ambassadors in the Forum, questioning a little about the condition of the State and feigning sympathy for their cause. [3] After he saw them complain about the greed of the magistrates, accusing the Senate because they were no help to them, and that they looked forward to death as a remedy for their suffering, he said, “But I if you are willing to be like a hero, may reveal a plan by which you may escape such great evils.” [4] When he said this, the Allobroges, in great hope, begged Umbrenus to take pity on them. Nothing would be so adverse nor so difficult that they would not be overjoyed to do it provided that it freed their people from debt. [5] He escorted them to the home of Decimus Brutus,

because it was near the Forum and, on account of Sempronia, not unsuitable to the plot for Brutus was away from Rome at the time. [6] Besides that, he sent for Gabinius which would give greater authority to the discussion, with him present, he unveiled the conspiracy, named the participants, and, to increase the morale of the ambassadors even more, he added many innocent men of any rank. Next, promising them his assistance, he sent them home.

The Allobroges inform Quintus Fabius Sanga about the plot

[41.1] Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consili caperent. [2] In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae, at in altera maiores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa praemia. [3] Haec illis volventibus tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae. [4] Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cuius patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. [5] Cicero per Sangam consilio cognito legatis praecipit, ut stadium coniurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur dentque operam, uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant.

[41.1] But the Allobroges were for a long time held in uncertainty about which plan they were to pursue. [2] On the one hand, there was the debt, enthusiasm for war, the great rewards in hope of victory, but on the other hand, greater resources, prudent council, and before uncertain hope were certain rewards. [3] These things were for consideration by them, at last, the fortune of the Republic was victorious. [4] And so to Quintus Fabius Sanga, the most important of their lawyers used by the citizens, they disclosed the whole affair just as they had learned it. [5] Cicero, becoming aware of the plan through Sanga, instructed the ambassadors that they should pretend ardent interest in the conspiracy,

approach the others, they should promise all is well, and should give an effort in such a way so as they, very clearly, would be held.

[42.1] Isdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia motus erat. [2] Namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam cuncta simul agebant. Nocturnis consiliis armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. [3] Ex eo numero compluris Q. Metellus Celer praetor ex senatus consulto causa cognita in vincula coniecerat, item in citeriore Gallia C. Murena, qui ei provinciae legatus praeerat.

[42.1] There were about the same time disturbances in Hither and Further Gaul and likewise in the districts of Picene, Bruttian and Apulia. [2] For those whom Catiline had sent were shamelessly doing everything simultaneously, and, as it were, insanely. By their nocturnal meetings, by their transportation of arms and weapon, hastening about their agitation created greater fear than actual danger. [3] Quintus Metellus Celer, Praetor, on account of decree of the Senate, threw several out of their number into prison, and in Hither Gaul, Gaius Murena, who the ambassador governing that province, did the same.

Plot to Assault Cicero at his door, ad Baculum Argumentum in Ciceronem

[43.1] At Romae²⁸ Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes coniurationis erant, paratis, ut videbatur, magis copiis constituerant, uti, cum Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis contione habita quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis bellique gravissimi invidiam optumo consuli inponeret; eo signo proxima

²⁸ Romae here is a predicative use of the Dative.

nocte cetera multitudo coniurationis suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. [2] Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultus facilius adit ad consulem ceterosque, quibus insidiae parabantur, fieret; Cethegus Ciceronis ianuam obsideret eumque vi aggrediretur, alius autem alium, sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentis interficerent; simul caede et incendio percussis omnibus ad Catilinam erumperent. [3] Inter haec parata atque decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto in tali periculo opus esse seque, si pauci adiuverent, languentibus aliis impetum in curiam facturum. [4] Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat, maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

[43.1] On the other hand, Lentulus, with the other leaders of the conspiracy were in Rome preparing things, which appeared to be an abundant supply, in such a way that when Catiline had arrived in Faesulae with an army, Lucius Bestia, Tribune of the Plebs, holding a meeting, should complain about the actions of Cicero in order to impose the greatest hatred of a war on the best of Consuls; that was the signal to the many other conspirators that, whatever their enterprises, were to be performed the next night. [2] And in fact it is said that things were divided up in this way: Statilius and Gabinius, with a great number of hands, were to simultaneously set fire to twelve places of opportunity in order that, in the commotion, the insidious things, which were being planned against the Consul and others, may come about more easily; Cethegus was to beset Cicero at his door and attack him, and other men other things, in fact the sons of families, the greatest part of whom were from the nobility, would kill their parents, and, at the same time, with

everyone scared to death by the bloodshed and fire, they were to rush forth and join Catiline. [3] During the preparations and decisions, Cethegus was always complaining about the inaction of his accomplices, by hesitation and delay they were wasting great opportunities; [4] aggressive and violent by nature, he was ready to act, thought speed of action was best.

Allobroges secure letters from conspirators, Letter of Volturcius to Catiline

[44.1] Sed Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt. Ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio postulant ius iurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant; aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium inpelli posse. [2] Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant, Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur ac paulo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. [3] Lentulus cum iis T. Volturcium quendam Crotoniensem mittit, ut Allobroges, priusquam domum pergerent, cum Catilina data atque accepta fide societatem confirmarent. [4] Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est: “Qui sim, ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse! Consideres, quid tuae rationes postulent! Auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infumis!” [6] Ad hoc mandata verbis dat: “Cum ab senatu hostis iudicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudet? In urbe parata esse, quae iusserit; ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere.”

[44.1] But the Allobroges, following Cicero’s instructions, met the others through Gabinus and demanded from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilio, and from Cassius the same, and oath which was to be sealed and carried back to their fellow citizens; otherwise they could not easily be induced into such an enterprise. [2] The other gave without suspicion,

Cassius himself promised he would be coming shortly, but departed the city a little before the ambassadors. [3] With them, Lentulus sent a certain Titus Volturcius, so that, before they proceeded home, they might confirm the alliance by giving and accepting a pledge of faith with Catiline. [4] This same man gave a letter to Volturcius for Catiline, a copy of which has been written below. [5] “Who I might be you shall learn from the man whom to you I have sent. You should consider the fact you may be ruined and remember that you are a man. You should consider what your orders may require. You should seek help from everyone, even the lowest.” [6] And to this he added the verbal entreaty: “What plan would reject the help slaves when by the Senate they may have been adjudged to be enemies? In the city what he had ordered was being prepared, he himself should not hesitate to proceed nearer.”

Arrest of the conspirators at the Mulvian Bridge, Dec. 2

[45.1] His rebus ita actis constituta nocte, qua proficiscerentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino praetoribus imperat, ut in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant. Rem omnem aperit, cuius gratia mittebantur; cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. [2] Illi, homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis conlocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. [3] Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venerunt et simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli cito cognito consilio sine mora praetoribus se tradunt; Volturcius primo cohortatus ceteros gladio se a multitudine defendit, deinde, ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus ac vitae diffidens velut hostibus sese praetoribus dedit.

[45.1] With these things were, in a manner of speaking, deeds, settling what night they would be departing, having learned everything through the ambassadors, Cicero ordered the praetors Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Gaius Pomptinus in such a way that a party, through an ambush, might intercept the Allobroges on the Mulvian bridge; he explained everything with respect to what sake they were being sent, everything else, how they were to proceed to do the work, he left to them. [2] They, being military men, without creating a commotion, just as they had been ordered, secretly occupied the bridge with a garrison. [3] When the ambassadors with Volturcius came to that location, and at the same time a shout came from both sides, the Gauls became aware of the plan, handed themselves over to the praetors without delay. [4] At first Volturcius exhorted the others and defended himself against the multitude with a sword, but when he was deserted by the ambassadors, he at first called to Pomptinus, because he was known to him, a greeting many times; he finally was terrified and, fearing for his life surrendered himself to the praetors as enemies.

Cicero convenes the Senate and reads out the letters of the conspirators

[46.1] Quibus rebus confectis omnia propere per nuntios consuli declarantur. [2] At illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere. Nam laetabatur intelligens coniuratione patefacta civitatem periculis ereptam esse: porro autem anxius erat dubitans, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis quid facto opus esset: poenam illorum sibi oneri inpunitatem perdundae rei publicae fore credebat. [3] Igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese iubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium itemque Caeparium Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. [4]

Ceteri sine mora veniunt; Caeparius, paulo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio ex urbe profugerat. [5] Consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens in senatum perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire iubet. [6] Eo senatum advocat magnaue frequentia eius ordinis Volturcium cum legatis introducit; Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre iubet.

[46.1] Everything through which these things had been done through the messengers to the Consul was communicated. [2] But at the same time both great worry and joy seized him, for he rejoiced at knowing that on account of the fact that disclosure of the conspiracy rescued the State from perils, moreover he was worried, uncertain about what ought to be done when such citizens were detected in such a great crime; aware he was that punishing for these things would be onerous upon himself, not punishing the ruin of the Republic. [3] Accordingly he strengthened his resolve, ordered Lentulus, Cethegus, Statius, Gabinius before him, and Caeparius of Terracita, who was preparing to depart for Apulia in order to stir up the slaves, likewise. [4] The others came without delay, Caeparius, aware of the indictment, quit home a little while before and fled the city. [5] Lentulus, who was a Praetor, the Consul himself, by the hand, to the Senate led; ordered the others in custody to come to the temple of Concord, [6] and thither convened the Senate and, to the great crowd of this order, introduced Volturcius along with the ambassadors, ordered Flaccus to the same place the portfolio bring along with the letters he had received from the ambassadors.

Volturcius granted immunity

[47.1] *Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid aut qua de causa consili²⁹ habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare de coniuratione; post, ubi fide publica dicere iussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit docetque se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Caepario socium adscitum nihil amplius scire quam legatos; tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio P. Autronium, Ser. Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea coniuratione esse. [2] Eadem Galli fatentur ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt praeter litteras sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat: Ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romae tribus Corneliis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri; praeterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore. Igitur perlectis litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis habeantur. [3] Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Caeparius (nam is paulo ante ex fuga retractus) erat Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.*

[47.1] Volturcius, in the course of being questioned about the letters, and at last what he had planned and why he planned it, at first he, inventing something else, concealed knowledge about the conspiracy, later, when, upon a pledge of immunity, he was ordered to speak, disclosed everything just as they were done and instructed that he only a few days before was admitted to the confederacy by Gabinius and Caeparius, knew nothing more than the ambassadors, only so much as hearing the usual from Gabinius that Publius

²⁹ *quid aut qua de causa consili* is an example of *synchysis*. Thus : *quid de causa, qua consili* = ‘why the cause and what the reason.’ Cf. Allen & Greenough 598h.

Autronius, Servius Sulla, Lucius Vargunteius, and many others besides, were in this conspiracy. [2] The testimony of the Gauls was the same, and, moreover, they proved Lentulus was dissimulating; for, apart from the letter, by means of statements which he was in the habit of making: that the kingdom of Rome was to be possessed by three Cornelii; previously by Cinna and Sulla, he himself, to become master of the city, was fated to be the third; and besides that, this was the twentieth year since the burning of the Capitol, which, often the soothsayers had foretold from prodigies, there would be a bloody civil war. Accordingly, after everyone had first acknowledged his seal, and the letters were read out, the Senate decided that Lentulus would have to abdicate his magistrature and the same, along with the others, would have to be placed under house arrest.³⁰ [3] Thus, Lentulus was handed over to Publius Lentulus Spinther, who was and Aedile at the time, Cethagus to Quintus Cornificius, Statilius to Gaius Caesar, Gabinius to Marcus Crassus, and Ceaparius, for he a little while before had been caught in flight and brought back, to Gnaeus Terentius, a Senator.

Evidence given by Lucius Tarquinius against Marcus Crassus

[48.1] Interea plebs coniuratione patefacta, quae primo cupida rerum novarum nimis bello favebat, mutata mente Catilinae consilia exsecrari, Ciceronem ad caelum tollere, veluti ex servitute erepta gaudium atque laetitiam agitabat. [2] Namque alia belli facinora praeda magis quam detrimento fore, incendium vero crudele, inmoderatum ac sibi maxime calamitosum putabat, quippe cui omnes copiae in usu cotidiano et cultu

³⁰ *liberis custodiis* = 'free custody,' which is like the contemporary idea of 'released on bail.' The individual released *liberis custodiis* was remanded to the custody of a trust worthy individual while awaiting trial and was not otherwise obligated to post a bond.

corporis erant. [3] Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. [4] Is cum se diceret indicaturum de coniuratione, si fides publica data esset, iussus a consule, quae sciret, edicere, eadem fere, quae Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de caede bonorum, de itinere hostium senatum docet; praeterea se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinae nuntiaret, ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliique ex coniuratione deprehensi terrerent eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur. [5] Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars, tametsi verum existumabant, tamen, quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant indicem falsum esse deque ea re postulant uti referatur. [6] Itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit Tarquini indicium falsum videri eumque in vinculis retinendum neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cuius consilio tantam rem esset mentitus. [7] Erant eo tempore, qui existumarent indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius appellato Crasso per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. [8] Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone inmissum aiebant, ne Crassus more suo suspecto malorum patrociniis rem publicam conturbaret. [9] Ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem audivi tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone inpositam.

[48.1] Meanwhile, the conspiracy having been brought to light, the Plebs, who, desiring new affairs, were, at first, very eager for war, changed their minds, cursing Catiline's plans, praising Cicero to the skies, celebrated with joy and happiness just as if they had been rescued from slavery. [2] For in fact the one, the spoils of war would be greater

than its crimes a detriment, for the other, the fire, to be sure cruel, excessive, and a great disaster to themselves, since their sole livelihood was the daily use of their food and clothing.³¹ [3] When on the following day a certain Lucius Tarquinius, who they said, making his way to Catiline, was arrested en route and returned to the Senate. [4] When he indicated he would give evidence about the conspiracy if given immunity, he was ordered by the Consul to tell what he knew; what he instructed the Senate was nearly the same, about the preparing of arson, about the murder of good men, about the march of the enemy, and moreover, that he was sent by Crassus to relate to Catiline that the arrests of Lentulus, Cethegus, and the others of the conspiracy, should not frighten him and to that end, he should make haste to approach the city, to boost the morale of the others, that they would be more easily rescued from danger. [5] But when Tarquinius named Crassus, a Noble man of great wealth, extremely powerful, some deemed the affair incredible, though part thought it true. Nevertheless, because it appeared in such a time, that so powerful a man, be mollified rather than aroused. Many, who were under obligation to Crassus, on account of private business, shouted down the evidence declaring it to be false, demanded that the thing be reconsidered. [6] Accordingly, the Senate, as Cicero usually advised, decided: the evidence of Tarquinius appeared false, and he in prison be restrained, not furthermore having the ability to do anything, unless he revealed upon the advice of whom, about him, he had been caused to lie. [7] At the time there were those who were thinking that the evidence was a contrivance of Publius Autronius; so that, by naming Crassus as and accomplice, with his own power he would be able to protect the others. [8] Others said that Tarquinius was being egged on by Cicero; that Crassus by his

³¹ The antecedent to *alia* is *mutata mente*. To wit: since their minds were changing first the ‘one mind’ was *belli facinora detrimento magis fore*, the ‘other mind’ was *belli praeda magnis fore*.

usual custom of taking up the patronage of the bad, the Republic be not disturbed. [9] I heard Crasus himself afterwards proclaiming that, about him, by Cicero such a great slander was imposed.

Cicero asked to introduce false charges against Julius Caesar

[49.1] Sed isdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque gratia neque pretio Ciceronem inpellere potuere, uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem C. Caesar falso nominaretur. [2] Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebat: Piso oppugnatus in iudicio pecuniarum repetundarum propter cuiusdam Transpadani supplicium iniustum, Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod extrema aetate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Caesare victus discesserat. [3] Res autem opportuna videbatur, quod is privatim egregia liberalitate, publice maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. [4] Sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus inpellere nequeunt, ipsi singillatim circumeundo atque ementiundo, quae se ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant usque eo, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui praesidi causa cum telis erant circum aedem Concordiae, seu periculi magnitudine seu animi mobilitate impuls, quo studium suum in rem publicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Caesari gladio minitarentur.

[49.1] But at the sametime, Quintus Catulus and Gnaeus Piso by neither prayer, nor kindness, nor reward, were able to persuade Cicero, through the Allobroges, or another person, Gaius Caesar be arraigned on a false charge. [2] For both, in connection with him, were cultivating serious enmity; for unjustly accusing Piso, on trial for extortion of

money, with the execution of a certain Transpadane, Catulus, accustomed to great honors, was excited to hatred because, when, at a very old age, campaigning for Pontificate, he went away defeated by Caesar, a youth. [3] On the other hand, the affair appeared to be an opportunity because he was distinguished privately for generosity, in public for huge extravaganzas. [4] But when they were unable to impel the Consul into such a great crime, the same men were going around one by one and lying; which they said that they themselves heard it from Volturcio or the Allobroges. A great deal of animosity was incited against him, even some Roman knights, who were garrisoned around the temple of Concord, and for that reason armed, whether on account of the great danger or on account of knee-jerk reaction, threatened Caesar with the sword when leaving the Senate so that their loyalty to the Republic would be manifest.

Rewards voted for the Allobroges and Titus Volturcius

[50.1] Dum haec in senatu aguntur et dum legatis Allobrogum et T. Volturcio conprobato eorum indicio praemia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli divorsis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant. [2] Cethegus autem per nuntios familiam atque libertos suos, lectos et exercitatos, orabat, ut grege facto cum telis ad sese inrumperent. [3] Consul ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu refert, quid de iis fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant. Sed eos paulo ante frequens senatus iudicaverat contra rem publicam fecisse.

[50.1] While these things were being done in the Senate, and while rewards, upon verifying their evidence, were being decided for the ambassadors of the Allobroges and Titus Volturcius, libertines and a few clients of Lentulus, to rescue him, were going about in turns inciting revolt in different ways by the craftsmen and the slaves. Some were looking for the leaders of the multitude, who usually prized harassing the Republic. [2] But Cethegus, on the other hand, through messengers, was beseeching his freedmen and slaves, elite and disciplined men, in a bold maneuver, as a crowd, to act with arms to break through to him. [3] The Consul, when he learned these things, prepared; arranging a garrison as the affair and time instructed, called together the Senate, and again asked about what would be acceptable to do with those who had been taken into custody, since a little while ago before the Senate as a crowd declared them to be acting against the Republic.

The opinion of Decimus Silanus

[50.4] Tum D. Iunius Silanus primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de iis, qui in custodiis tenebantur, et praeterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumundum decreverat; isque postea permotus oratione C. Caesaris pedibus in sententiam Ti. Neronis iturum se dixit, qui de ea re praesidiis abductis referundum censuerat. [5] Sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule huiusce modi verba locutus est:

[50.4] Then Decimus Junius Silanus, asked first for an opinion, for he was Consul elect at the time, about those who were in custody held ;³² about Lucius Cassius, and besides him, Publius Furius, Publius Umbrenus, and Titus Annius if they should be caught. He was resolute for seizing them for death, later on, deeply moved by the oration of Gaius Caesar, he said, when it came to voting with the feet³³ he would be going to the opinion of Tiberius Nero, because he reckoned about the affair for increasing the guards and reopening the case. [5] But Caesar, when it came to him, asked his opinion by the Consul, spoke words of such a kind.

Speech of Julius Caesar, *ad Senatum Argumentum*

[51.1] *“Omnis homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. [2] Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officiunt, neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul et usui paruit. [3] Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet; si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. [4] Magna mihi copia est memorandi, patres conscripti, quae reges atque populi ira aut misericordia impulsu male consuluerint. Sed ea malo dicere, quae maiores nostri contra lubidinem animi sui recte atque ordine fecere. [5] Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas magna atque magnifica, quae populi Romani opibus creverat, infida et advorsa nobis fuit. Sed postquam bello confecto de Rhodiis consultum est, maiores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis quam iniuriae causa bellum inceptum*

³² This is an example of *Anastrophe*.

³³ After debates such as these, members of the Roman Senate moved to one side of the chamber or to the other to be counted. This was called *pedibus ire in sententiam illius*, ‘to go by foot to the opinion of him.’ Cf. Rolf 88 n.1.

diceret, impunitos eos dimisere. [6] Item bellis Punicis omnibus, cum saepe Carthaginienses et in pace et per indutias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere: magis, quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illos iure fieri posset, quaerebant. [7] Hoc item vobis providendum est, patres conscripti, ne plus apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus quam vostra dignitas neu magis irae vestrae quam famae consulatis. [8] Nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium adprobo; sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat, his utendum censeo, quae legibus comparata sunt. [9] Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, conposite atque magnifice casum rei publicae miserati sunt. Quae belli saevitia esset, quae victis acciderent, enumerare: rapi virgines, pueros, divelli liberos a parentum complexu, matres familiarum pati, quae victoribus conlubuissent, fana atque domos spoliari, caedem, incendia fieri, postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia conpleri. [10] Sed per deos immortalis, quo illa oratio pertinuit? An uti vos infestos coniurationi faceret? Scilicet, quem res tanta et tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendit. [11] Non ita est neque cuiquam mortalium iniuriae suae parvae videntur; multi eas gravius aequo habuere. [12] Sed alia aliis licentia est, patres conscripti. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt: fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt; qui magno imperio, praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. [13] Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est; [14] neque studere neque odisse, sed minime irasci decet; quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. [15] Equidem ego sic existumo, patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores quam facinora illorum esse. Sed plerique mortales postremo meminere et in hominibus impiis sceleris eorum obliti de

poena disserunt, si ea paulo severior fuit. [16] D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certo scio, quae dixerit, studio rei publicae dixisse neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere: eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi. [17] Verum sententia eius mihi non crudelis quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest?— sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur. [18] Nam profecto aut metus aut iniuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum genus poenae novum decernere. [19] De timore supervacaneum est disserere, cum praesertim diligentia clarissimi viri consulis tanta praesidia sint in armis. [20] De poena possum equidem dicere, id quod res habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. [21] Sed, per deos immortalis, quam ob rem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadvorteretur? [22] An quia lex Porcia vetat? At aliae leges item condemnatis civibus non animam eripi, sed exsilium permitti iubent. [23] An quia gravius est verberari quam necari? Quid autem acerbum aut nimis grave est in homines tanti facinoris convictos? [24] Sin, quia levius est, qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere, cum eam in maiore neglexeris? [25] At enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas rei publicae decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, cuius lubido gentibus moderatur. [26] Illis merito accidet, quicquid evenerit; ceterum vos patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis, considerate! [27] Omnia mala exempla ex rebus bonis orta sunt. Sed ubi imperium ad ignaros eius aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. [28] Lacedaemonii devictis Atheniensibus triginta viros inposuere, qui rem publicam eorum tractarent. [29] Ii primo coepere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare: ea populus laetari et merito dicere fieri. [30] Post, ubi

paulatim licentia crevit, iuxta bonos et malos lubricose interficere, ceteros metu terrere:
[31] *ita civitas servitute oppressa stultae laetitiae gravis poenas dedit. [32] Nostra memoria victor Sulla cum Damasippum et alios eius modi, qui malo rei publicae creverant, iugulari iussit, quis non factum eius laudabat? Homines scelestos et factiosos, qui seditionibus rem publicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. [33] Sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit. Nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas aut vestimentum alicuius concupiverat, dabat operam, ut is in proscriptorum numero esset. [34] Ita illi, quibus Damasippi mors laetitiae fuerat, paulo post ipsi trahebantur neque prius finis iugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. [35] Atque ego haec non in M. Tullio neque his temporibus vereor; sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. [36] Potest alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi. Ubi hoc exemplo per senatus decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem statuet aut quis moderabitur? [37] Maiores nostri, patres conscripti, neque consili neque audaciae umquam eguere; neque illis superbia obstat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. [38] Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt. Postremo, quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur: imitari quam invidere bonis malebant. [39] Sed eodem illo tempore Graeciae morem imitati verberibus animadvortebant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. [40] Postquam res publica adolevit et multitudine civium factiones valere, circumveniri innocentes, alia huiusce modi fieri coepere, tum lex Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, quibus legibus exsilium damnatis permissum est. [41] Hanc ego causam, patres conscripti, quo minus novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam*

puto. [42] Profecto virtus atque sapientia maior illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus. [43] Placet igitur eos dimitti et augeri exercitum Catilinae? Minime. Sed ita censeo: publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quae maxime opibus valent; neu quis de iis postea ad senatum referat neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare eum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium facturum.”

[51.1] “It is proper for all men, fathers of the Senate, who reflect on doubtful issues to be free from hatred and freindship, anger and pity. [2] when obstructed by these things, the mind can by no means easily see the truth coming, nor has anyone gathered everything at the same time, pleasure and usefulness. [3] When you have aimed with character, it prevails; if held by lust, that is lord, the mind is useless. [4] To me ther is plenty of things worthy of mention, fathers of the Senate, whereby kings and peoples impelled by wrath or pity may have followed bad advice, but I prefer to speak about those thingswhich our forefathers, contrary to passion of the mind, acted just and orderly. [5] In the Macedonian war, which we fought with king Perse, and the great and glorious citizens of the Rhodians, who were created by the wealth of the Roman people, was unfaithful and hostile. But after the war was finished, the question of the Rhodians was deliberated, our forefathers dismissed them unpunished, so that no one would have said on account of greatness of wealth, ratehr than injury was the reason for beginning the war. [6] Likewise in all the Punic wars, when the Carthaginians, both in peace and in truces, didi many neferious deeds, never, at the time of opportunity, themselves did such things; because they desired great things, which would dignify themselves, rather than because against them by justice they would be able. [7] This to you, Fathers of the Senatem is to

be discerned, the wickedness of Publius Lentulus and the others should not be strong enough, have more influence over you than dignity; that you consider not your anger more than your reputation. [8] For if worthy punishment is found according to their deeds, I approve a new decision, if, on the otherhand the greatness of the crimes exceeds anything imaginable, I propose using that which was established by the laws. [9] Most of those who before me expressed well arranged and splendid opinions pitying the downfall of the Republic, were pleased to enumerate those things which would be the barbarity of war; enumerating the maidens and boys raped, children torn from their parents embrace, matrons suffering whatever by the victors, temples and houses plundered, murder and arson arising, and finally, arms and corpses, gore and grief filling everything. [10] But to what in fact did these speeches apply to, for the sake of the immortal gods? Or is it that it would make you disturbed by the conspiracy, but of course who is not moved deeply by such an affair, such savageness, that he would not be inflamed by a speech? [11] Is it not thus, not to any mortal man do his wrongs appear small, many have held them weighty. [12] But freedom is to one person one thing, to others it is another, for he who is poor occupies life in obscurity if any quick tempered person committed a crime, few know; their reputation and fortune are equal; those who, in high station, endowed with great power, their deeds are known to all men. [13] Thus in the greatest fortune is the least freedom. [14] Neither partial nor hated, but by no means is it fitting to get angry, what among others is called anger, would be called haughtiness and cruelty in those who rule. [15] Thus, I truly think, fathers of the Senate, the crimes of those men to be not unworthy of tortures of every kind, but mortal men, for the most part, remember the last thing; and among disloyal men forgetting their crimes when discussing punishment, if it

was a little severe. [16] I know for certain, Decimus Silanus, a brave and vigorous man, out of devotion for the Republic, said what he did say, that he exercised neither favor nor enmity in such a matter; I know the morals and propriety of that man. [17] Indeed the opinion of those men seems to me not cruel, for what could possibly be cruel to such man? But appears foreign to our Republic. [18] For, really, either fear or insult forced you, Silanus, Consul elect, to put forward a novel punishment. [19] The argument from fear is superfluous, especially on account of the diligence of our most brilliant of men, from this Consul there ought to be sufficient guards under arms. [20] Indeed, with respect to the penalty, I can say, because that matter is being considered, in sorrow and misery, death is a relief from hardships, not a torture, for it frees him from mortal ills all together; more than that, there is room neither for worry nor joy. [21] But by the immortal gods, wherefore to your opinion did you not add that they shall first be flogged? [22] Or is it because *lex Porcia* forbids, but in fact there are other laws besides; they who are judged to be condemned should not lose their lives, but are permitted exile. [23] Or is it because it is more painful to be flogged than to be killed? What, however, is harsh enough or severe enough for men convicted of such crimes? [24] But if it is lighter, what agreement is there to fear the law in a minor affair, when you ignore it in a major one? [25] But, will anyone find fault if indeed there shall be a decree against the traitors to the Republic? Time, seasons, Fortune, whose fancy controls nations. [26] Whatever happens to them is rightly deserved, still you Fathers of the Senate should consider what for others you may cause to stand for others. [27] All bad precedents have originated out of good cases, but when power passed to the ignorant, or to the less good man, that new precedent is passed from the worthy and fit to the unworthy and unfit. [28] The Spartans, in conquering the

Athenians, imposed thirty men to control their republic. [29] These men, at first, began to kill unconvicted men and whoever was hated by everyone, at this the people rejoiced and it was rightly done. [30] Later on, when their license grew, little by little, they arbitrarily killed good men and bad men alike, terrifying the others with apprehension. [31] In this way, the state reduced to slavery, payed for foolish rejoicing payed great penalties. [32] In our own memory, Sulla the conqueror, when Damassippus, and other such men, who prospered in public affairs, ordered their throats cut; who was not praisin gthis deed? Satirized as wicked criminals those men were, who, on account on a sedition against the Republic, were said to merit death. [33] But that affair was the beginning of a great disaster, for when anyone coveted a house or a villa, or at the very least even someone's dish or garment, he went to work in such a way so as that man would be numbered among the proscribed. [34] Thus those to whom the death of Damasippus was joyous, a little while later were themselves handed over; no sooner was he done with the killing than Sulla satisfied his followers with riches of all kinds. [35] And though I do not dear this under Marcus Tullius, nor in these times, but in a great state there are many and diverse characters. [36] It is possible at another time, under another Consul, to whom, likewise, may have an army at hand, something false may be taken for the truth. When a Consul with this as an example, according to the Senates decree, drew the sword, by whom for him shall a boundry be set, by whom shall he be restrained? [37] Our forefathers, patres conscripti, were, neither in wisdom nor in courage, ever wanting; nor by any means was pride standing in the way of their imitating foreign customs if that way was acceptable. [38] They assumed the defensive and offensive weapons from the Samnites, from the Etruscans, for the most part, the insignia of the magistrates. Finally,

whatevever, in so far as it appeared to be proper, among allies and enemies, at home they would pursue with great eagerness, they preferred to imitate rather than to envy the good. [39] But at that same time, imitating the customs of the Greeks, they used to punish the citizens with the scourge, and inflicted the supreme punishment on the condemned. [40] Later on, the Republic grew up and, on account of the great number of people, factions prevailed over the citizens; innocent people were oppressed, and other such things began to be done, then they enacted *lex Porcia*, and other laws, by which those those condemned by the laws were permitted exile. [41] This I think, Fathers of the Senate, is in the first place a good reason we should not adopt a new policy. [42] For actually there was in those men greater virtue and wisdom, who made such a great empire from few resources, than there is in us who can hardly retain that which was well prepared. [43] Is it, however, satisfactory to send them away and augment Catiline's army? Certainly not. But thus I propose: confiscating their money, holding the very same, at the hands of the municipalities which, on account of resources, are the strongest, in prison; furthermore, with respect to this, neither may it be brought before the Senate, nor to the people, he who otherwise does shall be thought by the Senate to be working against the Republic and the welfare of everything."

Speech of Cato Minor, *ad Senatum Argumentum*

[52.1] *Postquam Caesar dicundi finem fecit, ceteri verbo alius alii varie adsentiebantur.*

At M. Porcius Cato rogatus sententiam huiusce modi orationem habuit: [2] "Longe alia mihi mens est, patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero et cum

*sententias nonnullorum*³⁴ *ipse mecum reputo. [3] Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriae, parentibus, aris atque focis suis bellum paravere; res autem monet cavere ab illis magis quam, quid in illos statuamus, consultare. [4] Nam cetera maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris, ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra iudicia inplures: capta urbe nihil fit reliqui victis. [5] Sed, per deos immortalis, vos ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras pluris*³⁵ *quam rem publicam fecistis: si ista, cuiuscumque modi sunt, quae amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium praebere vultis, expergiscimini aliquando et capessite rem publicam! [6] Non agitur de vectigalibus neque de sociorum iniuriis: libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. [7] Saepenumero, patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci, saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum multosque mortalis ea causa advorsos habeo. [8] Qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubidini male facta condonabam. [9] Sed ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen res publica firma erat: opulentia negligentiam tolerabat. [10] Nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus vivamus, neque quantum aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani sit, sed haec, cuiuscumque modi videntur, nostra an nobiscum una hostiam futura sint. [11] Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat! Iam pridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus: quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur, eo res publica in extremo sita est. [12] Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus aerari; ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant! [13] Bene et conposite C. Caesar paulo*

³⁴ ‘non nullorum’ is an example of *Litotes*.

³⁵ This is *Asyndeton*.

ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea, quae de inferis memorantur: divorso itinere malos a bonis loca taetra, inculta, foeda atque formidulosa habere. [14] Itaque censuit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos, videlicet timens, ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus coniurationis aut a multitudine conducta per vim eripiantur. [15] Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe et non per totam Italiam sint aut non sibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt! [16] Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit; si in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere. [17] Quare, cum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote vos simul de exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus coniuratis decernere! [18] Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit; si paulum modo vos languere viderint, iam omnes feroces aderunt. [19] Nolite existumare maiores nostros armis rem publicam ex parva magnam fecisse! [20] Si ita esset, multo pulcherrumam eam nos haberemus; quippe sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum maior copia nobis quam illis est. [21] Sed alia fuere, quae illos magnos fecere, quae nobis nulla sunt: domi industria, foris iustum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius. [22] Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam, publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam. Laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam. Inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum, omnia virtutis praemia ambitio possidet. [23] Neque mirum: ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capit, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae aut gratiae servitis, eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rem publicam. [24] Sed ego haec omitto. Coniuravere nobilissimi cives patriam incendere, Gallorum gentem infestissimam nomini Romano ad bellum arcessunt, dux hostium cum exercitu supra

caput est. [25] Vos cunctamini etiam nunc et dubitatis, quid intra moenia deprensus hostibus faciatis? [26] Misereamini censeo deliquere homines adolescentuli per ambitionem atque etiam armatos dimittatis. [27] Ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam convortat! [28] Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxime. Sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium exspectantes cunctamini, videlicet dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem publicam saepe in maxime periculis servavere. [29] Non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prospere omnia cedunt. Ubi socordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequiquam deos impleres: irati infestique sunt. [30] Apud maiores nostros A. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverit, necari iussit [31] atque ille egregius adolescens inmoderate fortitudinis morte poenas dedit: [32] vos de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini? Videlicet cetera vita eorum huic sceleri obstat. [33] Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit! Ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiae, nisi iterum patriae bellum fecit! [34] Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Caepario loquar? Quibus si quicquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de re publica habuissent. [35] Postremo, patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis. Sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget, alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes; neque parari neque consuli quicquam potest occulte : quo magis properandum est. [36] Quare ego ita censeo: Cum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium res publica in maxime pericula venerit iique indicio T. Volturci et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint caedem, incendia aliaque se foeda atque

crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse, de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more maiorum supplicium sumundum.”

[52.1] After Caesar was finished speaking, the others orally assented to the various different proposals, but Marcus Porcius Cato being asked for an opinion gave an oration of such a kind: [2] “My opinion is a long way off from the others, Fathers of the Senate, when I think about the matter and our peril, and when I reflect upon the opinions of some who are even with me, [3] it seems to me they have argued about the punishment of those men who have prepared war against their fatherland, their parents, altars and hearths, but the matter advises us to guard against them more than deliberating what we are to inflict upon them. [4] For with other crimes, when they are done you may prosecute; this, unless you make ready for it not to happen, when it arrives in vain to justice you shall appeal; the city once seized, to the living remains nothing. [5] But, buy the gods immortal,³⁶ I call upon you who have always valued houses, villas, paintings, statues, and your many things, more than the Republic, if you wish to keep that to which you cling, whatever they are, if you wish to give yourselves over to the enjoyment of leisure, you should wake up at once and lay hold of the Republic. [6] It is not about taxes, nor about the insults of our allies, our life and liberty is doubtful. [7] Often I have spoken at great length, Fathers of the Senate, in this order, often I have complained about the extravagance, and greed of our citizens, and for that reason I have many adversaries. [8] I, who never granted to my self or soul any transgression, by no means can easily forgive other for crimes of passion. [9] But even if you considered this to be of little value, the Republic was, all the same, steadfast, enduring neglect by the rich. [10] Now, however,

³⁶ This is *Anastrophe*.

this is not to be discussed; whether or not we should live by good or bad customs, nor how great or to what extent the magnificence of the empire of the Roman people might be, but this, whether our things, together with our own selves, shall be our or a sacrifice.³⁷ [11] At this point, does anyone mention to me gentleness and pity? Indeed we let slip the true names for things long ago, it is because squandering the goods of others is called generosity, recklessness in wrong doing is called courage, that the Republic is in an extreme position. [12] Seeing that they the morals after this manner, they should certainly be liberal with the fortunes of our allies, they should be merciful to the thieves of the treasury, but they should not be lavish with our blood, and, while sparing a few criminals, they should not go about ruining all good men. [13] Gaius Caesar a little while ago before this order discussed thoroughly and well life and death, thinking false, I suppose that which is said about the Underworld, where, in that loathsome place, a wilderness horrible and terrifying, the good go by a different path than the bad. [14] He therefore proposed confiscating their money, the same held in custody by the municipalities, fearing, evidently, if they should be in Rome, either by members of the conspiracy, or by leading a throng, they might be rescued by force. [15] As if indeed base and criminal men were just in the city and not throughout the whole of Italy, or therein boldness not more capable when the resources to defend are less. [16] Wherefore, if he fears danger from them, this advice, as far as I'm concerned, is pointless; if, on the other hand, amid such general fear, only he is not afraid, on account of that, all the more it brings me to be afraid more for me and you. [17] Wherefore, when you determine the status concerning Publius Lentulus and the others, keep in mind at the same time you shall have decided concerning Catiline's army and all the conspirators. [18] The more

³⁷ *Hostiam* is a fem. acc. sing. signifying 'a victim, or a sacrifice.'

attention you give to this, the weaker shall be their resolve, but, if they should perceive only a little weakness, then, surely, with all ferocity they shall attack. [19] Don't think our forefathers built the Republic from insignificance to greatness by means of arms. [20] If this was so, we should have one much more beautiful, naturally because of allies and citizens, and besides that our arms and horses are in greater abundance than theirs. [21] But there were other things which made them great, which to us are nothing: industry at home, just rule abroad, mindfulness in deliberation, subservient neither to transgression nor to passion. [22] Instead of these, we have extravagance and greed, public want, private opulence; we praise riches, pursue laziness; there is no distinction between good men and bad, *ambitus*³⁸ possesses everything of value. [23] And no wonder when each of you schemes for himself; when at home you are slaves to pleasure, here to money or prestige, that is how an attack on the defenseless Republic may be made. [24] But I pass over this, the most Noble citizens have taken an oath to set fire to the fatherland, sent for the Gauls, a nation most hostile to the Roman name, to engage in war, the leader of the enemy, with an army, is hanging over head. [25] And still you hesitate and doubt what you ought to do by way of *deprensa*³⁹ with enemies within the walls? [26] I think maybe it is you who should be pitied—men of youth through ambition fell short—and you should, by all means, dismiss armed men. [27] Certainly, if they should take up arms, that gentleness and compassion of yours may change into unhappiness. [28] Evidently the matter is itself a tough one, but you do not fear it. No indeed, very much to the contrary. But laziness and effeminacy of spirit hesitating, waiting for one another,

³⁸ *ambitio*, fem. nom. sing, the going about as a candidate for office, an excessive desire to please, flattery, popularity, ambition.

³⁹ a species of military punishment, more severe than *castigatio*, but milder than *ignominia*, Paul. ex Fest. p. 71, 15 Müll. (*Lewis and Short*).

evidently trusting to the gods immortal, who have often saved this Republic when in great peril. [29] Not vows, nor by womanish entreaties, is the help of the gods at hand; but by being vigilant, active, deliberating well,⁴⁰ do all things prosper. When you surrender to stupidity and laziness, pointlessly do you the gods implore, they are angry and hostile. [30] Among our forefathers, Aulus⁴¹ Manlius Torquatus, in the war with Gaul, ordered his son killed, because, contrary to orders, fought against the enemy, [31] and this exceptional young man, for excessive bravery, payed the penalty with death. [32] You are in doubt what you should inflict upon the most cruel of murderers? Evidently, the crimes of the rest of their lives stands in the way of this. [33] By all means spare the dignity of Lentulus, if he spared his chastity, if he spared his reputation, if he ever spared the gods or any men. Forgive the young men of Cethagus, unless he makes war upon the fatherland a second time.⁴² Now what should I say about Gabinius, Statilius, Caeparius? By whom, if anything was ever considered, they would have not had designs against the Republic.⁴³ [35] Finally, Fathers of the Senate, if, by Hercules, there was room for error, I would willingly put up with you being corrected by the affair itself, seeing that you think little of speeches. But we are on all sides surrounded, Catiline with an arm is grasping at our throats; other enemies are within the walls and in the heart of the city, neither any preparations nor any plans can be kept secret, what is better is to be hastening. [36] Wherefore, I thus recommend, with the Republic having come to the greatest danger, on account of a nefarious conspiracy of wicked citizens, and, by the testimony of Titus Volturcius and the ambassadors of the Allobroges, were convicted and confessed that

⁴⁰ This is *Asyndeton*: *vigilando, agundo, bene consulundo*.

⁴¹ An error for Titus, *Cf.* Rolf: 106.

⁴² That is, to say, the *Bellum Catilinae* would be the first, yet the Senate should, nevertheless wait until the second before responding. This is *Irony*.

⁴³ This is *Irony*.

they have prepared, murder, arson, and other disgusting and cruel crimes against the citizens and the fatherland; with respect to the confessed, just as those caught in a capital offense, by the custom of our forefathers, inflicting execution.

Senate adopts the resolution of Cato

[53.1] Postquam Cato adsedit, consulares omnes itemque senatus magna pars sententiam eius laudant, virtutem animi ad caelum ferunt, alii alios increpantes timidos vocant. Cato clarus atque magnus habetur; senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat. [2] Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quae populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari atque terra praeclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, quae res maxime tanta negotia sustinuisset. [3] Sciebam saepenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse; cognoveram parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus, ad hoc saepe fortunae violentiam toleravisse, facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. [4] Ac mihi multa agitanti constabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse eoque factum, uti divitas paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. [5] Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus res publica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat ac, sicuti effeta⁴⁴ parentum vi, multis tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit. [6] Sed memoria mea ingenti virtute, divorsis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et C. Caesar. Quos quoniam res obtulerat, silentio praeterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possum, aperirem.

⁴⁴ *effetus*, exhausted, worn out by bearing

[53.1] After Cato was seated, all the ex-Consuls and a great part of the Senators as well, bearing his courage up to heaven, praised his opinion, scolding one another, calling them cowards; Cato was held to be great and famous, a decree of the Senate was passed just as he suggested. [2] But of the many things by me gathered together, many things reported to me,⁴⁵ the illustrious things which the Roman people did at home and in war, on land and on sea, as it happens, it was nice to take note what particular things would have sustained this business. [3] As I would understand it, frequently a small number of men fought with great armies of foreigners; I learned that with little resources they carried out wars against wealthy kings, and to this, often endured the violence of Fortune, the Greeks were before the Romans in eloquence, the Gauls in thirst for war. [4] But after much hunting, it agreed with me, that the whole thing was brought about by a few outstanding citizens; and that by them how it was done that poverty would prevail over riches, the few over the many. [5] But after the State was corrupted by extravagance and laziness, the Republic in turn was sustained by the magnitude of its power and the defects of the magistrates, just as a mother is exhausted by the force of child bearing, in Rome certainly there was no one of virtue at all, for a very long time. [6] By in my time, there were two men, though diverse in character, of great value, Marcus Cato and Gaius Caesar, seeing that the affair advances it, it was not my intention to pass it over in silence, but in fact I shall reveal the character and habits of each, with as much talent as I am able.

⁴⁵ *multa legenti, multa audienti*; this is *Pleonasm*.

Sallust's character analysis of Caesar and Cato Minor

[54.1] *Igitur iis genus, aetas, eloquentia prope aequalia fuere, magnitudo animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii. [2] Caesar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vitae Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus, huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. [3] Caesar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo, Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus est. In altero miseris perfugium erat, in altero malis pernicies. Illius facilitas, huius constantia laudabatur. [4] Postremo Caesar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus sua neglegere, nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. [5] At Catoni studium modestiae, decoris, sed maxime severitatis erat; [6] non divitiis cum divite neque factione cum factioso, sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentia certabat; esse quam videri bonus malebat: ita, quo minus petebat gloriam, eo magis illum sequebatur.*

[54.1] Accordingly, in their birth age, eloquence,⁴⁶ they were nearly equal; greatness of mind equal,⁴⁷ in glory the same, but different.⁴⁸ [2] Caesar was thought great on account of kindness and generosity, Cato purity of life; the former was made famous by gentleness and compassion, the latter by austerity was raised to distinction. [3] Caesar won fame by supporting and forgiving, Cato by bribing no one; the one was a refuge for the unfortunate, the other a curse on the bad, the good nature of the former was praised, the steadfastness of the latter. [4] Finally Caesar trained himself to work hard and sleep

⁴⁶ *iis genus, aetas, eloquentia* is *Asyndeton*.

⁴⁷ *magnitudo animi par* is *Ellipsis*.

⁴⁸ *item gloria, sed alia alii* is *Oxymoron*.

little;⁴⁹ being attentive to the affairs of friends, neglected his own, refused nothing in so far as it was a gift worth having, desired for himself great power, an army, a new war, whereby he would be able to illuminate his valor. [5] But Cato had eagerness for modesty, grace, but mostly for austerity; did not contend against the rich with riches, nor by faction with the factious, but with modest with decency, with the innocent by self-control, he preferred to rather be than to be thought good; in this way, the less he strived for fame, the more he was followed by it.

Execution of the conspirators, Dec. 5: *ad Baculum Argumentum*

[55.1] *Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optimum factu ratus noctem, quae instabat, antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, tres viros, quae supplicium postulabat, parare iubet. [2] Ipse praesidiis dispositis Lentulum in carcerem deducit; idem fit ceteris per praetores. [3] Est in carcere locus, quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum ascenderit ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. [4] Eum muniunt undique parietes atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus iuncta; sed incultu, tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis eius facies est. [5] In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium, quibus praeceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. [6] Ita ille patricius ex gente clarissima Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitae invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Caepario eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.*

⁴⁹ *induxerat laborare, vigilare* = had induced himself to work, to stay awake. Thanks Rolf for the rendering supra.

[55.1] As I have said, after the Senate voted for Cato's proposal, the Consul, reckoning it was best to do at night in order to anticipate that which was impending, there would be nothing new in the interval of time, ordered the Triumvirs to ready those being demanded for execution. [2] Himself, posting guards, led Lentulus into the prison, the same, by the Praetors, was done to the others. [3] There is a place in the prison which is called *Tullianum*, when you ascend a little to the left, about twelve feet below the ground. [4] It is enclosed on all sides by walls and overhead is built a roof with arched stone, but because of neglect, darkness and stench made it frightful. [5] Afterwards, in that place, Lentulus was shamed; the punishers of capital matters,⁵⁰ as to them it was instructed, with a noose, crushed his throat. [6] That that Patrician of the illustrious stock of the Cornelii,⁵¹ who had once held the consular authority in Rome, came to an end of life worthy of his character and his deeds; Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Caeparius assumed the same punishment.

Catiline arms his men, forms two legions, refuses the help of the slaves

[56.1] Dum ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit, [2] cohortis pro numero militum complet. Deinde, ut quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, aequaliter distribuerat ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat, cum initio non amplius duobus milibus habuisset. [3] Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii praeacutas sudis

⁵⁰ That is, executioners.

⁵¹ *ita ille patricius ex gente clarissima Corneliorum* is Irony.

portabant. [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 propediem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent. [5] Interea servitia repudiabat, cuius generis initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrebant, opibus coniurationis fretus, simul alienum suis rationibus existumans videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

[56.1] while this was being carried out in Rome, Catiline had drawn together as much as he could forming two legions out of all the troops as both he himself and Manlius had, completeing the army of [2] Cohorts according to their number ; next, equally distributing to each one volunteers or accomplices that came to the camp, and, in a short time completeed the legions with the number of men, at the beginning he would have had no more than two thousand soldiers. [3] But out of all the troops about one quarter part were equipped with military arms ; the others, opportunity armed with whatever, some carried spears or lances, others sharpened stakes. [4] But when Antonius approached with an army, Catiline made his way through the mountains ; he kept moving his camp, first towards the city, then towards Gaul, did not give opportunity for battle to the enemy, hoping, if the accomplices in Rome had accomplished their undertaking, he himself would have a great force. [5] Meanwhile he scorned the slaves, who at the beginning, flocked to him in great abundance ; confident in the strength of the conspiracy, at the same time, according to his reasoning it seemed to considered strange to have shared the cause of a citizen with runaway slaves.

News of the execution of the conspirators reaches Catiline's camp, his men begin to desert

[57.1] Sed postquam in castra nuntius pervenit Romae coniurationem patefactam, de Lentulo et Cethego ceterisque, quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumptum, plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina per montis asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducti eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte perfugeret in Galliam Transalpinam. [2] At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans, quae supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. [3] Igitur ubi iter eius ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movit ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. [4] Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat, utpote qui magno exercitu locis aequioribus expeditus in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res advorsas, neque fugae neque praesidi ullam spem, optimum factu ratus in tali re fortunam belli temptare, statuit cum Antonio quam primum conflagrare. Itaque contione advocata huiusce modi orationem habuit:

[57.1] But when news that the conspiracy in Rome had been discovered reached the camp, about Lentulus and Cethegus and the others,⁵² who I mentioned above, had been executed, a great many who were eagerly attracted to the war by hope for plunder and new affairs, began to desert; Catiline led the remainder by forced marches through rugged mountains in the region of Pistoria, according to his plan, in such a way by trails to secretly flee to Transalpine Gaul. [2] But Quintus Metellus Celer with three legions was

⁵² *de Lentulo et Cethego ceterisque* is *Polysyndeton*.

guarding the district of Picene, on account of the difficulty of the affair, as I said before, estimated that Catiline would pursue this way. [3] Accordingly, when he learned his route from deserters, he quickly moved his camp and took up position at the base of the same mountain which he had to descend in hastening to Gaul. [4] And Antonius was not retired far off, he was following in haste with a large unencumbered army. [5] But when Catiline saw himself enclosed by mountains and the soldiers of the enemy, that matters in the city had gone awry; neither flight nor hope for any reinforcements, he reckoned the best thing was the doing in such an affair, resolved to test Fortune, to do battle with Antonius as soon as possible.

Final speech of Catiline, *ad Socios Argumentum*

[58.1] *“Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere neque ex ignavo strenuum neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. [2] Quanta cuiusque animo audacia natura aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet. Quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequiquam hortere: timor animi auribus officit. [3] Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi, simul uti causam mei consili aperirem. [4] Scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque cladem attulerit quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. [5] Nunc vero quo loco res nostrae sint, iuxta mecum omnes intellegitis. [6] Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia obstant; diutius in his locis esse, si maxime animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet; [7] quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiendum est. [8] Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis et, cum proelium inibitis, memineritis vos divitias, decus, gloriam, praeterea libertatem*

atque patriam in dextris vestris portare. [9] Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt: commeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniae patebunt; [10] si metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fient, neque locus neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. [11] Praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo inpendet: nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus, illis supervacaneum est pugnare pro potentia paucorum. [12] Quo audacius aggredimini memores pristinae virtutis! [13] Licuit vobis cum summa turpitudine in exilio aetatem agere, potuistis nonnulli Romae amissis bonis alienas opes exspectare: [14] quia illa foeda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, haec sequi decrevistis. [15] Si haec relinquere voltis, audacia opus est; nemo nisi victor pace bellum mutavit. [16] Nam in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hostibus avorteris, ea vero dementia est. [17] Semper in proelio iis maximum est periculum, qui maxime timent; audacia pro muro habetur. [18] Cum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vestra aestumo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. [19] Animus, aetas, virtus vestra me hortantur, praeterea necessitudo, quae etiam timidus fortis facit. [20] Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae loci. [21] Quod si virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit, cavete inulti animam amittatis neu capiti potius sicuti pecora trucidemini quam virorum more pugnantis cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis!”

[58.1] “I am well aware, men,⁵³ that words to valor do not add, neither do commanders by a speech make the vigorous out of the lazy, nor the brave out of the timid. [2] How much courage, either by nature or by habits, is in anyone’s soul is such that it won’t be revealed in war, whom are, neither by glory nor by danger are enlivened, for nothing are

⁵³ *milites*, lit. ‘soldiers.’

they encouraged, fear in the soul closes their ears. [3] But I have called you together in order that I may advise you a little and, at the same time, so as to reveal the motive for my decision. [4] Indeed, men, you know how the stupidity and cowardice of Lentulus brought disaster upon us and himself, also how, while I waited for reinforcements from the city, I have been unable to depart for Gaul.⁵⁴ [5] Now indeed you understand just the same as me, what our situation probably is. [6] Two armies of the enemy stand in the way, one from the city, the other from Gaul, even if it were most desired, staying in this place any longer is prohibited by want of grain and other things, [7] to whatever place it is acceptable to go, the path by the sword shall be opened. [8] Therefore, what I advise you is to thirst for bravery, and with a ready heart, when you enter battle you shall have remembered that in your right hand you carried riches, honor, glory, liberty and the fatherland besides. [9] If we are victorious, everything of yours shall be safe, supplies abound, towns and colonies shall be opened, [10] if we shall have yielded to fear, the same things shall be those reversed, neither place nor friend shall shelter anyone whom arms should not have protected. [11] Besides that, men, the distress looming over us and over them is not the same thing. Our struggle is for the fatherland, for freedom, and for life; for them to fight is a superfluous thing for the power of a few men. [12] Whither you should attack, be mindful of pristine manhood. [13] It would be alright for you to pass through life in the greatest disgrace in exile, of Rome you have demanded not nothing,⁵⁵ longing for lost goods, another's power, [14] because that appeared repulsive and intollerable to men, you decided to follow this course. [15] If you wish to abandon

⁵⁴ This is *Scapegoating*, Catiline is himself the source of the predicament with which he and his men are now faced. Indeed Catiline was not the great general he was made out to be for this men are ill equipped and on the brink of starvation in addition to being surrounded.

⁵⁵ *non nulli is Litotes.*

these things, you need courage, no one except the victor exchanges war for peace. [16] For to hope for safety in flight with arms by which to defend your bod, which you would have turned away from the enemy, this indeed is madness. [17] In battle the greatwest danger is always to they who are most afraid, having courage is the same as having a wall.⁵⁶ [18] Soldiers, when I consider, and when I evaluate your deeds, great hope for victory takes hold of me. [19] Your spirit, age, and bravery, encourages me, besides that necessity, which likewise, makes the timid brave. [20] For a great number of the enemy cannot surround us, the narrowness of the place prevents it. [21] But if Fortune looks askance upon your valor, beware of letting your soul slip away unavenged, do not be captured and slaughtered lie cattle, but rather fighting like men, leaving the enemy a bloody and tearful victory.”

In Catilinam ad Baculum Argumentum, at Pistoria, Jan. 62

[59.1] *Haec ubi dixit, paululum conmoratus signa canere iubet atque instructos ordines in locum aequum deducit. Dein remotis omnium equis, quo militibus exaequato periculo animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit. [2] Nam uti planities erat inter sinistros montis et ab dextra rupe aspere, octo cohortis in fronte constituit, reliquarum signa in subsidio artius conlocat. [3] Ab iis centuriones, omnis lectos et evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextra, Faesulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare iubet. Ipse cum libertis et colonis propter aquilam adsistit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. [4] At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus*

⁵⁶ ‘having courage,’ *audacia habetur*, ‘is the same as,’ *pro*, ‘having a wall,’ *muro habetur*. This is Zeugma.

aeger quod proelio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. [5] Ille cohortis veteranas, quas tumultus causa conscripserat, in fronte, post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circumiens unumquemque nominans appellat, hortatur, rogat, ut meminerint se contra latrones inermis pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focus suis certare. [6] Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus aut praefectus aut legatus aut praetor cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat; ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

[59.1] When he said these things, lingering a little while, he ordered the signal for battle sounded, and led the arranged orders on to the level plain, thereafter, by removing all horses, which, by making the danger equal, the spirit of the men would be enhanced, himself on foot, deployed the army according to the place and the means. [2] Now, whereas the plain was between mountains on the left and a jagged cliff on the right, he arranged eight Cohorts in front, and the Cohorts of the remainder he loosely arranged in close reserve. [3] From these centurions, all elite veterans, thereafter from the common soldiers, whoever was best armed, he drew up into the front line; He order the command on the right to Gaius Manlius, on the left⁵⁷ a certain man fro Faesulae, himself, with the Libertines and the servants, stood next to the Eagle, which was said to have been in the army of Gaius Marius in the war with the Cimbri. [4] But Gaius Antonious, from the other side, was unwell with respect to the feet,⁵⁸ and, on account of that, was unable to

⁵⁷ *sinistra* from *sinister*, *-ra*, *-rum*; left, on the left; (because in Roman augury the augur faced south, having the East on the left) favorable, auspicious, lucky; (because in Greek augury the augur faced north, having the East on his right) unfavorable, inauspicious, unlucky; wrong, perverse improper. *The New College Latin and English Dictionary*.

⁵⁸ Although Rolf understands *pedibus* to mean 'gout,' *Lewis and Short* define *pes* to mean foot; *pedibus* therefore is a masc. dat. pl., Dative of Respect. Thus, *pedibus aeger* means 'sick with respect to the feet.' Whereas gout commonly occurs in the big toe, it may be presumed that the use *pedibus* here signifies gout, but .

participate in the battle, permitted Marcus Petreius with the leadership of the army. [5] He placed the veterans of the Cohorts, who had enlisted for the reason of the rebellion, in front, after them the others with the army in reserve, he himself was going around by horse; he calls out, naming each one, encouraging him, asking that he should remember he would be fighting against unarmed mercenaries, for the fatherland, for his children, for the altars, and for his hearth. [6] A military man, with a great reputation in the army, knew a great many of the men and their brave exploits themselves, because for more than thirty years was either a Tribune, a Perfect, a Lieutenant, or a Praetor; recalling these things excited the soldier's spirits.

[60.1] Sed ubi omnibus rebus exploratis Petreius tuba signum dat, cohortis paulatim incedere iubet; idem facit hostium exercitus. [2] Postquam eo ventum est, unde a ferentariis proelium committi posset, maximo clamore cum infestis signis concurrunt: pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur. [3] Veterani pristinae virtutis memores cominus acriter instare, illi haud timidi resistunt: maxuma vi certatur. [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 exsequebatur. [5] Petreius ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem praetoriam in medios hostis inducit eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentis interficit. Deinde utrimque ex lateribus ceteros aggreditur. [6] Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. [7] Catilina postquam fusas copias seque cum paucis relictum videt, memor generis atque pristinae suae dignitatis in confertissimos hostis incurrit ibique pugnans confoditur.

[60.1] But after becoming certain of everything, Petreius gives⁵⁹ the signal by means of a trumpet,⁶⁰ he orders the Cohorts to advance little by little. [2] When that place was reached whence joining the battle by *ferentarii*⁶¹ was possible, with the greatest uproar, with hostile banners, they clash; abandoning pikes, the matter is carried out by swords.⁶² [3] The veterans, mindful of their former valor, approach sharply to close quarters, the others, no being cowards, resist; it is a struggle with the greatest violence. [4] Meanwhile, Catiline, with the light troops was engaged in the front line, running to help those in danger, summons fresh troops for the wounded, looked after everything, fought much himself, often struck down the enemy, was at the same time performing the duties of an active soldier and a good leader. [5] Petreius, when he saw Catiline exerted greater force than he had reckoned, he led the praetorian cohort into the center of the enemy and threw them into confusion, and also killed others resisting elsewhere, then attacked the rest from both sides. [6] Manlius and the man from Faesulae are killed in the first fighting. [7] Catiline, when he saw his troops were being routed and was left with a few men, mindful of his lineage and his former rank, into the thickest of the enemy he ran, and there fighting, was stabbed.

⁵⁹ *dat* = he gives. Latin authors occasionally use the Present Tense for past actions in order to create vividness in the narrative. English translators however nearly always translate verbs of the present tense as past, but this practice is by no means mandatory. Thus I have translated present tense verbs in the present in order to recreate this effect.

⁶⁰ Cf. *tuba signum dat vis-à-vis signa canere* [59.1]. Catiline did not give the signal for his troops to advance by means of a trumpet as Petreius had but by *signa canere*, or signal by means of a singsong voice.

⁶¹ The *ferentarii* were light armed infantry stationed on the wings, who hurled their javelins and then retired behind the battle line.

⁶² [cum] *maximo clamore*, 'with a great shout,' *cum infestis signis*, 'with hostile banners,' *concurrunt*, 'they run together.'

Denouement

[61.1] *Sed confecto proelio tum vero cerneret+, quanta audacia quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. [2] Nam fere quem quisque vivus pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat. [3] Pauci autem, quos medios cohors praetoria disiecerat, paulo divorsius, sed omnes tamen advorsis vulneribus conciderant. [4] Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est paululum etiam spirans ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in voltu retinens. [5] Postremo ex omni copia neque in proelio neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus captus est: [6] ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae iuxta pepercerant. [7] Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat; nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in proelio aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. [8] Multi autem, qui e castris visundi aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera amicum alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiabant; fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. [9] Ita varie per omnem exercitum laetitia, maeror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.*

[61.1] But when the battle was over you were indeed able to see⁶³ how great must have been the boldness and how great in Catiline's army the strength of spirit must have been. [2] For nearly each one that let his soul slip away was covering with his body that place which, when fighting, he occupied alive. [3] A few in the center, on the other hand, whom the praetorian cohort had scattered, were a little apart, but all the same were killed by wounds in the front. [4] Indeed Catiline was found far out from them among the bodies of the enemy, still breathing a little, and in his face holding the ferocity of mind which he had in life. [5] Finally out of the whole army, neither in battle nor in flight was

⁶³ This whole paragraph suggest that Sallust may have visited the battle field as he his quite certain what one was able to see.

anyone of the free-born citizens captured, [6] in such a way, on the whole they had spared their own lives and those of the enemy just the same. [7] Still neither had the army of the Roman people obtained a happy or bloodless victory, for each one of the most vigorous had fallen in battle or had come away severely wounded. [8] Many, however, who had come out from the camp for reason to see or to pillage, turning over the bodies of the enemies found a friend, part of the others, a guest or a relative; some would also have recognized those who were their personal enemies. [9] In this manner, everyone throughout the whole army was variously affected with rejoicing and mourning, with sorrow and happiness.

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