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Sallust's Bellum Catilinae: A New Translation, with Text, and Commentary (2008)

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Sallust’s *Bellum Catilinae*:

A New English Translation

with text, translation, and commentary

by E.H. Campbell

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)
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Foreword

Although this translation of Sallust’s *Bellum Catilinae* is as yet an unfinish 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 neigh 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] 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 plurumum ingenium posse. [3] Quod si regum atque
imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita ut in bello valeret, aequabilius atque constantius
sexe res humanae haberent neque aliud alio ferri neque mutari ac miscri omnia
Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continenta et aequitate lubido atque superbia
invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus inmutatur. [6] Ita imperium semper ad optumum
quemque a minus bono transferetur. [7] Quae homines arant, navigant, aedificant,
virtuti omnia parent. [8] Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti
icultique 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 est 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 arduom 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]


[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] 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 it’s danger. [5] Before beginning to narrate, I should first compose a few words which explain the morals of that man.

immutata ex pulcherruma <atque optuma> pessuma ac flagitiosissuma 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 abou 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 the maintained the Republic and how great they would have bequethed it; how little by little it was changed, how the most beautiful and best was made worst and ugliest.

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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
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.  

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.  

Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est.  

Igitur reges populeque finitumi bello temptare, pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri metu perculsi a periculis aberant.  

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 accipiundis beneficiis amicitias parabant.  

Imperium legitumum, nomen imperi regium habebant. Delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, rei publicae consultabant; hi vel aetate vel curae similitudine patres appelabantur.  

Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandae libertatis atque augendae rei publicae fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque se convertit, inmutato more annua imperia binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minume posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.  

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. 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
aliena virtus formidulosa est. Sed civitas incredibile memoratu est, adepta libertate,
quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupidus gloriae inesset. [4] Iam primum iuventus, simul
ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usum militiae discebat magisque in decoris
armis et militariibus equis quam in scortis atque convivii lubidinem habeant. [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 magnumque 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.
Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum, qui fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere praeclera ingenia. At populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissumus quisque maxume negotiosus erat: ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat, optumus quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis bene facta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

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

[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,

[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. \textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{5} Rolfe’s MSS reads \textit{Igitur primo imperi, deinde pecuniae} and is translated thus here. McGushin relied on the Teubner edition of A. Kurfess, 1957 which reads \textit{Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi}. As does W. W. Capes who relied on Sorb. 500 also know 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.

\textsuperscript{6} neut. nom. sing. perf. pass. part. of facio and in apposition with imperium.

\textsuperscript{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.” \textit{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 “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*).

[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] After that, wealth began to be honorable and glory, dominion, personal power 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 be 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 videere, 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 lubido 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 famen aut sitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed omnia luxu antecapere. Haec iuventem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant: animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile lubidinibus 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, \textsuperscript{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 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

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Vescendi} is a masc. nom. pres. pass. gerundive governing the ablatives \textit{terra,} and \textit{marique. Omnia} as a
neut. acc. pl. is the direct object. \textit{Exquirere} is an infinitive. \textit{Causa} expresses purpose \textit{Allien and
Greenough 504 b). The ancedent 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.

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.


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 maxima necessitudo et plurumum audaciae inerat.  [3] Eo convenere
senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et

[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, Quintus 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. 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 Lincinius 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.


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20 There were, erat, moreover, preatrea, several nobles, complures nobiles, you might include, participes, by a little more, paulo, secretly, occultus, 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 pessumum 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 adniten
temente Crasso, quod eum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. [2] Neque tamen senatus

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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.

[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] 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 wealth, 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 freedom; 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] 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] 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 discosed 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.


22 Moreover, praeterea, there are some, nonnulli, who reckoned, existumabant, 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, invidia, 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 adepit 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 gratuitious 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] 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 husbans of those women to join him or to be killed.

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

[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. He 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.

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 nest 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

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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] 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 be 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 not 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] 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 Eturia, 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


[29.1] 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 and army, to wage war, to coerce allies and citizens in every possible way, and to have supremem 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

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. 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. Thereupon, by decree of the Senate, Quintus Marcius Rex was sent to Faesulae, Quintus Metellus Creticus to Apulia and the area around this place—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,—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. 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, 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 hey be distributed in other municipalities according to each ones wealth. Rome, throught 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

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

[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] hurring 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 yeilded 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] But when he 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.”

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26 Cicero
Catiline departs for the camp of Manlius


[32.1] Then he dashed out of the Curia to home, and there, by himself, alone, he though over many things because the traps for the Consul were not making progress at 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 enlited. 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:
While this was going on at Rome, Gaius Manlius set emissaries from his numbers to Marcius Rex with instructions of this sort:

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 miser, egentes violentia atque crudelitate faeneratorum plerique patria, sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus. Neque cuiquam nostrum licuit more maiorum 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 novissume memoria nostra propter magnitudinem aeris alieni volentibus omnibus bonis argentum aer solutum est.  


[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 misiris civibus, legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis neve nobis eam necessitudinem inponatis, ut quaeamus, quonam modo maxume uti 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 criminius circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, Massiliam in exsiliun 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.

Plura cum scribere vellem, nuntiatum est vim mihi parari. [6] Nunc Orestillum 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] But he himself, lingering a few days with Gaius Flaminus in the territory of Aretium, while supplying arms to a neighborhood already incited, with the Fasces 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 foreigners 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 simper 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 praeceps erat de multis causis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxume praestabant, item ali per dedecora patrimoniiis amissis, postremo omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, ii Romam sicut in sentinam confluerant. 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 Sullanae parentes proscripti, bona erepta, ius libertatis imminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum exspectabant. 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] Now when the tribunican 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 man 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 excercsed victory with
cruely.

[39.1] Sed postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritumum atque Mithridaticum missus
est, plebis opes inminutae, paucorum potencia crevit. [2] Ei magistratus provincias
aliaque omnia tenere; ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu aetatem agere ceterosque iudiciis
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 magistratedprovinces 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 wrench 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 privativmque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea quod natura gens Gallica bellica 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 paucia 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

[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 plurumum
utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt.  [5] Cicero per Sangam consilio cognito
legatis praecipit, ut stadium coniurationi vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene
polliceantur dentque operam, uti eos quam maxume manufestos 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] 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 transporation of arms and weapon, hastening abut 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 gravissumi invidiam optumo consuli inponeret; eo signo proxuma

28 Romae here is a predicative use of the Dative.

[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; Cethagus 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 scaed to death by the bloodshed and fire, they were to rush forth and join Catiline. [3] During the preparations and decisions, Cethagus 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] But the Allobroges, following Cicero’s instructions, met the others through Gabinius 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 shal learn from he 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. Pompintino 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 Pompintum 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] 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 consili\textsuperscript{29} 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

\textsuperscript{29} quid aut qua de causa consili is an example of \textit{synchysis}. Thus: \textit{quid de causa, qua consili} = ‘why the cause and what the reason.’ \textit{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 magistrate 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 praedia magis quam detrimento fore, incendium vero crudele, inmoderatum ac sibi maxume 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.

[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. \[3\] 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 Crassus 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] But at the same time, Quintus Catulus and Gaius 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 Volturius

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

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; about Lucius Cassius, and besides him, Publius Furius, Publius Umbrenus, and Titus Annius if the 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 feet 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*


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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.
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? Minume. Sed ita censeo: publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quae maxume opibus valent; ne 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 friendship, 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 things which 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, rather 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, did many nefarious 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 other hand 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 no 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 loose 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 aout 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 conquereing 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, paid for follish rejoicing paid 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 g this 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,
whatever, 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

\textsuperscript{34} ‘non nullorum’ is an example of Litotes.
\textsuperscript{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 treta, 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 ferores 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 consulundo 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 capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus,
hic pecuniae aut gratiae servitis, eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rem publicam. [24]
Sed ego haec omitto. Coniuravere nobilissumi cives patriam incendere, Gallorum gentem
infestissumam nominis Romano ad bellum arcessunt, dux hostium cum exercitu supra
caput est.  [25] Vos cunctamini etiam nunc et dubitatis, quid intra moenia deprens
hostibus faciatis?  [26] Misereamini censeo deliquere homines adulescentuli 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 maxume. Sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium
exspectantes cunctamini, videlicet dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem publicam saepe
in maxumis periculis servavere.  [29] Non votis neque suppliciis muliebris auxilia
deorum parantur: vigilando, agundo, bene consulundo prospere omnia cedunt. Ubi
socordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequiquam deos implores: irati infestique sunt.
[30] Apud maiores nostros A. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is
contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari iussit [31] atque ille egregius adulescens
inmoderatae fortitudinis morte poenas dedit: [32] vos de crudelissumis 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 adulescentiae, 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 habuissernt.  [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
scelératorum civium res publica in maxumà periculis venerit iique indicio T. Volturci et
legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint caedem, incendia aliaque se foeda atque
crudelia facinora in cives patriamque paravisse, de confessis, sicuti de manufestis 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.\footnote{Hostiam is a fem. acc. sing. signifying ‘a victim, or a sacrifice.’}  

[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 call 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 Catilne’s army and all the conspirators.  

[18] The more
attention you give to this, the weaker shall be their resolve, bu, 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 *deprenda* \(^{39}\) 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, Aulus\(^ {41}\) 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 \textit{Asyndeton: vigilando, agundo, bene consulundo}.  
\(^{41}\) An error for Titus, \textit{Cf. Rolf: 106}.  
\(^{42}\) That is, to say, the \textit{Bellum Catilinae} would be the first, yet the Senate should, nevertheless wait until the second before responding. This is \textit{Irony}.  
\(^{43}\) This is \textit{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


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44 effetus, exhausted, worn out by bearing
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, 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.

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45 multa legenti, multa audienti; this is Pleonasm.
Sallust’s character analysis of Caesar and Cato Minor


[54.1] Accordingly, in their birth age, eloquence, they were nearly equal; greatness of mind equal, in glory the same, but different. [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

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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 contents 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


⁴⁹ *induxerat laborare, vigilare* = had induced himself to work, to stay awake. Thanks Rolf for the rendering supra.
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, as to them it was instructed, with a noose, crushed his throat. [6] That that Patrician of the illustrious stock of the Corneli, 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


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50 That is, executioners.
51 *ita ille patricius ex gente clarissuma Corneliorum* is *Irony*.
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. 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.

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 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. 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. 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. 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] But when news that the conspiracy in Rome had been discovered reached the camp, about Lentulus and Cethegus and the others, 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 bytrails to secretly flee to Transalpine Gaul. [2] But Quintus Metellus Celer with three legions was

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52 \textit{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] “I am well aware, men,\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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. [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 you right hand you carried riches, honor, glory, liberty and the fatherland besides. [9] If we are victorious, everything of your 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, 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 greatest 
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 deduct. 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 optumum 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.
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. 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. 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 left a certain man from 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. But Gaius Antonious, from the other side, was unwell with respect to the feet, and, on account of that, was unable to

57 *sinistra* from *sinister, -ra, -rum*; left, on the left; (because n 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 out 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 expoits 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] But after becoming certain of everything, Petreius gives the signal by means of a trumpet, he orders the Cohorts to advance little by little. [2] When that place was reached whence joining the battle by ferentarii was possible, with the greatest uproar, with hostile banners, they clash; abandoning pikes, the matter is carried out by swords. [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, summon 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.

Denouement


[61.1] But when the battle was over you were indeed able to see 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

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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 cityizens 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, turing 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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