

# CICERO'S *IN CATILINAM* I- II & III 1-10:

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*A NEW TRANSLATION WITH TEXT AND COMMENTARY*

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## I Oratio In Catilinam

[1.1] *“Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? Quam diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? Quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia? Nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palati, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora voltusque moverunt?<sup>1</sup> Patere tua consilia non sentis? Constrictam iam horum omnium scientia teneri coniurationem tuam no vides? Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris,<sup>2</sup> ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris?*

[1.1] “Tell me, Catiline, how long shall you abuse our patience? How long shall you mock us with your madness? To what end shall your unrestrained audacity toss itself about? Is the garrison of the Palatine nothing to you, the wakefulness of the city nothing, the meeting of all good men nothing, convening the Senate in this most fortified place nothing, nothing that the faces and expressions of these men are troubled? Do you not sense your plans lain bare? Do you not see your conspiracy held in chains by the things known to all these men? What you did last night, the night before last,<sup>3</sup> where you were, with whom you met, at what plan you arrived, who among us do you suppose to be ignorant?

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<sup>1</sup> *Nihilne te nocturnum... nihil urbis... nihil timor... nihil concursus...nihil hic munitissimus... nihil horum ora voltusque moverunt* is Anaphora.

<sup>2</sup> *Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris* is Zeugma. Thus *Quid proxima (nocte egeris) quid superiore nocte egeris* = ‘What you did last night, what you did the night before last.’

<sup>3</sup> ‘What you did last night, the night before last,’ by omitting the understood *nocte egeris* of the second clause is an example of Brachylogy.

[1.2] *“O tempora, o mores! Senatus haec intellegit, consul videt: hic tamen vivi. Vivit? Immo vero etiam in senatum venit, fit publici consilii particeps, notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum. Nos autem, fortes viri, satis facere rei publicae videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Ad mortem, Catiline, duci iussu consulis iam pridem oportebat, in te conferri pestem quam tu in nos machinaris.*

[1.2] “O the times, o the morals! The Senate knows these things, a Consul sees him, yet this man lives. He lives? On the contrary indeed, and in fact he still comes to the Senate, and, so it happens, takes part in public council, notes each and everyone of us with his gaze and marks us down for death. But we, brave men, on the other hand, seem to think for the Republic enough is done if we avoid this man’s sword and fury. Now it was right, Catiline, for you by a Consul long ago be led to your death, to upon you visit this plague which you against us for a long time have been plotting.

[1.3] *“An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum, mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicae, privatus interfecit: Catilinam, orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos consules perferemus? Nam illa nimis antequam praetereat, quod C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium, novis rebus studentem, manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coercerent. Habemus senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave; non deest rei publicae consilium neque auctoritas huius ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.*

[1.3] “Or in fact didn’t a private person, Pontificus Maximus Publius Scipio, a most distinguished man, for moderately weaking the state of the Republic kill Tiberius Gracchus? Shall we consuls tolerate Catiline desiring to lay waste to the whole world by arson and murder? I pass over for now those very ancient things, the fact that Gaius Servius Ahala Spurius Maelius, being eager for new affairs, with his own hand murdered. Gone, gone in this Republic are those days when brave men sometimes a pernicious citizen restrained by a more severe punishment than the most ardent enemy. We have a decree against you Catiline, strong and grave, neither decree nor authority of the Republic is lacking; We, we I say openly, we Consuls are lacking.

[1.4] “*Decrevit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimus consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet:*<sup>4</sup> *nox nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, maioribus; occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis. Simili senatus consulto C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus est permissa*<sup>5</sup> *res publica; num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum pl. et C. Servilium praetorem mors ac rei publicae poena remorata est? At vero nos vicesimum iam diem patimur hebeschere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim huiusce modi senatus consultum, verum inclusum in tabulis, tamquam in vagina reconditum, quo ex senatus consulto confestim te interfectum esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, patres conscripti,*

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<sup>4</sup> *Ne...detrimenti caperet* is a Subjective Genitive. Thus : ‘should be seized by no harm.’ Cf. Mountford 299, “Sometimes that relation is such that, if the other noun were converted into a verb, the noun in the genitive would become the subject of that verb.”

<sup>5</sup> *est permissa* is Anastrophe for *permissa est*.

*me esse clementem,<sup>6</sup> cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri, sed iam me ipse inertiae nequitiae condemno.*

[1.4] “Once the Senate decreed that Lucius Opimus, Consul, should see that the Republic should suffer no harm. Not one night intervened, Gaius Gracchus was killed on account of suspicion of a certain sedition; from a most distinguished father, grandfather, and forefathers, Marcus Fulvius, ex-Consul, was killed along with his children. The Republic entrusted a similar decree of the Senate to the consuls Gaius Marius and Lucius Valerio: now did death or the penalty of the Republic linger one day for Lucius Saturninum, Tribune of the Plebs, and Gaius Servilius, Praetor? But indeed we permit already on the twentieth day the edge of this authority to grow blunt.<sup>7</sup> For indeed we have a decree of the Senate after this fashion, but in fact it has been locked up in the records just as a sword in a sheath, which, on account of decree by the Senate, Catiline should have come to be killed.<sup>8</sup> You live, and you live not towards laying aside your recklessness but towards strengthening it. I seek, Fathers of the Senate, myself to have been merciful, I seek not to be thought negligent in such great perils to the Republic, but now myself I do condemn for laziness and worthlessness.

[1.5] *Castra sunt in Italiae contra populum Romanum in Etruriae faucibus collocata, crescit in dies singulaos hostium numerus, eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium intra*

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<sup>6</sup> *esse clementem* is Anastrophe for *clementem esse*.

<sup>7</sup> This is Metaphor.

<sup>8</sup> This is argument by Analogy.

*moenia atque adeo in senatu videtis intestinam aliquam cotidie perniciem rei publicae molientem. Si te iam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici iussero, credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non potius hoc omnes boni serius a me quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod iam pridem factum esse oportuit, certa de causa nondum adducor ut faciam. Tum denique interficere, cum iam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non iure factum esse fateatur.*

[1.5] The is in Italy a military camp in the gorges of Eturia deployed against the Roman people, the number of enemies grows every single day. You see, however, the commander and leader of this camp within the walls and indeed you see that someone in the Senate plotting the ruin of the Republic everyday. Now, Catiline, if I arrest you, if I should order you to be killed, I think it shall be venerable that all good men should say to me that this deed was to severe rather than anyone call it cruel. But there is infact a particular reason I was not yet induced to have done, such as I may do, that which long ago was proper to have been done. Finally then, you shall be killed when nobody so bad, so degenerate, so like you may be able to be found, who would not acknowledge that the that was done was not injustice.

*[1.6] Quam diu quisquam erit qui te defendere audeat, vives, et vives ita ut nunc vivis, multis meis et firmis praesidiis obsessus ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis. multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod iam amplius exspectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare coetus*<sup>1</sup>



*nefarios nec privata domus parietibus continere voces coniurationis tuae potest, si inlustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta iam istam mentem, mihi crede, obliviscere caedis atque incendiorum. teneris undique; luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia, quae iam mecum licet recognoscas.*

[1.6] As long as there will be anyone who dares to defend you, you shall live, and you shall live just as you now live; closely watched by my many and strong guards, that you shall not be able to agitate against the Republic. You unawares, the eyes and ears of many shall be watching and spying, just as they have thus far done. As a matter of fact, why is there, Catiline, why now do you further await, if night for its gloom conceals not a criminal meeting, nor the walls of a home able to contain the voices of your conspiracy; if all is illuminated, if all permeates? Now the many things in that mind of yours to me entrust, let your many thoughts of murder and arson be forgotten! You are trapped on all sides, all your plans to us are as clear as the light of day, those of which you now may with me recall.

[1.7] *Meministine me ante diem XII Kalendas Novembris dicere in senatu fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus esset ante diem VI Kal. Novembris, C. Manlium, audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? num me fefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta tam atrox tamque incredibilis, verum, id quod multo magis est admirandum,<sup>9</sup> dies? dixi ego idem in senatu caedem te optimatum contulisse in ante diem V Kalendas Novembris, tum cum multi principes civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa profugerunt.*

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<sup>9</sup> est admirandum is Anastrophe for admirandum est.

[1.7] Don't you remember it being said by me in the Senate, about the 21st of October,<sup>10</sup> that Gaius Manlius, your accomplice and assistant, would be in arms on a certain day which would be about the 27th of October?<sup>11</sup> Surely I was deceived, Catiline not only by the degree of savageness of such a great matter, indeed that which is truly incredible, much more to be wondered at is the day? Didn't I say in the Senate the same day that you planned the murder of the Optimates on the 28th of October,<sup>12</sup> at a time when many of the principal citizens of Rome had fled, not so much for saving themselves as for thwarting your plans.

[1.8] *Quid? cum te Praeneste Kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum nocturno impetu esse<sup>13</sup> confideres, sensistin illam coloniam meo iussu meis praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliis esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod non ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam. IV. Recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam superiorem; iam intelleges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae. Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios--non agam obscure--in M. Laecae domum; convenisse eodem complures eiusdem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? quid taces? Convincam, si negas. Video enim esse hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt.*

[1.8] What? When you were confident that by night assault Praeneste would be occupied by you on the 1st of November; you began to realize that upon my orders that

<sup>10</sup> XII Kalendas Novembris = 31 + 2 - 21 = 21 = Oct. 21st.

<sup>11</sup> VI Kal. Novembris = 31 + 2 - 6 = Oct. 27th.

<sup>12</sup> V Kalendas Novembris = 31 + 2 - 5 = Oct. 28th.

<sup>13</sup> *impetus esse* is a Supine and a Dative of Reference.

colony was fortified by my guards and sentinels. Nothing you do, nothing you undertake, nothing you plan that I would not only hear but would indeed plainly see and observe. Recall with me please the night before last, you should realize my vigilance for the safety of the Republic was more keen than yours for its ruin. I say you, on that earlier night, entered among the Scythians; I should not be so vague, into the home of Marcus Laeca, met in this criminal folly with the same and, of his accomplices, several. Now do you dare deny it? Why are you silent? If you deny I shall refute. I see in fact, here in the Senate, certain men who were together with you.

*[1.9] O di immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? in qua urbe vivimus? quam rem publicam habemus? Hic, hic sunt in nostro numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium interitu, qui de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum exitio cogitent! Hos ego video consul et de re publica sententiam rogo et, quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulnero! Fuisti igitur apud Laecam illa nocte, Catilina, distribuisti partes Italiae, statuisti, quo quemque proficisci placeret, delegisti, quos Romae relinqueres, quos tecum educeres, descripsisti urbis partes ad incendia, confirmasti te ipsum iam esse exiturum, dixisti paulum tibi esse etiam nunc morae, quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent et sese illa ipsa nocte paulo ante lucem me in meo lectulo interfekturos [esse] pollicerentur.*

By the Gods immortal, where on Earth are we? What Republic have we? In what city live we? Here, among our number, Patres Conscripi, in this land, in this most sacred

and most important council on Earth, are those who intend to destroy everything of ours, from this city and extends to the whole world. I the Consul see these men and ask for verdict from the Republic, and I do not by voice wound those whom ought to be slaughtered by the sword. As I was saying, you were that night, Catiline, at the house of Laeca; you determined where it would be best for each man to go; you chose whom in Rome you would leave behind; with you, who would be marching out; assigned the parts of the city to be burnt; confirmed that you yourself would very soon be departing; you said that as matters now stand for you, there was a little delay because I was still alive.<sup>14</sup> Two Roman knights were found who would free you from that very concern and they, that night, a little before dawn, in my own bed, promised to be my killers.

[1.10] *Haec ego omnia vixdum etiam coetu vestro dimisso comperi; domum meam maioribus praesidiis munivi atque firmavi, exclusi eos, quos tu ad me salutatum mane miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent, quos ego iam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse praedixeram. Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge, quo coepisti, egredere aliquando ex urbe; patent portae; proficiscere. Nimium diu te imperatorem tua illa Manliana castra<sup>15</sup> desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos, si minus, quam plurimos; purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dum modo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari iam diutius non potes; non feram, non patiar, non sinam.*

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<sup>14</sup> You said, *dixisti*, as matters now stand, *nunc*, for you, *tibi*, there was, *esse*, a little, *paulum*, delay, *morae*, because, *quod*, I, *ego*, as yet, *etiam*, was living, *viverem*.

<sup>15</sup> *tua illa Manliana castra* is Synchysis for *tua Manliana...illa castra*. Cf. Greenough 598h.

[1.10] This meeting had scarcely been dismissed when all these things I learned; fortifying and protecting my home by an increased guard; when those same men, whom I had already mentioned to many important men, had come to me at that time, when I had earlier said they would be arriving; I shut out those whom you had sent to greet me in the early morning. With things being what they are, Catiline, continue what you began, leave the city; the gates are open, depart; you Manliuities in that camp long for you, a general; lead forth indeed all those men of yours, if not all then most, cleanse the city. You will have liberated me from a great fear only when between thee and me a wall divides; you cannot live with us any longer, I should not endure it, I shall not suffer it, I must not allow it.

[1.11] *Magna dis immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi Iovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi huius urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam<sup>16</sup> rei publicae pestem totiens iam effugimus. Non est saepius in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicae. Quamdiu mihi consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me praesidio, sed privata diligentia defendi. Cum proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in campo et competitores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi conatus tuos nefarios amicorum praesidio et copiis nullo tumultu publice concitato; denique, quotienscumque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti, quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicae esse coniunctam.*

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<sup>16</sup> *tam... tam... tamque* is Anaphora.

[1.11] One ought to have gratitude to the Gods immortal and especially to the most ancient guardian of the city, to this very God Jupiter Stator,<sup>17</sup> on account of the fact we have as yet escaped this plague so foul, so horrible, so dangerous to the Republic. The power to become dangerous to the highest welfare of the Republic must not be enclosed in one man. However long you lay in wait for me, Consul designate, Catiline, I defended myself not by public guard, but by private diligence. At the time of the consular elections last, you wanted to kill me and you competitors in the Campus Martius. I endeavored to suppress your criminal acts not by exciting a public commotion, but by the help and resources of my friends. In short, however often you attacked me, I opposed you myself, although my ruin I saw to be connected with a great calamity for the Republic.

[1.12] *Nunc iam aperte rem publicam universam petis, templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam [denique] totam ad exitium et vastitatem vocas. Quare, quoniam id, quod est primum, et quod huius imperii disciplinaeque maiorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam si te interfici iussero, residebit in re publica reliqua coniuratorum manus; sin tu, quod te iam dudum hortor, exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et pernicioosa sentina rei publicae.*

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<sup>17</sup> One ought to have, *habenda est*, great gratitude, *magna gratia*, to the Gods immortal, *dis immortalibus*, moreover, *atque*, to the most ancient guardian of this city, *antiquissimo custody huius urbis*, to this very God Jupiter Stator, *huic ipsi Iovi Statori*. *Magna gratia* as a f. nom. sing. is the Subject.

[1.12] Right now you are openly attacking the whole Republic, you call for the ruin and devastation of the temples of the Gods, the lives of the citizens, the whole of Italy. Still I dare not do the thing which I may do, seeing that it is most important to do, and from this office I may do and is appropriate to the teaching of our forefathers to do,<sup>18</sup> I shall in fact do that which is leaning toward subservience to the utility and safety of the community.<sup>19</sup> Now if I should order you killed, the rest of the band of conspirators shall remain in the Republic; if, on the other hand, you should do that which I urged you to do a little while ago and withdraw from the city, the Republic would be drained of the great and pernicious bilge water of you commanders.

[1.13] *Quid est, Catiline? Num dubitas id me imperante facere quod iam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe iubet consul hostem. Interrogas me, num in exilium? Non iubeo, sed, si me consulis, suadeo. Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te iam in hac urbe delectare possit? In qua nemo est extra istam coniurationem perditorum hominum qui te non metuat, nemo qui non oderit.<sup>20</sup> Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non iusta vitae tuae est? Quod privatarum rerum dedecus non haeret in fama? Quae libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus umquam tuis, quod*

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<sup>18</sup> Not yet, *nondum*, dare I, *audeo*, do, *facere*, the thing which, *qua re*, I may do, *faciam*, seeing that it, *quoniam*, is the most important thing to do, *quod est primum facere*, and from this office I may do, *et quod huius imperi faciam*, and is appropriate to the teachings of our forefathers to do, *disciplinaeque maiorum proprium est*.

<sup>19</sup> *lenius est* = 'leaning toward.' *est ad severitatem lenius* is Parenthesis.

<sup>20</sup> The antecedent for *in qua* is *hac urbe*. Thus the city in which there is nobody, *nemo est*, outside your conspiracy of degenerate men, *extra istam coniurationem perditorum hominum*, who does not fear you, who does not hate, *qui non metuat...non oderit*.

*flagitium a toto corpore afuit? Cui tu adolescentualo quem corruptelarum inlecebris inretisses<sup>21</sup>  
non aut ad audaciam ferrum aut ad libidinem facem praetulisti?*

[1.13] What now, Catiline? Now do you hesitate to do by my command that which you were already willing to do? The consul orders the enemy to leave the city. You ask me, whether into exile? I do not order it, but, if you consult me, I recommend. For what is there in this city, Catiline, that will be able to delight you now? With respect to this, there is no one outside that conspiracy of hopeless men of yours who does not fear you, who does not hate. What mark of family disgrace is not branded upon your life? What shame of your private affairs does not remain fixed on your reputation? What lust from your eyes, what crime ever from your hands, what shame from your whole body never was? Before what young man, whom you have ensnared with the allurements of seduction, have you not either boldly carried a sword or a passionate flame?

[1.14] *Quid vero? nuper cum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? quod ego praetermitto et facile patior sileri, ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris inmanitas aut extitisse aut non vindicata esse videatur. Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnis inpendere tibi proxumis Idibus senties; ad illa venio, quae non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem sed ad summam rem publicam atque ad omnium nostrum vitam salutemque pertinent.*

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<sup>21</sup> *inlecebris inretisses* is Enallage.



[1.14] Why recently in fact, with the murder of your previous wife you cleared a space for a new wife, and didn't you crown this crime with another incredible crime? Which I dismiss in advance and readily allow to remain unmentioned so that it not appear that in such a State such an enormous crime either existed nor was punished. I pass over the ruin of you fortunes which you shall feel looming over you on all the following Ides. I come to these things which are not pertinent to the private dishonor of your life, not pertinent to you domestic difficulties or deformities, but to things of the utmost importance to the Republic and to the health and welfare of us all.

[1.15] *Potestne tibi haec lux, Catilina, aut huius caeli spiritus esse iucundus, cum scias esse horum neminem, qui nesciat te pridie Kalendas Ianuarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio cum telo, manum consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse, sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem tuum sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse? Ac iam illa omitto--neque enim sunt aut obscura aut non multa commissae postea-- quotiens tu me designatum, quotiens consulem interficere conatus es! quot ego tuas petitiones ita coniectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi! nihil agis, nihil adsequeris, nihil moliris neque tamen conari ac velle desistis.*

[1.15] Can this light, Catiline, or the breathing of this air to you be pleasant when you know there is no one who does not know that you in the consulship of Lepidus and Tullus, on the day before January, stood in the Comitium with a sword, had prepared a band for the purpose of murdering the Consuls and the leading men of the State? It

was not some forethought by you, or even your fear, which stood in the way of the crime, or, moreover, madness, but the Fortune of the Roman people. And these, furthermore, I omit for they are neither secret nor afterwards many more not committed—how many times did you endeavor to kill me as *Consultas Designatus*, how many times even as *Consul*! How many of your attacks have I avoided, the thrusts not seeming to be able to connect as they say I escaped by a certain little swerve of the body. You do nothing, you gain nothing, but all the same you do not stop wanting.

[1.16] *Quotiens tibi iam extorta est ista sica de manibus, quotiens [vero] excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est! [tamen ea carere diutius non potes] quae quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere. Nunc vero quae tua est ista vita? Sic enim iam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quae tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paulo ante in senatum. Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia totque tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, vocis expectas contumeliam, cum sis gravissimo iudicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid, quod adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt, quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persaepe ad caedem constituti fuerunt, simul atque adsedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo [hoc] tibi ferundum putas?*

[1.16] Now, how many times was that dagger wrenched from you hands, how many times by some other cause it fell and was whisked away? To which indeed, to which rites was it initiated and bewitched that you think it necessary to drive it into the body

of a Consul I do not know. Now what truly is that life of tours? Thus now I shall indeed speak with you in such a way so as to appear to have been moved by the hatred which I owe, but also by the pity which to you is not owed. A little while ago you came before the Senate, out of this great crowd, out of your many friends and acquaintances, you were greeted by whom? If in human history to no one this ever befell; you wait for insult by voice when you should be overwhelmed by the serious verdict of silence? What about the Fac. that upon your arrival those seats were emptied, that all the ex-Consuls, who you very often appointed for death, also, at the same time, when you sat down, left that section of seats empty and lifeless, how at last do you think you ought to carry on with your soul?

[1.17] *Servi mehercule mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem; tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? et, si me meis civibus iniuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me aspectu civium quam infestis omnium oculis conspici mallet; tu cum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium iustum et iam diu tibi debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque volneras, eorum aspectum praesentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui neque eos ulla ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes. Nunc te patria, quae communis est parens omnium nostrum, odit ac metuit et iam diu nihil te iudicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare; huius tu neque auctoritatem verebere nec iudicium sequere nec vim pertimesces?*

[1.17] By Hercules, if my slaves should fear me in the way as all your citizens fear you I World consider leaving my home, don't you think you should leave the city?. If I should see that they, my fellow citizens, suspected me of a wrong so weighty and so offensive I would prefer not to look at my fellow citizens rather than to be noticed by the hostile eyes of them all. You, with your crimes, should recognize the justified hatred of all and what has indeed been long owed to you. Do you think to avoid being looked at and being in the presence of those whom you injure in heart and mind? If your parents feared and hated you, and were not in any respect able to reconcile with them, you would, I suppose, withdraw somewhere Hawaii from their sight, but as matters now stand your fatherland, which is mother of the community and of us all, hates and fears you, and long ago you you decided to ponder nothing except for their morder, should you become afraid of them, shall you not fear her authority, shall you not follow her judgements or her power?

[1.18] *Quae tecum, Catilina, sic agit et quodam modo tacita loquitur: "Nullum iam aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi per te, nullum flagitium sine te; tibi uni multorum civium necesse, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum impunita fuit ac libera; tu non solum ad neglegendas leges et quaestiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli;<sup>22</sup> nunc vero me totam esse in metu propter unum te, quicquid increpauerit, Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a*

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<sup>22</sup> Although, *quamquam*, those earlier crimes, *superiora illa*, were not, *non fuerunt*, tolerable, *ferenda*, I have never theless, as well as I was able, *tame nut potui tuli*, endured them, *ferenda*.

*tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quam ob rem discede atque hunc mihi timorem eripe; si est verus, ne opprimar, sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam."*

[1.18] Who with you, Catiline, she pleads thus; in a certain way silently, is speaking: "Already for several years not a crime arises except through you, without you there is no scandal; you alone with impunity and freedom killed many citizens; for you the harassment and plundering of the allies was free and unrestrained; you not only ignore the laws and the courts, but have succeeded in overturning and smashing them. Although those earlier crimes were not tolerable, I have, nevertheless, as well as I was able, endured them. Now, however, I have shrank all of me to be in fear because of someone like you. To be feared Catiline, to appear non-existent, to be able to plan against me, because a crime from you is not to be tolerated. Therefore from me depart and from me deliver this terror; if it is true, I may not be overcome, if, however, false, that I may finally abandon fear."

[1.19] *Haec si tecum, ita ut dixi, patria loquatur, nonne impetrare debeat, etiamsi vim adhibere non possit? Quid, quod tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti, quod vitandae suspicionis causa ad M'. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti? A quo non receptus etiam ad me venire ausus es atque, ut domi meae te adservarem, rogasti. Cum a me quoque id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse isdem parietibus tuto esse tecum, qui magno in periculo essem, quod isdem moenibus contineremur, ad Q. Metellum praetorem venisti. A quo repudiatus ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Metellum, demigrasti; quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum diligentissimum et*

*ad suspicandum sagacissimum et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti.<sup>23</sup> Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse iam dignum custodia iudicarit!*

[1.19] If the Fatherland should speak about these things with you as I do, wouldn't it be owed [to you], if indeed it were unable [to persuade you] to use force? What of the fact that you gave yourself into custody for the reason of avoiding suspicion; you said you were willing to live with Manius Lepidus. When there not being received, you even attempted to come to *me* and asked if I would assist you with *my* home. When from me you suffered to be answered the same, on account of the fact that I would be in great danger because I would in no way be safe with you when confined by the same city walls, [I would in no way be safe with you] within the wall of the same home, to Praetor Quintus Metellus you went, by whom you were repudiated, you emigrated to your comrade Marcus Marcellus, an excellent man, whom evidently you thought would be both most diligent in guarding you, and most keen in suspecting you, and most forceful in punishing you. But how far from jail and chains does it appear to be for he who he himself already determined ought to depart for custody?

[1.20] *Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si emori aequo animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras et vitam istam multis suppliciis iustis debitisque ereptam fugae solitudinique mandare? "Refer" inquis "ad senatum"; id enim postulas et, si hic ordo [sibi] placere decreverit te ire in exilium, optemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam, id quod abhorret a meis moribus, et tamen*

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<sup>23</sup> *et ad custodiendum...et ad suspicandum...et ad vindicandum...is Polysyndeton.*

*faciam, ut intellegas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina, libera rem publicam metu, in exilium, si hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur, tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis?*

[1.20] Why not, Catiline, when things are such, do you hesitate, if you are not able to die with peace of mind, depart for another land and your life consign to loneliness and be rescued by flight from the many justified punishments which are owed to you. You say, “Refer it to the Senate? Indeed you demand that and if this arrangement is decided by them and it is agreed for you to go into exile you say yourself to be obedient. If, on the other hand, I should not refer it, because that is inconsistent with my customs and still I in such a way shall act that you shall know what about you these men feel. Leave the city, Catiline, free the Republic from fear, into exile, if this is the phrase you await, depart. What is it? Whatever do you await, do you notice whatsoever the silence of these men? They are clear, they are silent. Why do you await for their judgment to be spoken when you observe their wishes through their silence.

[1.21] *At si hoc idem huic adulescenti optimo, P. Sestio, si fortissimo viro, M. Marcello, dixissem, iam mihi consuli hoc ipso in templo iure optimo senatus vim et manus intulisset. De te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant, cum patiuntur, decernunt, cum tacent, clamant, neque hi solum, quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima, sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, qui circumstant senatum, quorum tu et*

*frequentiam videre et studia perspicere et voces paulo ante exaudire potuisti. Quorum ego vix abs te iam diu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem facile adducam, ut te haec, quae vastare iam pridem studes, relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur.*

[1.21] But if I should have said the same thing to that excellent young man Publius Sestius or to the valiant Marcus Marcellus, the Senate in this very temple would at once have most rightly introduced force and hand against me the Consul. With respect to you Catiline, however, with their silence they approve, with being tolerant they decree, with silence they applaud, not only those whose authority evidently is dear to you, lives most worthless, but those Roman knights, the most honorable and excellent men and other brave citizens who stand around the Senate, of those whom you both frequently see and are eager to observe and whose voices you were able to clearly discern. Already for this long I control with difficulty the sword and hands of them from you. I shall easily persuade the same to escort you all the way to the gates while leaving behind that which you are eager to destroy.

[1.22] *Quamquam quid loquor? te ut ulla res frangat, tu ut umquam te corrigas, tu ut ullam fugam meditare, tu ut ullum exilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem di immortales duint! tametsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exilium animum induxeris quanta tempestas invidiae nobis, si minus in praesens tempus recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. Sed est tanti, dum modo ista sit privata calamitas et a rei publicae periculis seiungatur. Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum poenas pertimescas, ut*



*temporibus rei publicae cedas, non est postulandum. Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor umquam a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocarit.*

[22] Though why do I say this? As if anything would shatter the affair, as if you would ever straighten yourself out, as if you would be considering flight, as if you would ponder exile? If only the Gods immortal would put it into that head of yours! I think that even if my voice frightened you into exile, because of the remembrance of your crimes, if not in the present time but in the future, such a great storm of hatred would loom over us. But such as it is, provided that it would be your private disaster and the danger would be removed from the Republic. But that you could be displaced from you defects; that might be frightened by the penalties of law; that you would yield to the needs of the Republic; that is not being asked. No indeed, Catiline, you are he, such as you are neither shame from vice nor fear from danger, nor reason from rage controlled you.

[1.23] *Quam ob rem, ut saepe iam dixi, proficiscere ac, si mihi inimico, ut praedicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam, recta perge in exilium; vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris, vix molem istius invidiae, si in exilium iussu consulis ieris, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meae laudi et gloriae mavis, egredere cum inportuna sceleratorum manu, confer te ad Manlium, concita perditos cives, secerne te a bonis, infer patriae bellum, exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non eiectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris.*

[1.23] Accordingly, as I have often said, depart, and if through you hatred you are so inflamed, proceed directly into exile. With difficulty I shall bear the gossip of men, if you should do that, I shall with difficulty sustain the burden of your hatred if you went into exile at a Consul's command, but if on the other hand you prefer to serve my praise and renown, depart with the ruthless criminals, take yourself to Manlius. Rouse the degenerate citizens, separate yourself from the good, bring war to the Fatherland, revel with the disloyal criminals so as you should appear to be ejected by me to the others, but invited to go on your own.

[1.24] *Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo iam sciam esse praemissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium praestolarentur armati, cui iam sciam pactam et constitutam cum Manlio diem, a quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi ac tuis omnibus confido perniciosam ac funestam futuram, cui domi tuae sacrarium [scelerum tuorum] constitutum fuit, sciam esse praemissam? Tu ut illa carere diutius possis, quam venerari ad caedem proficiscens solebas, a cuius altaribus saepe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti?*

[1.24] Why, on the other hand, should I encourage you, when I already know there are those who were sent on ahead, to wait under arms, to Forum Aurelium, to whom I know a pact was made; with Manlius the day arranged, to whom also the Silver Eagle, which I'm sure shall be ruinous and deadly to you and all your men, which was at your home set up as a profane shrine, was sent on ahead? Could you be without that any

longer, that to which you usually prayed to on your way to murder, from the altar of which your evil right hand bore citizens through to their death?

[1.25] *Ibis tandem aliquando, quo te iam pridem ista tua cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat; neque enim tibi haec res adfert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem. Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit. Numquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem nisi nefarium concupisti. Nactus es ex perditis atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictis conflata inproborum manum.*

[1.25] You shall at long last go to that which your unbridled and frenzied lust long ago seized. And indeed this affair does not bring grief to you, but a certain incredible pleasure. It was for this madness that Nature bore you, you were trained, Fortune served. Never, not only in peace, but also in war, have you longer for anything except crime. You have happened upon those from the ruined, not only the fortunate but indeed truly hopeful derelicts, collected from all the shameful men, into this affair.

[1.26] *Hic tu qua laetitia perfruere, quibus gaudiis exultabis, quanta in voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque videbis! Ad huius vitae studium meditati illi sunt, qui feruntur, labores tui, iacere humi non solum ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeundum, vigilare non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. Habes, ubi ostentes tuam illam praeclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium, quibus te brevi tempore confectum esse senties.*

[1.26] You shall be so utterly overjoyed at this, you shall prance about in delight with them, you shall revel in pleasure to such an extent, for among your little number you shall neither see nor hear from any good man at all. Those practices of you which are always being talked about having been such good practice for a life such as this; lying on the ground looking for a rape and traveling to a crime; to stay awake by night, not only lying in wait for a married man, but for good citizens. You have the opportunity now whereby you may show your notorious endurance for hunger, cold, lack of everything, through which you shall soon become aware has been your destruction.

[1.27] *Tantum profeci tum, cum te a consulatu reppuli, ut exsul potius temptare quam consul vexare rem publicam posses, atque ut id, quod esset a te scelerate susceptum, latrocinium potius quam bellum nominaretur. Nunc, ut a me, patres conscripti, quandam prope iustam patriae querimoniam detester ac deprecere, percipite, quaeso, diligenter, quae dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim, si mecum patria, quae mihi vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica loquatur: "M.Tulli, quid agis? Tunc eum, quem esse hostem comperisti, quem ducem belli futurum vides, quem expectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem coniurationis, evocatorem servorum et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur? Nonne hunc in vincla duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio mactari imperabis?*

[1.27] I have accomplished this much: you were repulsed from the consulship, that you as an exile would be able to test the Republic rather than attack it as a Consul, and that

your criminal undertaking would be better named banditry rather than war. Now, Fathers of the Senate, such as it is from me, seizing upon a certain grievence of the Fatherland, loathing or pleading against, as *nearly* just; I beg thee listen carefully to what I say and entrust it to your hearts and minds. As a matter of fact, if my Fatherland, which to me is more dear than life itself, if the whole of Italy, if all the Republic, might be saying: "Marcus Tullius, what are you doing? You wouldn't be permitting the man who you discovered to be the enemy, who you see to be about to be the leader of a war, who you know the enemy awaits as a general, an instigator of crime, a leader of a conspiracy, and an agitator of slaves and degenerate citizens, to leave, not sent away from the city by you, but evidently to be let into the city; shouldn't you order this man to be led away in chains, to be dragged away to death, the ultimate punishment to be inflicted upon?"

[1.28] *Quid tandem te impedit? mosne maiorum? At persaepe etiam privati in hac re publica perniciosos cives morte multarunt. An leges, quae de civium Romanorum supplicio rogatae sunt? At numquam in hac urbe, qui a re publica defecerunt, civium iura tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis times? Praeclaram vero populo Romano refers gratiam, qui te, hominem per te cognitum nulla commendatione maiorum tam mature ad summum imperium per omnis honorum gradus extulit, si propter invidiam aut alicuius periculi metum salutem civium tuorum neglegis.*

[1.28] “Now tell me please, what hinders you, the customs of our forefathers surely not! For even in this Republic private citizens have very often punished bad citizens with death. Or the laws which were passed for the execution of Roman citizens? But never in this city have those who have defected retained the rights of a citizen. Or do you fear posterity’s hatred? It’s a splendid thanks indeed which you return to the Roman people, a man so quickly raised through all the stages of office to the highest rank of power having become found out through your efforts; as if on account of hatred, fearing some danger, you neglect the safety of your fellow citizens.

[1.29] *Sed, si quis est invidiae metus, non est vehementius severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae pertimescenda. An, cum bello vastabitur Italia, vestabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt tum te non existumas invidiae incendio conflagraturum?” His ego sanctissimis rei publicae vocibus et eorum hominum, qui hoc idem sentiunt, mentibus pauca respondebo. Ego si hoc optimum factu iudicarem, patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari, unius usuram horae gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim si summi viri et clarissimi cives saturnini et Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam honestarunt,<sup>24</sup> certe verendum mihi non erat, ne quid hoc parricida civium interfecto invidiae [mihi] in posteritatem redundaret. Quodsi ea mihi maxime inpenderet tamen hoc animo fui semper, ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem.*

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<sup>24</sup> And as a matter of fact, *etenim*, if the highest men, *si summi viri*, and the most distinguished citizens, *et clarissimi*, were in such away themselves, *non modo se*, so as to be honored, *etiam honestarunt*, rather than contaminated, *sed non contaminerunt*, by the blood, *sanguine*, of Saturninus...etc., *saturnini et Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum complurium*.

[1.29] But if hatred is what you are afraid of, isn't laziness or wickedness to be feared more than the severity or strength of that hatred? Or when Italy by war is devastated, her cities attacked, her homes aflame, don't you then suppose that you shall be consumed by hatred?" I to these most sacred words, and to those men who feel in their hearts the same, shall respond. "If I, Fathers of the Senate, had adjudged it best for Catiline by death be punished I would not have given this gladiator the enjoyment of a single hour to live. And as a matter of fact, if the highest men and the most distinguished citizens were themselves in such a way inclined so as to be honored rather than stained by the blood of Saturninus, and the Gracchi and of Flaccus and of a good many before, because if that was seriously looming over me, I still have always thought in my heart that acquiring hatred through virtue should be fame not hatred.

[1.30] *Quamquam non nulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea, quae inminent non videant aut ea, quae vident, dissimulent; qui spem Catilinae mollibus sententiis aluerunt coniurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt; quorum auctoritate multi non solum improbi, verum etiam inperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse dicerent. Nunc intellego, si iste, quo intendit, in Manliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, qui non videat coniurationem esse factam neminem tam improbum, qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto intellego hanc rei publicae pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quodsi se eiecerit secumque suos eduxerit et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos*

*adgregarit, extinguetur atque delebitur non modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium.*

[1.30] Though there are some in this order who either do not see that which is imminent or conceal<sup>25</sup> that which they do see, who, with flimsy resolve, by not believing have strengthened Catiline's hopes and the conspiracy to grow, the power of whom is not only from many bad men but indeed is also of the ignorant; those who would say if I should punish in this, the act to have been tyrannical and cruel. In view of this, I realize if this guy who intends this should have arrived in the camp of Manlius nobody could be so stupid so as not to see this conspiracy is a fact., nobody so bad who would not acknowledge it. On the other hand, I think with the killing of this one man I might suppress this plague of the Republic a little while, but I would not be able to eliminate it. But if he himself is driven out and leads forth along with himself his men and from and from all directions has gathered as a herd the other wayfarers into the same place<sup>26</sup> these things which have grown to such a degree withing the sick Republic shall be debilitated and extinguished, indeed the root and seed of everything bad.

[1.31] *Etenim iam diu, patres conscripti, in his periculis coniurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. Quodsi ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur, videbimur fortasse ad breve*

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<sup>25</sup> *dissimulo*, -are = dissimilitude or concealment.

<sup>26</sup> *eodem...undique...ceteros...naufragos...conlectos adgregarit* is *Synchysis*.



*quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati,<sup>27</sup> periculum autem residebit et erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei publicae. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi cum aestu febrique iactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque adflicti, sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, relevatus istius poena vehementius reliquis vivis ingravescet.*

[1.31] And as a matter of fact, Patres Conscripti, we have been twisting around in the danges and plots of a conspiracy for a long time, but I don't know how crime in general, this ancient furor in particular, and these full grown audacious acts breaks out in our consulship at this time. Now if out of such bandits that man alone is done away with, we shall perhaps appear to have been freed for a short time from a certain kind of worry and fear, the danger, however, shall sink down and shall become deep inside he veins and vitals of the Republic<sup>28</sup> just as men being sick with a serious disease toss themselves to and fro with heat and fever if they drink cold water; they appear at first to be relieved, then they are more seriously and violently afflicted. Thus is this disease which is in the Republic; the punishment of that man being an alleviation shall become more seriously violent with the others alive.<sup>29</sup>

[1.32] *Quare secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, [id] quod saepe iam dixi, secernantur a nobis; desinant insidiari domi suae consuli,*

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<sup>27</sup> *esse relevati* is *Anastrophe*.

<sup>28</sup> This is *Metaphor*.

<sup>29</sup> This is *Allegory*.

*circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare; sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius cuiusque, quid de re publica sentiat. Polliceor hoc vobis, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae profectione omnia patefacta, inlustrata, oppressa, vindicata esse videatis.*

[1.32] Wherefore, the let the bad leave, let them be apart from the good, let them be gathered into one place. In short, just as I have often said, they should be separated from us by a wall, they should stop laying in wait for the Consul at his home, surrounding the tribunal of an urban Praetor, besieging the Curia with swords, preparing torches and flaming arrows to set the city aflame; and finally let it be written on the face of each and everyone what he may feel about the Republic. This to you I promise, Patres Conscripti, there shall be in we Consuls such diligence, such authority in you, such valor in the Roman knights, such consensus among all the good, that through Catiline's departure you will see everything be brought to light, illuminated, crushed, and vindicated.

[1.33] *Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio, qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque iunxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tu, Iuppiter, qui isdem quibus haec urbs auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus, quem Statorem huius urbis atque imperii vere nominamus, hunc et huius socios a tuis [aris]*

*ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac moenibus, a vita fortunisque civium [omnium] arcebis et homines bonorum inimicos, hostis patriae, latrones Italiae scelerum foedere inter se ac nefaria societate coniunctos aeternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.*

[1.33] Agape at everything, Catiline, with the highest respect, hail the Republic, with your disease, and curse, and with the exit of those who along with you united in all kinds of crime and treason, depart to your impious war and to infamy. You, Jupiter, who by the same signs as Romulus founded this city, whom we justly call 'Stator' of this city and this empire, this one and those helpers of yours, and others temples, from the homes and walls of the city, from the lives and fortunes of all citizens; keep off the enemies of good men, enemies of the fatherland, bandits of Italy, the criminals, who with a pact among themselves and a nefarious alliance, the conspirators, living and dead, destroy with eternal punishment. (End *In Catilinam Prima*)

## II Oratio In Catilinam

[2.1] *Tandem aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam furem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem,*<sup>30</sup> *vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem ex urbe vel eiecimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus. Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit. Nulla iam perniciēs a monstro illo atque prodigio moenibus ipsis intra moenia*

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<sup>30</sup> *furem audacia* = 'being out of his mind with rage,' *scelus anhelantem* = 'fuming with crime,' *pestem patriae nefarie molientem*, 'a disease working nefariously against the Fatherland.'

*comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum huius belli domestici ducem sine controversia vicimus. Non enim iam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur, non in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. Loco ille motus est, cum est ex urbe depulsus. Palam iam cum hoste nullo inpediente bellum iustum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem magnificeque vicimus, cum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium coniecimus.*

[2.1] At long last, Quirites, Catiline, being out of his mind with rage, fuming with criminal intent, as a disease working nefariously against the Fatherland, with fire and sword against you making threats, out of the city we have thrown, or allowed to escape, or merely permitted to march out followed by words of 'farewell;' he has departed, gone away, escaped, broken out. Never again shall the ruin within the walls of these walls be planned by that monster and freak, and that we have defeated this one true leader of this civil war is without controversy. Indeed that dagger shall not be twisted in our sides, not in the camp, not in the Forum, not in the Curia; within the walls of our own homes, at last we shall not be afraid. That man from his position was dissuaded when from the city he was expelled. Without a doubt we destroyed the man, and won magnificently when from secret plots into open conspiracy we drove him into open robbery.

[2.2] *Quod vero non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem urbem reliquit, quanto*

*tandem illum maerore esse adflictum et profligatum putatis? Iacet ille nunc prostratus, Quirites, et se perculsum atque abiectum esse sentit et<sup>31</sup> retorquet oculos profecto saepe ad hanc urbem, quam e suis faucibus ereptam esse luget; quae quidem mihi laetari videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque proiecerit.*

[2.2] Because no sword bloodstained was in fact as he wished raised, because with us alive he was sent away, because we wrenched his sword from his hands, because the citizens are safe, because he left the city still standing, at last you think he would be crushed with sadness and knocked to the ground. Now he is laying knocked to the ground, Quirites, and he feels beaten and humbled and actually often looks back to mourn the city which from his jaws was snatched, which to me appears to be happy because it spewed forth such a pest and threw him out.

*[2.3] Ac si quis est talis, quales esse omnes oportebat, qui in hoc ipso, in quo exultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitale hostem non comprehenderim potius quam emiserim, non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilinam et gravissimo supplicio adfectum iam pridem oportebat, idque a me et mos maiorum et huius imperii severitas et res publica postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisse putatis, qui, quae ego deferrem, non crederent, [quam multos, qui propter stultitiam non putarent,] quam multos, qui etiam defenderent [quam multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent]! Ac, si illo sublato depelli a*

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<sup>31</sup> *et...atque...et* is Polysyndeton.

*vobis omne periculum iudicarem, iam pridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiae meae, verum etiam vitae periculo sustulissem.*

[2.3] If anyone in particular is such a man so as to think it right in this matter, on account of the fact that my oration is exultant and triumphant, that everyone ought to be the kind of man who vehemently accuses me because I did not seize such a dangerous enemy, but rather sent him away, that's not particularly my fault, Quirites, but that of the circumstances. It was right for Lucius Catiline to have suffered the ultimate punishment and to have been killed long ago, and that was demanded of me, the customs of our ancestors, the duty of this office, and the Republic. But how many do you think there have been who wouldn't believe what I report, how many wouldn't believe it because of stupidity, how many who actually defended him, how many who favored him because of their depravity? And if I thought, by enduring that, all danger to be driven away from you, long ago I would have destroyed Lucius Catiline, not only with the danger of hatred to me but indeed with danger to my life.<sup>32</sup>

[2.4] *Sed cum viderem, ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tum probata si illum, ut erat meritis, morte multassem, fore ut eius socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem, rem huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, cum hostem aperte videretis. Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirites, quam vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intellegatis, quod etiam illud moleste*

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<sup>32</sup> And if, *ac si*, I thought, *iudicarem*, by enduring that, *illo sublato*, all danger, *omne periculum*, to be driven away, *depelli*, from you, *a vobis*, long ago, *iam pridem*, I would have destroyed Lucius Catiline, *sustulissem L. Catilinam*, not only, *non modo*, with the danger, *periculo*, of hatred to me, *invidiae meae*, but indeed, *verum etiam*, with danger to my life, *vitalis*.

*fero, quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnis secum suas copias eduxisset! Tongilium mihi eduxit, quem amare in praetexta coeperat, Publicium et Minucium, quorum aes alienum contractum in popina nullum rei publicae motum adferre poterat; reliquit quos viros, quanto aere alieno, quam valentis, quam nobilis!*

[2.4] But when I saw that some, no all, of you approved the matter at the time, if that man, as was deserved, I would have punished with death, the hatred for me would be so overwhelming I would not be able to pursue his accomplices; I conducted this affair, therefore, in such a way that you are able to openly fight with an enemy you plainly see. Indeed how much I think he ought to be feared as a formidable enemy, Quirites, you should plainly see because he left the city through my concern that he left with few companions. If only he himself would have marched out with *all* his forces. I see he left with Tongilius, whom he began to love while in praetexta. Publicus and Minucius whose drinking debts would not have been able to cause a disturbance for the Republic; what men he left behind, how great their debts, how powerful, how noble!

[2.5] *Itaque ego illum exercitum prae Gallicanis legionibus et hoc dilectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis, quae a nobis cotidie comparantur, magno opere contemno collectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex iis, qui vadimonia deserere quam illum exercitum maluerunt; quibus ego non modo si aciem exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum praetoris ostendero, concident. Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire, qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura,*

*mallem secum suos milites eduxisset; qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis quam hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quod, quid cogitent, me scire sentiunt neque tamen permoventur.*

[2.5] Accordingly I compare his army to the Gallic legions and that those drafters who were quartered in the field at Picenum and Umbria, and those forces which everyday I compare to ours, which I greatly belittle, a collection of desperate old men, from the wealthy savages, from bankrupt rustics, from those who would prefer to have jumped bail rather than serve in the army; those who shall collapse not only if I show them the battle array of our army, but even if I show them the Praetor's edict. I see those who hover around the Forum, who standing before the Curia, even come to the Senate, who listen with ointments, who gleam in purple; I would prefer he would have led them out with his soldiers. You should remember that if they stay here, his *army* is not so much to be feared by us but rather those who have forsaken it. And besides that they are more frightening because of what they may be thinking, they sense they are known to me, yet they are unmoved.

[2.6] *Video, cui sit Apulia adtributa, quis habeat Etruriam, quis agrum Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has urbanas insidias caedis atque incendiorum depoposcerit. Omnia superioris noctis consilia ad me perlata esse sentiunt; patefeci in senatu hesterno die; Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit; hi quid expectant? Ne illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram. Quod expectavi, iam sum adsecutus, ut vos omnes factam esse*



*aperte coniurationem contra rem publicam videretis; nisi vero si quis est, qui Catilinae similis cum Catilina sentire non putet. Non est iam lenitati locus; severitatem res ipsa flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: exeant, proficiscantur, ne patiantur desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere. Demonstrabo iter: Aurelia via profectus est; si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur.*

[2.6] I see to whom Apulia was given, who hds Etruria, who the lands of Picenum, who Umbria, who demanded for himself the murder and arson of this city. They realize that their plans from the night before last were related to me; that I revealed them in the Senate yesterday; that Catiline was himself afraid and fled: what do *these men* await? If they hope my earlier leniency shall stand forever, they are seriously mistaken. What I was expecting, I have now pursued in such a way that all of you were able to see that an open conspiracy has been formed against the Republic. Unless of course he is one who, feeling like Catiline, wld not consider being *with* Catiline. Now this is not the place for lenience; the matter demands severity. Still I shall concede one thing, let them retire, let them depart; that they not allow their Catiline to melt away through longing. I shall show them the way; he has departed by the Aurelian Way; if they wish to hurry, they should catch up by evening.

[2.7] *O fortunatam rem publicam, si quidem hanc sentinam urbis ieicerit! Uno mehercule Catilina exhausto levata mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut cogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit? quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro,*

*quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subiecto, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor iuventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? quae caedes per hosce annos sine illo facta est, quod nefarium stuprum non per illum?*

[2.7] O fortunate Republic, if only this bilge water shall be purged from the city! By Hercules, it appears that my removing Catiline has alone refreshed the Republic. Why in fact is it possible to imagine, or even consider, any misdeed, or crime, which was not committed by him? What poisoner in the whole of Italy, what gladiator, what bandit, what assassin, what parricide, what forger of wills, what cheat, what glutton, what spendthrift, what adulterer, what whore, what corrupter of youth, what seducer, what degenerate can be found who would not confess to living in the utmost familiarity with Catiline? What murder over the years has happened without him, what abominable rape has not happened at the hands of that man!

*[2.8] Iam vero quae tanta umquam in ullo homine] iuventutis inlecebra fuit, quanta in illo? qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amoris flagitiosissime serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum non modo impellendo, verum etiam adiuvando pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat! Nemo non modo Romae, sed [ne] ullo in angulo totius Italiae oppressus aere alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris foedus asciverit.*

[2.8] In fact, with respect to any of the youth what so ever was the attraction so great which he did not love some most obscenely and others served as the most disgraceful object of affection? Now indeed, how quickly was he able to gather, not only from the city but also from the country, a huge number of degenerate men? There is nobody, not only from Rome but anyone out of every corner of Italy, overwhelmed by debt who was not received into this incredibly filthy crime.

[2.9] *Atque ut eius diversa studia in dissimili ratione perspicere possitis, nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paulo ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinae esse fateatur, nemo in scaena levior et nequior; qui se non eiusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione adsuefactus frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis perferendis fortis ab istis praedicabatur, cum industriae subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis in lubidine audaciaque consumeret.*

[2.9] And in this way you should be able in a different way to observe his diverse methods; there is no one in the gladiatorial schools a little daring in crime who would not confess to be an intimate friend of Catiline; there is no one on stage more capricious and more worthless who is not known to have been his close comrade. And moreover still, his training in the practices of rape and crime, preferring cold and hunger, thirst and sleeplessness from which his strength was predicated, when the help of industry and instruments of virtue was by him squandered in lust and recklessness.

[2.10] *Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites, si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges, o nos beatos, o rem publicam fortunatam, o praeclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim iam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanae ac tolerandae audaciae; nihil cogitant nisi caedem, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas. Patrimonia sua profuderunt, fortunas suas obligaverunt; res eos iam pridem deseruit, fides nuper deficere coepit; eadem tamen illa, quae erat in abundantia, libido permanet. Quodsi in vino et alea comissiones solum et scorta quaererent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi; hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientis vigilantibus? qui mihi accubantes in conviviis complexi mulieres impudicas vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris eructant sermonibus suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia.*

[2.10] If, however, he were to be followed by his comrades, if out of the city the disgraceful herds of desperate men shall have passed, O happy us! O fortunate Republic! O splendid praise for my consulship! For the depravity of those men is no longer slight, their audacity humane and tolerable; they think of nothing but murder, but arson, but rapine. Their patrimony has been wasted, their fortunes mortgaged; long ago their supplies ran out and their faith has just begun to, yet their lust which was in abundance remains. Because if in their drinking they were only seeking wild parties and prostitutes, they would indeed be hopeless, but would nevertheless be tolerable. But would anyone be able to endure this: the lazy men plotting against brave men, the

stupid against the prudent, drunks against the sober, the drowsy against the watchful; who, according to me, recline at banquets embracing lewd women, languid with wine, stuffed with food, crowned with garlands, smeared with perfume, debilitated by immorality, belching their sermons about the murder of the good and the burning of the city.

[2.11] *Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod, et poenam iam diu improbitati, nequitiae, sceleri, libidini debitam aut instare iam plane aut certe adpropinquare. Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit, non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa saecula propagarit rei publicae. Nulla est enim natio, quam pertimescamus, nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano facere possit. Omnia sunt externa unius virtute terra marique pacata; domesticum bellum manet, intus insidiae sunt, intus inclusum periculum est, intus est hostis. Cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites; suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum; quae sanari poterunt, quacumque ratione sanabo, quae resecanda erunt, non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut exeant aut quiescant aut, si et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent, ea, quae merentur, expectent.*

[2.11] Over whom I am confident some doom, and some punishment long over due, looms for their dishonesty, wickedness, crimes, caprice; what is owed being either already entirely at hand or is certainly approaching. Seeing that, if my consulship is not able to cure these men, let it have destroy them; let it prolong the Republic not for some brief time or other, but for many generations. There is not a nation that we fear, no king

who can make war upon the Roman people; everything abroad, on land and sea, is peaceful on account of the valor of one man: civil war remains, there are plots among us; the danger is at home, the enemy is within. We shall fight against extravagance, against folly, against crime; for this war, Quirites, I volunteer myself s leader, I accept the enmity of vicious men; I shall heal whatever can be cured, what can be healed, shall be, but I will not allow what is destructive to the State to remain. Consequently, they should depart or they should remain quiet; or if they remain both in the city and in their right minds, they should expect they are owed.

[2.12] *At etiam sunt, qui dicant, Quirites, a me eiectum in exilium esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo adsequi possem, istos ipsos eicerem, qui haec locuntur. Homo enim videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit; simul atque ire in exilium iussus est, paruit, ivit. Hesterno die, Quirites, cum domi meae paene interfectus essem, senatum in aedem Iovis Statoris convocavi, rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli. Quo cum Catilina venisset, quis eum senator appellavit, quis salutavit, quis denique ita aspexit ut perditum civem ac non potius ut inportunissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes eius ordinis partem illam subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque inanem reliquerunt.*

[2.12] But there are in fact others, Quirites, who say Catiline has been driven out by me. But if I was able to achieve this, they who are saying this I would expel. As a matter of fact, the man was evidently so timid, or truly modest, that he was unable to bear the voice of a Consul; and the moment he was ordered into exile, he obeyed. Yesterday in

fact, when I was nearly killed at my home, I convened the Senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, brought the ominous affair before the Fathers of the Senate, who, after Catiline arrived; by whom was he acknowledged, he was greeted by whom, and finally, by whom, although a scoundrel, was he considered a citizen and not the most ruthless enemy? The principal men of the order in fact left their seats, left them bare and relinquished them empty.

[2.13] *Hic ego vehemens ille consul, qui verbo civis in exilium eicio, quaesivi a Catilina, in nocturno conventu apud M. Laecam fuisset necne. Cum ille homo audacissimus conscientia convictus primo reticuisset, patefeci cetera; quid ea nocte egisset, [ubi fuisset,] quid in proximam constituisset, quem ad modum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui. Cum haesitaret, cum teneretur, quaesivi, quid dubitaret proficisci eo, quo iam pridem pararet, cum arma, cum secures, cum fasces, cum tubas, cum signa militaria, cum aquilam illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrarium [scelerum] domi suae fecerat, scirem esse praemissam.*

[2.13] I, this ardent Consul, who with a word expels citizens into exile, demanded from Catiline whether or not he had been at a meeting with Marcus Laeca in the night. When that most audacious man, having a guilty conscience, was at first silent, I brought the rest to light; what he had done that night, where he had been, what he had planned for the next night; I clearly showed how the whole war had been drawn out. When he hesitated, when he became weak, I asked why, when I knew the arms, when I knew the axes, when I knew the fasces, when I knew the military standards, when I knew the

Silver Eagle, which had in fact been made into a shrine in his home, had been sent on ahead, he hesitated to depart to where he had long ago planned.

[2.14] *In exilium eiciebam, quem iam ingressum esse in bellum videbam? Etenim, credo, Manlius iste centurio, qui in agro Faesulano castra posuit bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit, et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem expectant, et ille eiectus in exilium se Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in haec castra conferet. O condicionem miseram non modo administrandae, verum etiam conservandae rei publicae! Nunc si L. Catilina consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis circumclusus ac debilitatus subito pertimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium belli faciendi abiecerit et ex hoc cursu sceleris ac belli iter ad fugam atque in exilium converterit, non ille a me spoliatus armis audaciae, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus sed indemnatus innocens in exilium eiectus a consule vi et minis esse dicetur; et erunt, qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum, me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint!*

[2.14] Was I throwing him into exile after I saw that war had already begun? And as a matter of fact, I do believe that centurion Manlius, who, under his own name, built a military camp in the field at Faesulae, declared war upon the Roman people. And in this camp, do they not await their leader Catiline, and he, as they might say, into exile expelled, isn't he on his way himself to Massilia, to this camp? O what a miserable state of affairs, not only the governing of the Republic but also the preserving of it. Now if Lucius Catiline through plans, labors, and threats against me, was suddenly



surrounded and was debilitated by fear, changed his intention and deserted his men. And he was caused to throw away his plan for war and changed from this direction of crime to the path of flight and exile; it may be said that by me he was stripped of arms, not being stupefied and terrified by my diligence, not about his hopes for his undertaking being depleted, but an unconvicted innocent man was by the force of a Consul driven into exile and not by a few men, and there will be another who, if with this he was made not a miserable man, not by a most diligent Consul but by a cruel tyrant.

[2.15] *Est mihi tanti, Quirites, huius invidiae falsae atque iniquae tempestatem subire, dum modo a vobis huius horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane eiectus esse a me, dum modo eat in exilium. Sed, mihi credite, non est iturus. Numquam ego ab dis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiae meae levandae causa, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium atque in armis volitare audiat, sed triduo tamen audietis; multoque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emiserim potius quam quod eiecerim. Sed cum sint homines, qui illum, cum profectus sit, eiectum esse dicant, idem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent?*

[2.15] It is enough for me, Quirites, to enter this false hatred and unjust storm if only this horrible war and nefarious danger is averted. By all means, let it be said that he was driven out by me, as long as into exile he goes. But, take my word for it, he is not about to go. I shall never seek from the Gods immortal, Quirites, to be free from hatred

for me at the cost that you should hear that Lucius Catiline shall be leading an enemy army about, under arms, but you shall nevertheless hear that in three days time. I am much more afraid not that at sometime someone may be jealous of me because I allowed him to escape rather than having expelled him. But there may be men who may say he was driven out when the matter should be clear; if he was killed, what would they say.

[2.16] *Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dictitant, non tam hoc queruntur quam verentur. Nemo est istorum tam misericors, qui illum non ad Manlium quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si mehercule hoc, quod agit, numquam antea cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet quam exulem vivere. Nunc vero, cum ei nihil adhuc praeter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est, optemus potius, ut eat in exilium, quam queramur.*

[2.16] Although there are those who keep saying Catiline went to Massilia not so much because there were complaints, but on account of fear. Nobody is of those so sympathetic who prefers for him to go to Manlius rather than Massilia. But, on the other hand, if, by Hercules, because of this he does as he never before would have thought, still he would prefer to die a bandit rather than to live as an exile. Now, however, with nothing happening besides precisely what he wished and he planned, except that by our living when Rome he left, we should hope rather that he would go into exile rather than complaining about it.

[2.17] *Sed cur tam diu de uno hoste loquimur, et de eo hoste, qui iam fatetur se esse hostem, et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo; de his, qui dissimulant, qui Romae remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo quam sanare sibi ipsos, placare rei publicae, neque, id quare fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intellego. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae copiae comparentur; deinde singulis medicinam consilii atque orationis meae, si quam potero, adferam.*

[2.17] But why are we discussing one enemy for so long and about that enemy, and who, because what I have always wanted, there is a wall between us, I do not fear; but about those who are disguised, who remain in Rome, about whom we say nothing. Whom I in fact desire, if it is in any way possible, not so much to punish, but rather to bring them to sanity, to reconcile them to the Republic, a thing which I think should not prove to be impossible, if they are now willing to listen to me. For you, Quirites, I shall reveal from what kind of men those troops were obtained; after that I shall offer and to each the medicine of the wisdom in my speech.

[2.18] *Unum genus est eorum, qui magno in aere alieno maiores etiam possessiones habent, quarum amore adducti dissolvi nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum species est honestissima (sunt enim locupletes), voluntas vero et causa inpudentissima. Tu agris, tu aedificiis, tu argento, tu familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis et dubites de possessione detrahere, acquirere ad fidem? Quid enim expectas? bellum? Quid ergo? in vastatione omnium tuas*

*possessiones sacrosanctas futuras putas? An tabulas novas? Errant, qui istas a Catilina expectant; meo beneficio tabulae novae proferentur, verum auctionariae; neque enim isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione ulla Salvi esse possunt. Quod si maturius facere voluissent neque, id quod stultissimum est, certare cum usuris fructibus praediorum, et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de sententia possunt aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam quam arma laturi.*

[2.18] The first class is of those who greatly in debt for the most part have possessions of which through love they would in no way be led to release, the outward appearance of these men is most honest for they are rich, their aims, and motives, however, are most shameless. You with your lands, you with your homes, you with your silver, you with your slaves, you with your things of every kind; you are ornate and abundantly supplied, and you hesitate to relinquish your possessions in order to acquire credit? What indeed are you waiting for? A war? Why then, do you think of in the future general devastation, your possessions or a clean slate? They are mistaken if they somehow expect that from Catiline, thought my generosity a clean slate is being brought forward, auction sales cataloges; they who have estates are not in fact able otherwise have one safe. Because if they would have done this earlier instead of that which is most foolish, fighting with...But I think we ought to fear these men least of all, because either they can be dissuaded from their purpose or, if they should perist, they

seem to me for the most part making vows against the Republic rather than acting against it with arms.

[2.19] *Alterum genus est eorum, qui quamquam premuntur aere alieno, dominationem tamen expectant, rerum potiri volunt, honores, quos quieta re publica desperant, perturbata se consequi posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc praecipendum videtur, unum Scilicet et idem quod reliquis omnibus, ut desperent se id, quod conantur, consequi posse; primum omnium me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere rei publicae; deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam [maximam multitudinem], magnas praeterea militum copias; deos denique immortalis huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimae urbi contra tantam vim sceleris praesentis auxilium esse laturos. Quodsi iam sint id, quod summo furore cupiunt, adepti, num illi in cinere urbis et in sanguine civium, quae mente conscelerata ac nefaria concupiverunt, consules se aut dictatores aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit necesse?*

[2.19] The second class is of those who although being thoroughly in debt still expect to be absorbed with public affairs; those who have by honors been forsaken in a peaceful Republic suppose through revolution they are able to attain them. This is to be understood by them, of course one and the same as far as the the others that they should give up hope for that which they would be making an effort to be able to pursue. First of all, I myself am alert, at hand, looking after the Republic; furthermore, in good men are strong spirits, great harmony, large numbers, and, besides that, a great

abundance of soldiers; finally, by the Gods immortal, help shall be brought to this unconquered people, this most famous empire, most beautiful of cities, against present wave of crime. But if, however, they should be able to obtain that which in their utter madness they desire; do they now from the ashes of the city and blood of the citizens hope to become that which their depraved and criminal minds have longed for; Consuls, or Dictators, or even kings? Don't they see if they should achieve that which they desire, they shall inevitably be lost to some fugitive or gladiator?

[2.20] *Tertium genus est aetate iam adfectum, sed tamen exercitatione robustum; quo ex genere iste est Manlius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines ex iis coloniis, quas Sulla constituit; quas ego universas civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio, sed tamen ii sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis ac repentinis pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque iactarunt. Hi dum aedificant tamquam beati, dum praediis lectis, familiis magnis, conviviis apparatus delectantur, in tantum aes alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus; qui etiam non nullos agrestis homines tenues atque egentes in eandem illam spem rapinarum veterum impulerunt. Quos ego utrosque in eodem genere praedatorum direptorumque pono, sed eos hoc moneo, desinant furere ac proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut iam ista non modo homines, sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passurae esse videantur.*

[2.20] The third class is of those already along in years, but through exercise are still robust; who are from the genre of Manlius and now go over to Catiline. These are the

men from those colonies which Sulla founded; who, out of all the citizens, think they are the best and most brave men, but are, nevertheless, from the colonies who were themselves hurled into sudden and unexpected lavishness and unusual wealth. While those men built as if they were rich, amusing themselves with elite guards, large families, grand banquets, fell into such debt that, if they wished to be saved, Sulla himself would have to arise from the dead: and who have in fact persuaded some boorish men, plain and poor, to hope for the same pillage of the past. Both of whom I put into the same genre as the predators and plunderers; but to them this I advise: let them abandon their crazy thinking about proscriptions and dictatorships, for, as a matter of fact, the anguish of the state from the injury of those times is so great that not only men but even animals would appear to suffer from it.

[2.21] *Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et turbulentum; qui iam pridem premuntur, qui numquam emergunt, qui partim inertia, partim male gerendo negotio, partim etiam sumptibus in vetere aere alieno vacillant, qui vadimoniis, iudiciis, proscriptione bonorum defetigati permulti et ex urbe et ex agris se in illa castra conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acris quam infitiores lentos esse arbitror. Qui homines quam primum, si stare non possunt, corruant sed ita, ut non modo civitas, sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intellego, quam ob rem, si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint, aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis quam si soli pereant, arbitrentur.*

[2.21] And, besides that, partly due to lavishness, they stagger under the weight of old debts, being worn down by summonses, judgements, and proscriptions; and are said to be gathering themselves together from the city and the country into that camp. I reckon these men to be not so much eager soldiers, but, instead, reluctant defaulters. Men who, if they cannot stand, should fall as soon as possible, but in such a way that not only the State but indeed the neighbor should not even hear. On the other hand, I don't understand for what reason if they cannot live honestly they would prefer to die disgracefully, or why they themselves think being dead with the many less painful than if they should die alone.

[2.22] *Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinerosorum. Quos ego a Catilina non revoco; nam neque ab eo divelli possunt et pereant sane in latrocinio quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos carcer capere non possit. Postremum autem genus est non solum numero verum etiam genere ipso atque vita, quod proprium Catilinae est, de eius dilectu, immo vero de complexu eius ac sinu; quos pexo capillo nitidos aut inberbis aut bene barbatos videtis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis velis amictos, non togis; quorum omnis industria vitae et vigilandi labor in antelucanis cenis expromitur.*

[2.22] The fifth class is of the parricides, assassins, and, in short, every kind of criminal. Those who don't return from Catiline, for in fact they couldn't be torn away from him, and should, of course, perish in piracy, seeing that there are so many of them that the prison couldn't hold them. The last class, however, is not only a great number, but also



is truly of the same genre; from the same men and life because they are Catiline's very own, his chosen ones, yes in fact from is beloved and intimate friends. Whom you see greased with combed hair, full bearded men with beardless boys, with long-sleeved and ankle length tunics, awnings not togas; all the waking hours of their lives being dedicated to banquets till dawn.

[2.23] *In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri inpudicique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati non solum amare et amari neque saltare et cantare, sed etiam sicas vibrare et spargere venena didicerunt. Qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiamsi Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarum futurum. Verum tamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? Quem ad modum autem illis carere poterunt, his praesertim iam noctibus? Quo autem pacto illi Appenninum atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent? nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem toleraturos putant, quod nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt.*

[2.23] In this crowd is all the gamblers, all the adulterers, everyone involved in the filthy and the lewd. These boys being so dainty and effeminate they have learned not only to love and be loved, nor to dance and sing, but to brandish daggers and sow poison! Who, unless they leave, unless they die, and even if Catiline *were* dead, know this: with in the Republic will be a spawning ground for Catilines. What all the same do these miserable ones want for themselves? Surely they won't be taking their bitches to the camp with them? But how could they do without them, especially on nights like *these*?

But how will they endure the frosts and the snows of the Apennines, unless they think enduring the winter will be easy for them because they learned to dance at banquets?

[2.24] *O bellum magno opere pertimescendum, cum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem praetoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam praeclaras Catilinae copias vestra praesidia vestrosque exercitus. Et primum gladiatori illi confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite; deinde contra illam naufragorum eiectam ac debilitatam manum florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Iam vero urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumultis silvestribus. Neque ego ceteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia vestra cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo.*

[2.24] O' what a grand and terrifying war it will be when Catiline has this ever-so-special praetorian cohort.<sup>33</sup> Now, Quirites, deploy your guards and your army against Catiline's forces manifest! And pit your Consuls and generals against the leader of the gladiators, and lead forth therefrom against them that waifs in their sloppy lame grasp for the blossom and power of the whole of Italy. Now let the towns and colonies of Italy answer to Catiline's wooded hills. I am not obliged to compare all of your other troops, your equipment, and your defenders with his powerless band of needy bandits.

[2.25] *Sed si omissis his rebus, quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus, si his rebus omissis causas ipsas, quae inter se confligunt, contendere velimus, ex eo ipso, quam valde illi*

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<sup>33</sup> This is Irony.

*iaceant, intellegere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, illinc scelus; hinc constantia, illinc furor; hinc honestas, illinc turpitude; hinc continentia, illinc libido; denique aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus; postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione confligit. In eius modi certamine ac proelio nonne, si hominum studia deficient, di ipsi immortales cogant ab his praeclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?*

[2.25] But if these things with which we are supplied, and Catiline lacks, were omitted, the Senate, the Roman knights, the city, the treasury, the whole of Italy, all the provinces, and the foreign nations, if these things are ignored, and we are willing to compare those men who among themselves clash, we can understand from that alone how utterly powerless they are. For in fact from this side fights decency, on that petulance, hence modest, thence disgrace, hence fidelity, thence decite, hence piety, thence crime, hence constancy, thence madness, hence honesty, thence turpitude, hence continence, thence libido, and, finally, hence equality, temperence, fortitude, prudence, all virtues is contending with inequality, luxury, laziness, foolishness, against all vices. In a word, abundance fight poverty, good reason with the reckless, sound mind with madness, and finally good wishes with everything bad. In a contest and battle of this kind a

man's spirit shal fail him; wouldn't the Gods immortal themselves overwhelm such vice with these sterling virtues?

[2.26] *Quae cum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quem ad modum iam antea dixi, vestra tecta vigiliis custodiisque defendite; mihi, ut urbi sine vestro motu ac sine ullo tumultu satis esset praesidii, consultum atque provisum est. Coloni omnes municipesque vestri certiores a me facti de hac nocturna excursione Catilinae facile urbes suas finesque defendent; gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam fore putavit, quamquam animo meliore sunt quam pars patriciorum, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego hoc prospiciens in agrum Gallicum Picenumque praemisi, aut opprimet hominem aut eius omnis motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis maturandis, agendis iam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis.*

[2.26] With things such as they are, Quirites, I say to you what I have already said before, defend yourselves with sentinels and guards; for my part the city, without tumult or causing alarm, was sufficiently guarded and looked out for. Your colonies and cities, through me, have been informed about Catiline's night excursion and shal easily defend their cities and borders. The gladiators, whom he thought would be his most sure men, although they are more spirited than those of the patricians, shall, nevertheless, be repressed by our forces. Forseeing this, I sent word into the field at Gallicia and Picenum, to Quintus Metellus, who will either crush he man or will prevent any of his movements or attempts. With respect to other matters we shall refer

to the Senate, whom you see I have called together for matters to be organized, ripened and carried out.

[2.27] *Nunc illos, qui in urbe remanserunt, atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem omniumque vestrum in urbe a Catilina relictī sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia [nati] sunt cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui solutior visa est, hoc expectavit, ut id, quod latebat, erumperet. Quod reliquum est, iam non possum oblivisci meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem, mihi aut cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portis custos, nullus insidiator viae; si qui exire volunt, conivere possum; qui vero se in urbe commoverit, cuius ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantis, esse egregios magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum maiores nostri esse voluerunt.*

[2.27] Now those who have remained in the city, left behind by Catiline, to move against the city and all of you, I proceed with greetings, and again and again with warnings that although they are citizens they are still enemies. My leniency up until now, if it was viewed as being too liberal, it was to be expected, so as what was hidden would be revealed. That matter being left behind, I cannot now forget that this is my fatherland, that I am the Consul over these men, that either I shall live with them, or die for them. There is no guard at the gates, no ambush on the road; if they want to depart, I can overlook it. But should in fact any one of them disturb the city by either an

attempt or any deed, I shall discover it. He shall find there to be in this city Consuls vigilant, there to be distinguished magistrates, there to be a resolute Senate, there to be arems, there to be a prison which punishes nefarious and manifest criminals as our forefathers wanted.

*[2.28] Atque haec omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut maxumae res minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam crudelissimum et maximum me uno togato duce et imperatore sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe poenam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifestae audaciae, si inpendens patriae periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit, illud profecto perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut neque bonus quisquam intereat paucorumque poena vos omnes salvi esse possitis.*

[2.28] And all these things shall thus be done in such a way that a major deal with the minimal disturbance, that the greatest threat without tulmut, war, intestinal or domestic, the thought of a most cruel man shall be quashed by me, a single togaed leader and commander, because I shall thus rule, Quirites, in such a way that if it should happen to arise, not even a single criminal in this city will have been endured without the punishment for his crime. But if the hostile forces manifest their audacity, if danger is threatening the fatherland, I may find it necessary to diminish my spirit of clemency. I will certainly see to it that, in such a great and such an insidious war, that

to me appears most difficult, no good man should gaze upon and the punishment of the few can save us all.

[2.29] *Quae quidem ego neque mea prudentia neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites, sed multis et non dubiis deorum immortalium significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus; qui iam non procul, ut quondam Solebant, ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic praesentes suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendunt. Quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, implorare debetis,<sup>34</sup> ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam florentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant. Nulla iam perniciēs a monstro illo atque prodigio moenibus ipsis intra moena comparabitur...Palam iam cum hoste nullo impediēte bellum iustum geremus.*

[2.29] Which I in fact confidently promise to you neither my discretion nor human council, Quirites, but many and indubitable signs of the Gods immortal, by whose guidance I have entered upon this hope and this path; who no longer from afar, as they were once in the habit of doing, from a foreign and distant enemy, but shall defend their temples and the homes of this city with their divine will and help. Whom you ought to entreat, venerate, and implore in such a way that they have wished this city to be the most beautiful, most flourishing, and most powerful; that they may defend us

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<sup>34</sup> *precari, venerari, implorare debetis* is *Asyndeton*.

from all enemy forces, by vanquishing them on land and sea and from a nefarious crime by the most pernicious citizens. (End *In Catilinam Secunda*)

### III Oratio In Catilinam

[3.1] *Rem publicam, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum bona, fortunas, coniuges liberosque vestros atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperi, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque urbem, hodierno die deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore, laboribus, consiliis, periculis meis e flamma atque ferro ac paene ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis.*

You see today, Quirites, by the utmost love of the Gods immortal, by the labors, plans, and risks mine own, your Republic and your life, and all your good things, your fortunes, your wives and children, and this domicile of this most illustrious empire, this most fortunate and beautiful city, have been snatched from flame and sword, and nearly the jaws of fate, and for you saved and to you restored.<sup>35</sup>

[3.2] *Et si non minus nobis iucundi atque inlustres sunt ei dies, quibus conservamur, quam illi quibus nascimur, quod salutis certa laetitia est,<sup>36</sup> nascendi<sup>37</sup> incerta condicio et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate<sup>38</sup> servamur,<sup>39</sup> profecto, quoniam illum qui hanc urbem condidit ad deos*

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<sup>35</sup> *hoc domicilium* is a neut. acc. sing.; *clarissumi imperii* is a neut. gen. sing.; *conservatam ac restitutam videtis*, *conservatam* is a fem. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. of *conserve*; *restitutam* is likewise a fem. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. of *restituo*; *ereptam* is also the fem. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. of *eripio*.

<sup>36</sup> *salustis* is fem. gen. sing. *cetra laetitia* is fem. nom. sing. Thus 'joy of being safe and sound is certain.' This is *Synchysis*, or interlocking order of words.

<sup>37</sup> masc. nom. pl. pres. pass. gerundive of *nascor*.

<sup>38</sup> fem. abl. sing. of *voluptas*.



*immortalis benivolentia famaue sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debet is qui eandem hanc urbem conditam<sup>40</sup> amplificatamque<sup>41</sup> servavit. Nam toti urbi, templis, delubris, tectis ac moenibus subiectos prope iam ignis circumdatosque restinximus, idemque gladios in rem publicam destrictos rettudimus mucronesque eorum a iugulis vestris deiecimus.*

And if those days upon which we are saved are no less pleasant and noble to us than those upon which we are born,<sup>42</sup> because the joy of being safe and sound is certain, being born a position uncertain, and because we are born without feeling it, we are saved with delight, indeed seeing that he who founded this city, and to the Gods immortal with benevolence and glory we have exalted,<sup>43</sup> he who served this very city, which has been founded and expanded, ought to be honored by you and your posterity, and we have turned those same swords drawn against the Republic and their sword points at your throats we have thrown down.<sup>44</sup>

*[3.3] Quae quoniam in senatu inlustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt<sup>45</sup> per me, vobis iam exponam<sup>46</sup> breviter ut et quanta et quam manifesta et qua ratione investigata et comprehensa sint vos qui et ignoratis et expectatis scire possitis. Principio, ut Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe,*

<sup>39</sup> 1st pl. pres. pass. ind. of *servo*.

<sup>40</sup> fem. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. of *condo*, to found.

<sup>41</sup> fem. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. of *amplifico*, enlrg, extend, expand.

<sup>42</sup> And if, *Et si*, those days, *ei dies*, on which, *quibus*, we are saved, *conservamur*, are, *sunt*, no less, *non minus*, delightful and distinguished, *iucundi atque inlustres*, for us, *nobis*, than those, *quam illi*, on which, *quibus*, we are born, *nascimur*

<sup>43</sup> *benivolentia famaue* is fem. abl. sing. Thus, to the Gods immortal, *ad deos immortalis*, with benevolence and glory, *benivolentia famaue*, we have exalted, *sustulimus*.

<sup>44</sup> And we have turned, *rettudimus*, those same swords drawn, *idemque gladios...destrictos*, against the Republic, *in rem publicam*. This is *Synchysis*.

<sup>45</sup> *inlustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt* is *Asyndeton*, or the omission of a conjunction.

<sup>46</sup> 1st sing. fut. act. ind. of *expono*, explain.

*cum sceleris sui socios<sup>47</sup> huiusce nefarii belli<sup>48</sup> acerrimos duces Romae reliquisset, semper vigilavi et providi, Quirites, quem ad modum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus. Nam tum, cum ex urbe Catilinam eiciebam—non enim iam vereor huius verbi invidiam, cum illa magis sit tiuenda, quod vivus exierit—sed tum, cum illum exterminari<sup>49</sup> volebam, aut reliquam coniuratorum manum simul exituram<sup>50</sup> aut eos, qui restitissent,<sup>51</sup> infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore putabam.*

Seeing that such things were by me illuminated, exposed, and made known in the Senate; to you I will now briefly explain how, both to what degree and to what extent, both by what means they were investigated and were apprehended, that you might be able to learn that which you are both ignorant and expectant.<sup>52</sup> At first, after Catiline left the city a few days ago with his accomplices in crime, the most dangerous leaders were left behind in Rome, I was always watching and discerned, Quirites, how we might be able to be safe in such great and so carefully concealed treachery. For then when I cast Catiline out of the city—for I do not fear the odium of that word<sup>53</sup> when the fact that he left alive should be more feared—but then, when I wanted to expel him I

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<sup>47</sup> *cum sceleris sui socios* = with his accomplices in crime.

<sup>48</sup> *huiusce nefarii belli* is neut. gen. sing. = this nefarious war.

<sup>49</sup> pres. pass. inf. of *extermino*, to expel.

<sup>50</sup> fem. acc. sing. fut. act. part. of *exeo*, to go out, go forth, go away, depart, withdraw, retire.

<sup>51</sup> 3rd pl. pluperf. subj. act. of *resto*, to be left, remain.

<sup>52</sup> Seeing that such things, *Quae quoniam*, by me, *per me*, in the Senate, *in senatu*, were, *sunt*, illuminated, exposed, and made known, *inlustrata, patefacta, comperta*, to you I shall briefly explain, Quirites, *vobis iam exponam breviter* Quirites, how, *ut*, both to what extent and to what degree,, *et quanta et quam manifesta*, both by what means they were was investigated and were apprehended, *et qua ratione investigata et comprehensa sint*, that you shall be able to learn, *scire possitis*, that which you are, *vos qui*, both ignorant and expectant, *et ignoratis et expectatis*.

<sup>53</sup> *ecicio*, to cast out.

thought either the rest of the conspirators would depart at the same time or those who had remained would be weak and debilitated without him.

[3.4] *Atque ego, ut vidi, quos maximo furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse et Romae remansisse, in eo omnis dies noctesque consumpsi ut quid agerent, quid molirentur sentirem ac viderem, ut, quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem ut tum demum animis salutis vestrae provideretis cum oculis maleficio ipsum videretis. Itaque ut comperi legatos Allobrogum belli<sup>54</sup> Transalpini et tumultus<sup>55</sup> Gallici excitandi<sup>56</sup> causa a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos,<sup>57</sup> eosque in Galliam ad suos civis eodemque itinere cum litteris mandatisque ad Catilinam esse missos,<sup>58</sup> comitemque eis adiunctum esse<sup>59</sup> T. Volturcium, atque huic esse ad Catilinam datas<sup>60</sup> litteras, facultatem mihi oblatam<sup>61</sup> putavi ut, quod erat difficillimum quodque ego semper optabam ab dis immortalibus, tota res non solum a me, sed etiam a senatu et a vobis manifesto deprehenderetur.<sup>62</sup>*

And so when I saw those who were most inflamed with furor and wickedness and came to know they were with us and remained in Rome, I consumed each and every

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<sup>54</sup> neut. gen. sing. of *bellum*.

<sup>55</sup> masc. gen. sing. of *tumultus*.

<sup>56</sup> masc. nom. pl. pres. pass. gerundive of *excito* = 'were being roused.'

<sup>57</sup> masc. acc. pl. perf. pass. part. of *sollicito* = 'were being agitated.'

<sup>58</sup> *esses missos* is *Anastrophe*, or the inversion of the natural order of words.

<sup>59</sup> masc. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. of *adiungo*, the command which is put upon him, charged with; to join, add to.

<sup>60</sup> *esse...datas* is fem. acc. pl. perf. pass. part. of *do*, to had over, deliver, render, furnish, pay; give. *esse ad Catilinam datas* is both *Anastrophe* and *Synchysis*.

<sup>61</sup> fem. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. of *offertory*, an offerer, an offering.

<sup>62</sup> 3rd sing. imperf. pass. subj. of *deprehendo*, to take away, seize upon, catch, snatch; detect, find out, discover.

day and night in such a way so as to observe what they were doing and to learn their plans, in such a way seeing that my speech would make a minor impression of your ears on account of the incredible magnitude of the crime in a manner that I would understand the affair in such a way that when you saw the crime itself with your own eyes, then you would look after your safety from reason at last. And therefore when I found the Ambassadors of the Allobroges were being roused to a Transalpine war and agitated to tumult in Gaul by inducement of Publius Lentulus<sup>63</sup> and they, on the way to Gaul, were sent with letters for their government and, along the way, messages to Catiline.<sup>64</sup> And Titus Vulturcius was added to them as a companion, and to him were given letters for Catiline, in such a way I thought an opportunity had been presented to me, that which was a difficult thing and that which I always wanted from the Gods immortal, the whole affair would be manifestly detected not only by me but indeed by the Senate and by you.

[3.5] *Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum praetores, fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicae viros, ad me vocavi, rem exposui, quid fieri<sup>65</sup> placeret ostendi.<sup>66</sup> Illi autem, qui omnia de re publica praeclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione ac sine ulla mora negotium*

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<sup>63</sup> *belli Transalpini...[esse] excitandi*, were being roused for Transalpine war, *et tumultus Gallici...esse sollicitatos*, and were being agitated for tumult in Gaul, *causa a P. Lentulo*, by an inducement of Publius Lentulus.

<sup>64</sup> And they, *eosque*, on the way to Gaul, *in Galliam...[itinere]*, were sent, *esse missos*, with letters, *cum litteris*, for their government, *ad suos civis*, and on the same way, *eodemque itinere*, messages to Catiline, *mandatisque ad Catilinam*.

<sup>65</sup> pres. pass. inf. of *fio*, made, done.

<sup>66</sup> pres. pass. inf. of *ostendo*, show, display, exhibit; indicate by speech or a sign.

*susceperunt et, cum advesperasceret,<sup>67</sup> occulte<sup>68</sup> ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipertito fuerunt ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi sine cuiusquam suspicione multos fortis viros eduxerant, et ego ex praefectura Reatina compluris delectos adolescentis quorum opera utor adsidue in rei publicae praesidio cum gladiis miseram.<sup>69</sup>*

Therefore, yesterday I summoned to me Lucius Flaccus and Gnaeus Pomtinus, praetors, men most brave and benevolent to the Republic, I explained the matter, what was to be done was assented to by a sign;<sup>70</sup> they, on the otherhand, who felt noble and honorable sentiments for the Republic, without hesitation and without any delay, undertook the business, when evening came, having been hidden, they came to the Mulvian bridge, and there, in the areas near the villas, they were divided into two parts so that the Tiber and the bridge lie between them. But to the same place, and without anyone suspecting, they took many brave men and I sent several hand-picked young men out of the praefectura of the Reate,<sup>71</sup> the service of whom I constantly use for the protection of the Republic, armed with swords.

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<sup>67</sup> 3rd sing. imperf. act. subj. of *advesperascit*, coming of evening, twilight.

<sup>68</sup> neut. sing. perf. pass. part. of *occulto*, to be secret, concealed or hidden.

<sup>69</sup> 1st sing. pluperf. act. ind. of *mitto*, send, dispatch.

<sup>70</sup> I summoned them to me, *ad me vocavi*, explained the matter, *rem exposui*, what was to be done, *quid fieri*, was assented to by a sign, *placeret ostendi*.

<sup>71</sup> A very ancient town of the Sabines (*Lewis and Short*).

[3.6] *Interim tertia fere vigilia exacta,<sup>72</sup> cum iam pontem Mulvium magno comitatu legati Allobroges ingredi<sup>73</sup> inciperent unaque Volturcius, fit in eos impetus; ducuntur et ab illis gladii<sup>74</sup> et a nostris. Res praetoribus erat nota<sup>75</sup> solis, ignorabatur a ceteris. Tum interventu Pomptini atque Flacci pugna, quae erat commissa, sedatur. Litterae, quaecumque erant in eo comitatu, integris signis praetoribus traduntur; ipsi comprehensi ad me, cum iam dilucesceret, deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum inprobissimum machinatorem, Cimbrum Gabinium, statim ad me nihildum suspicantem vocavi; deinde item accersitus est L. Statilius et post eum C. Cethegus; tardissime autem Lentulus venit, credo quod in litteris dandis praeter consuetudinem proxima nocte vigilarat.*

Meanwhile, when the third watch was ended, when suddenly the ambassador of the Allobroges with a large retinue, and the one Volturcius, were beginning to advance upon the Mulvian bridge, an assault was made against them, and, both by them and by us, swords were drawn; the affair was known to the praetors alone, the others were ignorant. Then Pomptinus and Flaccus came to intervene in the fight, that battle which had begun was calmed; whatever letters there were in the retinue were handed over to the Praetors with seals intact, they themselves were seized by me at dawn and were led away. And of them, I summoned the most wicked of all the criminal contrivers, Gaius Cimber, to me at once while he as yet suspected nothing. Next Lucius

<sup>72</sup> fem. abl. sing. perf. pass. part. of *exigo*.

<sup>73</sup> pres. act. inf. of *ingredior*, to advance, go forward, march, proceed.

<sup>74</sup> masc. nom. pl. Subject of the sentence, hence *ducuntur...gladii* = 'swords were drawn.'

<sup>75</sup> fem. nom. sing. perf. pass. part. of *nosco*, to get knowledge of, become acquainted with, come to know, learn, discern.

Statilius was also sent for and after him Gaius Cethegus ; Lentulus, however, came most sluggishly, because, I suppose, contrary custom, was awake the night before writing letters.

[3.7] *Cum summis et clarissimis huius civitatis viris<sup>76</sup> qui audita re<sup>77</sup> frequentes ad me mane convenerant litteras a me prius aperiri<sup>78</sup> quam ad senatum deferri<sup>79</sup> placeret, ne, si nihil esset inventum,<sup>80</sup> temere a me tantus tumultus iniectus civitati videretur, negavi me esse facturum ut de periculo publico non ad consilium publicum rem integram deferrem. etenim, Quirites, si ea quae erant ad me delata reperta non essent, tamen ego non arbitrabar in tantis rei publicae periculis esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, coegi.*

When the most distinguished and honorable men of the citizens, who, having heard about the matter, had come to me as a crowd in the morning, at first it was preferable to me for the letters to be opened in order to give an account to the Senate, lest, if nothing were found it might appear such great tumult for the citizenry was caused by me, I denied that I would remove an important matter regarding public danger from public council. Indeed, Quirites, if those things which were reported by me were not found by

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<sup>76</sup> *summ*is et *clarissimis*...*vir*is is masc. abl. pl. *huius*...*vir*is is fem. gen. sing. Thus : *summ*is et *clarissimis huius civitatis vir*is is *Synchysis*.

<sup>77</sup> *audita re* is fem. abl. sing. = 'having heard about the matter.'

<sup>78</sup> pres. pass. inf. o *aperio*, to uncover, lay bare.

<sup>79</sup> pres. pass. inf. of *defero*, to bring or give an account of, to report, announce, signify, state.

<sup>80</sup> neut. nom sing. perf. pass. part. of *invenio*, to come upon, find, meet with.

them, still I did not think in such great dangers to the Republic I could be to. I called a full assembly of the Senate, quickly, as you saw,

[3.8] *Atque interea statim admonitu Allobrogum C. Sulpicium praetorem, fortem virum, misi qui ex aedibus Cethegi si quid telorum esset efferret; ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiatorum extulit. Introduxi Volturcium sine Gallis; fidem publicam iussu senatus dedi; hortatus sum, ut ea, quae sciret sine timore indicaret. Tum ille dixit, cum vix se ex magno timore recreasset, a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et litteras, ut servorum praesidio uteretur, ut ad urbem quam primum cum exercitu accederet; id autem eo consilio, ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus, quem ad modum discriptum distributumque erat,<sup>81</sup> incendissent<sup>82</sup> caedemque infinitam civium fecissent,<sup>83</sup> praesto esset ille, qui et fugientis<sup>84</sup> exciperet et se cum his urbanis ducibus coniungeret.*

And, in the meantime, I at once, on the suggestion of the Allobroges, Gaius Sulpicius, praetor, a brave man, who was to remove from the buildings of Cethagus whatever weapons there were if any, from which he took a great number of daggers and swords. I introduced Volturcius without the Gauls, upon the order of the Senate I administered the public oath, I urged him to indicate without fear what he knew. Then he said when he had scarcely recovered from his great terror that he had orders and letters to Catiline urging him to use the help of slaves and to proceed with an army to the city at once. It

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<sup>81</sup> *modum discriptum distributumque erat* is masc. acc. sing. perf. pass part.

<sup>82</sup> 3rd pl. pluperf. act. subj. of *incendo*, set fire to.

<sup>83</sup> 3rd pl. pluperf. subj. act. of *facio*.

<sup>84</sup> masc. / fem. acc. pl. pres. act. part. of *fugio*, to flee, fly, take flight, run away, make off.



was, however, according to a such a plan, when every part of the city, which was in a manner divided and distributed, had been set ablaze and a huge number of citizens had been killed, he should be ready to catch both those who were fleeing and to join up with those of his leaders in the city.

[3.9] *Introducti autem Galli ius iurandum sibi et litteras a P. Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem datas esse dixerunt, atque ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio esse praescriptum ut equitatum in Italiam quam primum mitterent; pedestris sibi copias non defuturas. Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fatis Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis se esse tertium illum Cornelium ad quem regnum huius urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse: Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse. eundemque dixisse fatalem hunc annum esse ad interitum huius urbis atque imperi qui esset annus decimus post virginum absolutionem, post Capitoli autem incensionem vicesimus.*

But when the Gauls were led in they said their oath and that letters from Publius Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius for their people had been given and in such a way to this by these and from Lucius Cassius were ordered to send as soon as possible a cavalry into Italy ; <sup>85</sup> an abundance of foot soldiers would not be lacking. They were furthermore assured by Lentulus that the oracles Sibylline, and the soothsayers, had replied that he was the third Cornelius to come; to whom the kingship and rule of this city was destiny: Cinna and Sulla were before him. And to the same it was said this

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<sup>85</sup> And in such a way, *atque ita*, to them, *sibi*, from these, *ab his*, and to Lucius Crassus, *et a L. Cassio*, were ordered, *esse praescriptum, ut*, so as, to as soon as possible, *quam primum*, send, *mitterent*, a cavalry into Italy, *equitatum in Italiam*.

year was fated to destroy this city and the empire which was the tenth year after the acquittal of the Virgins, and the twentieth since the burning of the Capitol.

[3.10] *Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt quod Lentulo et aliis Saturnalibus caedem fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum videretur. Ac ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri<sup>86</sup> iussimus,<sup>87</sup> quae a quoque dicebantur datae. Primo ostendimus Cethego; signum cognovit. Nos linum incidimus, legimus. Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo sese, quae eorum legatis confirmasset, facturum esse; orare ut item illi facerent, quae sibi eorum legati recepissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante aliquid tamen de gladiis ac sicis, quae apud ipsum erant deprehensa, respondisset dixissetque se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, recitatis litteris debilitatus atque abiectus conscientia repente conticuit. Introductus est Statilius; cognovit et signum et manum suam. Recitatae sunt tabellae in eandem fere sententiam; confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo et quaesivi, cognosceretne signum. Adnuit. 'Est vero', inquam, 'notum quidem signum, imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unice patriam et cives suos; quae quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit.'*

But they said Cethegus had this dispute with the others because Lentulus and others thought it best that murder be done and the city be burned on Saturnalia; to Cethegus it appeared much too far off. And not to make a long story of it, Quirites, we ordered the records, which they said they were given, be produced. First to Cethegus we presented,

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<sup>86</sup> pres. pass. inf. of *profero*, to carry out, bring forth, produce.

<sup>87</sup> 1st pl. perf. act. ind. of *iubeo*, order.

he recognized his seal. We cut the string, we read; it was written by his own hand to the Senate and people of the Allobroges that he was about to do what to their envoys he had promised he would do. He likewise asked that they in like manner do what they of their ambassadors had received. Then Cethegus, who was asked something about the swords and daggers which had been seized at his home a little while before, responded and said he had always been zealous for fine steel, and upon reading from the letters, enfeebled and sticken by this knowledge, suddenly fell silent. Statilius was introduced; he acknowledged both his seal and his hand writing. The reading of the records was in the same sentiment, he confessed. Then to Lentulus the records were shown and he was asked whether or not he recognized his seal, he nodded. "It is indeed," I said, "a noteworthy seal," a likeness of your grandfather, a most distinguished man, who deeply loved the fatherland and its citizens. This, though mute, ought indeed call you away from such a crime."