LATIN SERIES · VOLUME 49

Against Catiline

Cicero

In Catilinam
Pro Caelio
Pro Milone
Philippica Secunda

Against Catiline

With the Defense of Caelius,
the Defense of Milo, and the Second Philippic

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

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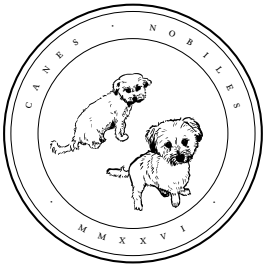

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The Latin text follows Clark's Oxford texts of the speeches,
of 1908, and for the Pro Milone and the Second Philippic of 1918

Set from the Perseus Digital Library's canonical Latin corpus, with corrections

Translated and composed with AI, edited by Christopher Hench
Artwork by Esther Steves

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CICERO

In Catilinam

Against Catiline

IN CATILINAM I

I · HOW LONG, CATILINE?

How long will Catiline abuse the senate's patience? His plot is known, his last night's meeting known, yet he lives and even sits in the senate, marking each senator for slaughter. Scipio killed Tiberius Gracchus as a private man and Opimius did not wait a night to kill Gaius Gracchus; the senate has passed the same decree against Catiline, and for twenty days the consuls have left it in its sheath. Cicero condemns himself for slackness.

Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quam 1
to-what extent at-last will-you-abuse Catiline the-patience our how
diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? quem ad finem sese
long also madness that your us will-mock what to end itself
effrenata iactabit audacia? Nihilne te nocturnum praesidium
unbridled will-boast audacity nothing-whether you the-nightly garrison
Palati, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil
of-the-Palatine nothing of-the-city the-watches nothing the-fear of-the-people nothing
concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi
the-gathering of-the-good all nothing this most-fortified of-holding
senatus locus, nihil horum ora voltusque moverunt?
of-the-senate place nothing of-these the-mouths and-faces have-moved
Patere tua consilia non sentis, constrictam iam horum
to-lie-open your plans not do-you-perceive bound already of-these
omnium scientia teneri coniurationem tuam non vides?
all by-the-knowledge to-be-held conspiracy your not do-you-see
Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos
what on-the-last what on-the-earlier night you-did where you-were whom
convocaveris, quid consili ceperis quem nostrum ignorare
you-called-together what of-plan you-took which of-us to-be-ignorant
arbitraris?
you-think

2 O tempora, o mores! Senatus haec intellegit, consul videt;
O the-times O the-morals the-senate these-things understands the-consul sees
hic tamen vivit. Vivit? immo vero etiam in senatum
this-man still lives lives nay indeed even into the-senate
venit, fit publici consili particeps, notat et designat
he-comes he-becomes of-public counsel a-sharer he-marks and designates
oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum. Nos autem
with-his-eyes for slaughter each one of-us we however
fortes viri satis facere rei publicae videmur, si istius
brave men enough to-do for-the-thing public seem if of-that-man
furorem ac tela vitamus. Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci
the-madness and weapons we-avoid to death you Catiline to-be-led
iussu consulis iam pridem oportebat, in te conferri
by-order of-the-consul already long-ago it-was-fitting upon you to-be-brought
pestem quam tu in nos omnis iam diu machinaris.
the-ruin which you against us all now long are-contriving

3 An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus,
or indeed a-man most-distinguished Publius Scipio pontiff greatest
Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem statum rei
Tiberius Gracchus moderately undermining the-condition of-the-thing
publicae privatus interfecit: Catilinam orbem terrae
public as-a-private-man killed Catiline the-circle of-the-earth
caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem nos consules
with-slaughter and with-fires to-lay-waste desiring we consuls
perferemus? Nam illa nimis antiqua praetereo, quod
shall-endure for those too ancient I-pass-over that
C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium novis rebus studentem
Gaius Servilius Ahala Spurius Maelius for-new things eager
manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac
with-hand his-own killed there-was there-was that once in this
re publica virtus ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem
thing public virtue that men brave with-sharper punishments a-citizen

perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coercerent. Habemus
pernicious than the-bitterest enemy should-restrain we-have
senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave,
of-the-senate a-decree against you Catiline forceful and weighty
non deest rei publicae consilium neque auctoritas
not is-lacking to-the-thing public counsel nor the-authority
huius ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.
of-this order we we I-say openly the-consuls are-lacking
Decrevit quondam senatus uti L. Opimius consul videret ne 4
decreed once the-senate that Lucius Opimius the-consul should-see lest
quid res publica detrimenti caperet: nox nulla intercessit:
anything the-thing public of-harm should-take a-night not-one intervened
interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones
killed was on-account-of certain of-seditions suspicions
C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, maioribus, occisus
Gaius Gracchus of-most-illustrious father grandfather ancestors slain
est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis. Simili senatus
was with his-children Marcus Fulvius a-consular by-a-like of-the-senate
consulto C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus est permissa
decree to-Gaius Marius and Lucius Valerius as-consuls was entrusted
res publica: num unum diem postea L. Saturninum
the-thing public surely-not one day after Lucius Saturninus
tribunum plebis et C. Servilium praetorem mors ac
tribune of-the-plebs and Gaius Servilius praetor death and
rei publicae poena remorata est? At vero nos vicesimum
of-the-thing public the-penalty delayed has but indeed we the-twentieth
iam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis.
now day suffer to-grow-dull the-edge of-these-men's authority
Habemus enim eius modi senatus consultum, verum inclusum
we-have for of-this kind of-the-senate a-decree but shut-up
in tabulis, tamquam in vagina reconditum, quo ex senatus
in the-tablets as-if in a-scabbard hidden which from of-the-senate

consulto confestim te interfectum esse, Catilina, convenit.
decree at-once you killed to-have-been Catiline it-is-fitting
Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam
you-live and you-live not for laying-aside but for strengthening
audaciam. Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem,
audacity I-desire fathers enrolled myself to-be merciful
cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis non dissolutum
I-desire in so-great of-the-thing public dangers not lax
videri, sed iam me ipse inertiae nequitiaeque condemno.
to-seem but now myself I of-inertia and-of-worthlessness condemn

II · A CAMP IN ETRURIA

A camp against Rome stands in Etruria, and its commander sits in the senate. Cicero will not yet have him killed: he will die when no one can be found to call the deed unjust, and meanwhile he lives besieged by guards and watched. Cicero foretold the very day Manlius would take up arms and the day set for the massacre of the leading men, and his guards kept Catiline from moving.

5 Castra sunt in Italia contra populum Romanum in Etruriae
a-camp is in Italy against the-people Roman in of-Etruria
faucibus conlocata, crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus;
the-passes placed grows by days single of-the-enemy the-number
eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium
of-that however camp the-commander and-leader of-the-enemy
intra moenia atque adeo in senatu videtis intestinam aliquam
within the-walls and indeed in the-senate you-see internal some
cotidie perniciem rei publicae molientem. Si te iam,
daily ruin for-the-thing public contriving if you now
Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici iussero, credo, erit
Catiline to-be-seized if to-be-killed I-shall-have-ordered I-believe it-will-be

verendum mihi ne non hoc potius omnes boni serius a me
to-be-feared by-me lest not this rather all the-good too-late by me
quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego
than anyone too-cruelly done to-have-been should-say but I
hoc quod iam pridem factum esse oportuit certa de
this which already long-ago done to-have-been it-was-fitting a-certain for
causa nondum adducor ut faciam. Tum denique interficiere,
reason not-yet am-brought that I-do-it then at-last you-will-be-killed
cum iam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis
when now no-one so wicked so abandoned so to-you like
inveniri poterit qui id non iure factum esse fateatur.
to-be-found will-be-able who it not by-right done to-have-been would-confess
Quam diu quisquam erit qui te defendere audeat, vives, 6
as long anyone will-be who you to-defend dares you-will-live
et vives ita ut nunc vivis, multis meis et firmis praesidiis
and you-will-live so as now you-live by-many my and strong guards
obsessus ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis.
besieged so-that-not to-stir yourself against the-thing public you-can
Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc
of-many you also the-eyes and ears not perceiving as till-now
fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient. Etenim quid est,
they-have-done will-spy-on and will-guard for-indeed what is-there
Catilina, quod iam amplius exspectes, si neque nox tenebris
Catiline which now further you-may-wait-for if neither night with-darkness
obscurare coetus nefarios nec privata domus parietibus continere
to-obscure gatherings wicked nor a-private house with-walls to-contain
voces coniurationis tuae potest, si inlustrantur, si erumpunt
the-voices of-conspiracy your can if they-are-lit-up if they-burst-out
omnia? Muta iam istam mentem, mihi crede, obliviscere caedis
all-things change now that mind to-me believe forget of-slaughter

atque incendiorum. Teneris undique; luce sunt clariora nobis
and of-fires you-are-held on-all-sides than-light are clearer to-us
tua consilia omnia, quae iam mecum licet recognoscas.
your plans all which now with-me it-is-allowed you-may-review
7 Meministine me ante diem xii Kalendas Novembris
do-you-remember-whether me before the-day twelfth the-Kalends of-November
dicere in senatu fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus
to-say in the-senate going-to-be in arms on-a-fixed day which day going-to-be
esset ante diem vi Kal. Novembris, C. Manlium,
was before the-day sixth the-Kalends of-November Gaius Manlius
audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? Num me fefellit,
of-audacity the-attendant and minister your surely-not me escaped
Catilina, non modo res tanta tam atrox tamque incredibilis,
Catiline not only a-thing so-great so savage and-so incredible
verum, id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies? Dixi
but that which much more is to-be-wondered-at the-day I-said
ego idem in senatu caedem te optimatium contulisse in
I the-same in the-senate the-slaughter you of-the-optimates to-have-set for
ante diem v Kalendas Novembris, tum cum multi principes
before the-day fifth the-Kalends of-November then when many leading-men
civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi quam tuorum
of-the-state from-Rome not so-much of-themselves for-preserving as of-your
consiliorum reprimendorum causa profugerunt. Num
plans for-checking for-the-sake fled surely-not
infitiari potes te illo ipso die meis praesidiis, mea diligentia
to-deny can-you you on-that very day by-my guards by-my diligence
circumclusum commovere te contra rem publicam non
hemmed-in to-stir yourself against the-thing public not
potuisse, cum tu discessu ceterorum nostra tamen
to-have-been-able when you with-the-departure of-the-rest with-our still
qui remansissemus caede contentum te esse dicebas?
who had-remained slaughter content yourself to-be were-saying

Praeneste was garrisoned before Catiline's night attack. Cicero recounts the meeting of the night before at Laeca's house in the Scythe-makers' street: Italy parceled out, men chosen to stay or to go, the city divided for burning, and two knights pledged to kill the consul in his bed before dawn, but found his door barred. Some who were there sit in the senate now. Let Catiline go to Manlius' camp and take his men with him.

Quid? cum te Praeneste Kalendis ipsis Novembribus 8
what when you Praeneste on-the-Kalends very of-November
occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres, sensistin
going-to-seize with-a-night attack to-be were-confident did-you-perceive
illam coloniam meo iussu meis praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliis
that colony by-my order by-my garrisons guards watches
esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas
to-have-been fortified nothing you-do nothing you-contrive nothing you-plan
quod non ego non modo audiam sed etiam videam
which not I not only hear but also see
planeque sentiam. Recognosce mecum tandem noctem illam
and-plainly perceive review with-me at-last night that
superiorem; iam intelleges multo me vigilare acrius
the-earlier now you-will-understand much me to-watch more-keenly
ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae. Dico
for the-safety than you for the-ruin of-the-thing public I-say
te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios — non agam
you on-the-former night to-have-come among the-scythe-makers not I-will-deal
obscure — in M. Laecae domum; convenisse eodem
obscurely into of-Marcus Laeca the-house to-have-gathered to-the-same-place
compluris eiusdem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare
several of-the-same madness and-crime partners surely-not to-deny

audes? quid taces? Convincam, si negas. Video enim
do-you-dare why are-you-silent I-shall-convict-you if you-deny I-see for
esse hic in senatu quosdam qui tecum una fuerunt.
to-be here in the-senate certain-men who with-you together were
9 O di immortales! Ubinam gentium sumus? quam rem
O gods immortal where-in-the-world of-peoples are-we what thing
publicam habemus? in qua urbe vivimus? Hic, hic sunt in
public have-we in what city do-we-live here here are in
nostro numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae
our number fathers enrolled in this of-the-circle of-the-earth
sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium
most-sacred and-most-weighty council who about our of-all
interitu, qui de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum
destruction who about of-this city and indeed about of-the-circle of-the-lands
exitio cogitent. Hos ego video consul et de re publica
ruin are-planning these I see as-consul and about the-thing public
sententiam rogo, et quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos
their-opinion I-ask and whom with-the-sword to-be-butchered it-was-fitting them
nondum voce volnero! Fuisti igitur apud Laecam illa
not-yet with-my-voice I-wound you-were therefore at Laeca's on-that
nocte, Catilina, distribuisti partis Italiae, statuisti quo quemque
night Catiline you-distributed the-parts of-Italy you-settled whither each
proficisci placeret, delegisti quos Romae relinqueres, quos tecum
to-set-out it-pleased you-chose whom at-Rome you-should-leave whom with-you
educeres, discripsisti urbis partis ad incendia, confirmasti
you-should-lead-out you-marked-out of-the-city the-parts for the-fires you-affirmed
te ipsum iam esse exiturum, dixisti paulum tibi esse etiam
you yourself now to-be going-to-go-out you-said a-little to-you to-be even
nunc morae, quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani
now of-delay because I was-alive found were two knights Roman

qui te ista cura liberarent et se illa ipsa nocte paulo
who you from-that care might-free and themselves on-that very night a-little
ante lucem me in meo lecto interfecturos esse pollicerentur.
before dawn me in my bed going-to-kill to-be promised
Haec ego omnia vixdum etiam coetu vestro dimisso
these-things I all scarcely even with-the-meeting your dismissed
comperi; domum meam maioribus praesidiis munivi atque
discovered the-house my with-greater guards I-fortified and
firmavi, exclusi eos quos tu ad me salutatum mane
strengthened I-shut-out those whom you to me to-greet in-the-morning
miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent quos ego iam multis
had-sent when they themselves had-come whom I already to-many
ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse
and most-eminent men to me at-that of-time going-to-come to-be
praedixeram. Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge quo
had-foretold which-things since so they-are Catiline go-on whither
coepisti: egredere aliquando ex urbe; patent portae;
you-have-begun go-out at-last from the-city open-stand the-gates
proficiscere. Nimium diu te imperatorem tua illa Manliana
set-out too long you as-commander your that Manlian
castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnis tuos, si minus,
camp longs-for lead-out with-you also all your-men if less
quam plurimos; purga urbem. Magno me metu liberaveris,
as many-as-possible purge the-city from-a-great me fear you-will-have-freed
modo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari
provided between me and you a-wall stand with-us to-associate
iam diutius non potes; non feram, non patiar, non sinam.
now longer not you-can not I-will-bear not I-will-suffer not I-will-allow

Thanks are owed to Jupiter Stator for so many escapes. Cicero defended himself as consul-elect by private care, but Catiline now attacks the whole state, so the consul bids an enemy leave the city: not exile, though he advises it. Catiline is feared and hated by all, his life branded with private shame, his dagger wrested from his hands so often; when he came into the senate no one greeted him and the ex-consuls left his benches empty.

11 Magna dis immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi
great to-the-gods immortal to-be-had is and to-this very
Iovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi huius urbis, gratia, quod
Jupiter the-Stayer the-most-ancient guardian of-this city thanks because
hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei
this so foul so horrible and-so dangerous to-the-thing
publicae pestem totiens iam effugimus. Non est saepius
public plague so-often already we-have-escaped not is more-often
in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicae.
in one man the-highest safety to-be-risked of-the-thing public
Quam diu mihi consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es,
as long to-me consul designate Catiline laid-snares you-have
non publico me praesidio, sed privata diligentia defendi.
not by-public me guard but by-private diligence I-defended
Cum proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in campo
when at-the-last elections consular me the-consul in the-Field
et competitores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi conatus
and the-rivals your to-kill you-wished I-checked the-attempts
tuos nefarios amicorum praesidio et copiis nullo tumultu
your wicked of-friends by-the-guard and forces with-no disturbance
publice concitato; denique, quotienscumque me petisti, per
publicly roused finally as-often-as me you-attacked through

me tibi obstiti, quamquam videbam perniciem meam
myself to-you I-stood-in-the-way although I-saw the-ruin my
cum magna calamitate rei publicae esse coniunctam.
with great calamity of-the-thing public to-be joined
Nunc iam aperte rem publicam universam petis, templa 12
now at-last openly the-thing public whole you-attack the-temples
deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium,
of-the-gods immortal the-roofs of-the-city the-life of-all citizens
Italiam totam ad exitium et vastitatem vocas. Qua
Italy whole to destruction and devastation you-summon by-which
re, quoniam id quod est primum, et quod huius imperi
thing since that which is first and which of-this command
disciplinaeque maiorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo,
and-of-the-discipline of-the-ancestors proper is to-do not-yet I-dare
faciam id quod est ad severitatem lenius, ad communem
I-shall-do that which is toward severity milder toward common
salutem utilius. Nam si te interfici iussero, residebit
safety more-useful for if you to-be-killed I-shall-have-ordered will-settle
in re publica reliqua coniuratorum manus; sin tu,
in the-thing public the-remaining of-the-conspirators band but-if you
quod te iam dudum hortor, exieris, exhaurietur ex
as you now long I-urge shall-have-gone-out will-be-drained from
urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentina rei
the-city of-your companions the-great and pernicious bilge-water of-the-thing
publicae. Quid est, Catilina?
public what is-it Catiline
Num dubitas id me imperante facere quod iam tua 13
surely-not you-hesitate that with-me commanding to-do which already of-your
sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe iubet consul hostem.
accord you-were-doing to-go-out from the-city orders the-consul the-enemy
Interrogas me, num in exsilium? Non iubeo, sed, si me
you-ask me whether into exile not I-order-it but if me

consulis, suadeo. Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te iam
you-consult I-advise what is-there for Catiline which you now
in hac urbe delectare possit? in qua nemo est extra istam
in this city to-delight can in which no-one is outside that
coniurationem perditorum hominum qui te non metuat,
conspiracy of-abandoned men who you not fears
nemo qui non oderit. Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis
no-one who not hates what brand of-domestic disgrace
non inusta vitae tuae est? quod privatarum rerum dedecus
not burned on-the-life your is what of-private affairs disgrace
non haeret in fama? Quae libido ab oculis, quod
not clings in your-reputation what lust from the-eyes what
facinus a manibus umquam tuis, quod flagitium a
deed from the-hands ever your what outrage from
toto corpore afuit? Cui tu adulescentulo quem
the-whole body has-been-absent to-what you young-man whom
corruptelarum inlecebris inretisses non aut ad audaciam
of-corruptions by-the-allurements you-had-ensnared not either to audacity
ferrum aut ad libidinem facem praetulisti?
the-sword or to lust the-torch held-before

14 Quid vero? nuper cum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis
what indeed lately when by-the-death of-your-former wife for-new marriage
locum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere
the-place you-had-emptied surely also by-another incredible crime
hoc scelus cumulavisti? quod ego praetermitto et facile patior
this crime you-heaped-up which I pass-over and readily allow
sileri, ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris immanitas
to-be-passed-in-silence lest in this state of-so-great a-deed the-monstrousness
aut exstitisse aut non vindicata esse videatur.
either to-have-appeared or not avenged to-have-been should-seem
Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum quas omnis proximis
I-pass-over the-ruins of-fortunes your which all on-the-next

Idibus tibi impendere senties: ad illa venio quae non ad
Ides over-you to-hang you-will-feel to those I-come which not to
privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam
the-private disgrace of-vices your not to the-domestic
tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam rem
your embarrassment and turpitude but to the-highest thing
publicam atque ad omnium nostrum vitam salutemque pertinent.
public and to of-all of-us the-life and-safety pertain
Potestne tibi haec lux, Catilina, aut huius caeli spiritus esse 15
can-whether to-you this light Catiline or of-this sky the-breath to-be
iucundus, cum scias esse horum neminem qui nesciat te
pleasant when you-know to-be of-these no-one who does-not-know you
pridie Kalendas Ianuarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus
on-the-day-before the-Kalends of-January Lepidus and Tullus as-consuls
stetisse in comitio cum telo, manum consulum et
to-have-stood in the-comitium with a-weapon a-band of-the-consuls and
principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse,
of-the-leading-men of-the-state to-be-killed for-the-sake to-have-prepared
sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem
to-the-crime and madness your not a-mind some or fear
tuum sed Fortunam populi Romani obstitisse? Ac iam
your but the-Fortune of-the-people Roman to-have-stood-in-the-way and now
illa omitto — neque enim sunt aut obscura aut non multa
those-things I-omit neither for are either obscure or not many
commissa postea — quotiens tu me designatum, quotiens vero
committed afterward how-often you me designate how-often indeed
consulem interficere conatus es! Quot ego tuas petitiones
consul to-kill tried you-have how-many I your thrusts
ita coniectas ut vitari posse non viderentur parva
so aimed that to-be-avoided to-be-able not they-seemed by-a-small

quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi! Nihil
certain swerve and as they-say with-the-body I-escaped nothing
agis, nihil adsequeris, neque tamen conari ac velle desistis.
you-do nothing you-achieve nor still to-try and to-wish you-cease
16 Quotiens iam tibi extorta est ista sica de manibus,
how-often already from-you wrested has-been that dagger from the-hands
quotiens excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est! Quae quidem
how-often it-has-fallen by-chance some and slipped-away has which indeed
quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit nescio, quod
with-what by you consecrated rites and devoted it-may-be I-know-not that
eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere. Nunc vero
it necessary you-think to-be in of-a-consul the-body to-plunge now indeed
quae tua est ista vita? Sic enim iam tecum loquar, non ut
what your is that life so for now with-you I-shall-speak not that
odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia,
by-hatred moved to-be I-may-seem by-which I-ought but that by-pity
quae tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paulo ante in senatum.
which to-you none is-owed you-came a-little before into the-senate
Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, tot ex tuis amicis ac
who you from this so-great crowd so-many from your friends and
necessariis salutavit? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit
intimates greeted if this since of-men memory has-befallen
nemini, vocis exspectas contumeliam, cum sis gravissimo
no-one of-the-voice do-you-await the-insult when you-are by-the-weightiest
iudicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid, quod adventu tuo
judgment of-silence crushed what that at-the-arrival your
ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt, quod omnes consulares qui
those benches emptied were that all the-consulars who
tibi persaepe ad caedem constituti fuerunt, simul atque
for-you very-often for slaughter marked-out have-been as-soon as

adsedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem
you-sat-down part that of-the-benches bare and empty
reliquerunt, quo tandem animo tibi ferendum putas?
left with-what pray mind by-you to-be-borne do-you-think-it

V · THE FATHERLAND SPEAKS

Feared by his fellow citizens as no master would bear to be feared by his slaves, Catiline should leave. The fatherland herself speaks to him: every crime for years has been his; let him go and free her of fear. He offered himself into custody and was refused by Lepidus, by Cicero, and by Quintus Metellus. Cicero will not put exile to the vote, but the senators' silence is their verdict, and the knights at the doors would escort him to the gates.

Servi mehercule mei si me isto pacto metuerent ut te metuunt 17
slaves by-Hercules my if me in-that way feared as you fear
omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: tu
all citizens your the-house my to-be-left I-would-think you
tibi urbem non arbitraris? et si me meis civibus iniuria
for-yourself the-city not do-you-judge and if me by-my citizens unjustly
suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me
suspected so gravely and offended I-saw to-be-without myself
aspectu civium quam infestis omnium oculis conspici
the-sight of-the-citizens than by-the-hostile of-all eyes to-be-looked-on
mallem: tu, cum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium
I-would-prefer you when by-consciousness of-crimes your you-recognize the-hatred
omnium iustum et iam diu tibi debitum, dubitas quorum
of-all just and now long to-you owed do-you-hesitate whose
mentis sensusque volneras, eorum aspectum praesentiamque
of-minds and-feelings you-wound their sight and-presence
vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui neque eos
to-avoid if you parents feared and hated your nor them

ratione ulla placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo
by-means any to-placate you-could as I-think from their eyes somewhere
concederes. Nunc te patria, quae communis est parens
you-would-withdraw now you the-fatherland which the-common is parent
omnium nostrum, odit ac metuit et iam diu nihil te iudicat
of-all of-us hates and fears and now long nothing you she-judges
nisi de parricidio suo cogitare: huius tu neque auctoritatem
except about parricide its-own to-be-planning of-this you neither the-authority
verebere nec iudicium sequere nec vim pertimesces?
will-revere nor the-judgment follow nor the-force dread

18 Quae tecum, Catilina, sic agit et quodam modo tacita
which with-you Catiline thus deals and in-a-certain way silent
loquitur: 'Nullum iam aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi
speaks no now for-some years deed has-appeared except
per te, nullum flagitium sine te; tibi uni multorum
through you no outrage without you to-you alone of-many
civium neces, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum impunita
citizens the-murders to-you the-harrying and-plundering of-the-allies unpunished
fuit ac libera; tu non solum ad neglegendas leges et
has-been and free you not only for disregarding laws and
quaestiones verum etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque
courts but also for overturning and-breaking-through
valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt,
have-had-the-strength earlier-things those although to-be-borne not they-were
tamen ut potui tuli; nunc vero me totam esse in metu
still as I-could I-bore now indeed me whole to-be in fear
propter unum te, quicquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri,
on-account-of one you whatever has-made-a-noise Catiline to-be-feared
nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse quod
no to-seem against me plan to-be-entered-on to-be-able which
a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quam ob
from your crime shrinks not it-is to-be-borne which on-account-of

rem discede atque hunc mihi timorem eripe; si est verus, ne
thing depart and this from-me fear snatch if it-is true lest
opprimar, sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam.'
I-be-crushed but-if false that at-last at-length to-fear I-may-cease
Haec si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, nonne impetrare 19
these-things if with-you as I-said the-fatherland should-speak surely to-obtain-it
debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit? Quid, quod
ought-she even if force to-apply not she-could what that
tu te in custodiam dedisti, quod vitandae suspicionis
you yourself into custody gave that of-avoiding suspicion
causa ad M'. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti? A quo
for-the-sake at Manius Lepidus you to-live to-wish you-said by whom
non receptus etiam ad me venire ausus es, atque ut
not received even to me to-come dared you-have and that
domi meae te adservarem rogasti. Cum a me quoque
in-the-house my you I-should-keep you-asked when from me also
id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse isdem
that answer you-had-brought me in-no way to-be-able with-the-same
parietibus tuto esse tecum, quia magno in periculo essem
walls safely to-be with-you because great in danger I-was
quod isdem moenibus contineremur, ad Q. Metellum
because by-the-same walls we-were-enclosed to Quintus Metellus
praetorem venisti. A quo repudiatus ad sodalem tuum, virum
the-praetor you-came by whom rejected to the-comrade your a-man
optimum, M. Metellum demigrasti, quem tu videlicet et
excellent Marcus Metellus you-moved whom you evidently both
ad custodiendum te diligentissimum et ad suspicandum
for guarding you most-diligent and for suspecting
sagacissimum et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti.
most-shrewd and for punishing bravest going-to-be you-thought

Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse
but how far seems from the-prison and from chains to-be-distant
debere qui se ipse iam dignum custodia iudicarit?
to-be-obliged he-who himself himself already worthy of-custody has-judged
20 Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si emori aequo
which-things since so they-are Catiline do-you-hesitate if to-die with-calm
animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras et vitam
mind not you-can to-go-away into some lands and life
istam multis suppliciis iustis debitisque ereptam fugae
that from-many punishments just and-owed snatched to-flight
solitudinique mandare? 'Refer' inquis 'ad senatum'; id enim
and-solitude to-commit refer-it you-say to the-senate that for
postulas et, si hic ordo placere sibi decreverit te ire
you-demand and if this order to-please itself shall-have-decreed you to-go
in exsilium, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam,
into exile going-to-obey you to-be you-say not I-will-refer-it
id quod abhorret a meis moribus, et tamen faciam ut
that which shrinks from my character and still I-will-act that
intellegas quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex
you-may-understand what these-men about you think go-out from
urbe, Catilina, libera rem publicam metu, in exsilium,
the-city Catiline free the-thing public from-fear into exile
si hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere. Quid est? ecquid
if this word you-await set-out what is-it do-you-at-all
attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur,
attend do-you-at-all notice of-these the-silence they-suffer-it
tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum
they-are-silent why do-you-await the-authority of-them-speaking of-whom
voluntatem tacitorum perspicis?
the-will when-silent you-perceive

At si hoc idem huic adulescenti optimo P. Sestio, si 21
but if this same to-this young-man excellent Publius Sestius if
fortissimo viro M. Marcello dixissem, iam mihi consuli
to-the-bravest man Marcus Marcellus I-had-said now on-me the-consul
hoc ipso in templo senatus iure optimo vim et manus
this very in temple the-senate by-right best violence and hands
intulisset. De te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant,
would-have-laid about you however Catiline when they-keep-quiet they-approve
cum patiuntur, decernunt, cum tacent, clamant, neque
when they-suffer-it they-decree when they-are-silent they-shout nor
hi solum quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita
these alone whose to-you the-authority is forsooth dear the-life
vilissima, sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi
most-cheap but also those knights Roman most-honorable
atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives qui circumstant
and excellent men and-the-other bravest citizens who stand-around
senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre et studia
the-senate whose you both the-crowd to-see and the-zeal
perspicere et voces paulo ante exaudire potuisti. Quorum
to-perceive and the-voices a-little before to-hear have-been-able whose
ego vix abs te iam diu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem
I scarcely from you now long the-hands and weapons restrain the-same
facile adducam ut te haec quae vastare iam pridem
easily I-shall-bring that you these-things which to-lay-waste already long-ago
studes relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur.
you-strive leaving all-the-way to the-gates they-may-escort

Nothing will bend Catiline. If Cicero's words drive him into exile, the ill-will falls on Cicero, and it is worth it so long as the danger leaves the state. Better still, let him take his band to Manlius and make open war, so that he seems not cast out but invited. His men are already at the Forum Aurelium and the day is fixed, the silver eagle sent ahead; there he will revel among men with not one good man among them.

22 Quamquam quid loquor? te ut ulla res frangat, tu ut
and-yet why do-I-speak you that any thing should-break you that
umquam te corrigas, tu ut ullam fugam meditere, tu ut
ever yourself should-correct you that any flight should-meditate you that
ullum exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem di
any exile should-consider would-that to-you that mind the-gods
immortales duint! Tametsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire
immortal may-give although I-see if by-my voice terrified to-go
in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiae
into exile your-mind you-shall-have-brought how-great a-storm of-odium
nobis, si minus in praesens tempus recenti memoria
over-us if less for the-present time with-the-fresh memory
scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. Sed est
of-crimes your at-least for posterity would-hang but it-is
tanti, dum modo tua ista sit privata calamitas et a
worth-so-much provided only your that be a-private calamity and from
rei publicae periculis seiungatur. Sed tu ut vitiis tuis
of-the-thing public the-dangers be-separated but you that by-the-vices your
commoveare, ut legum poenas pertimescas, ut temporibus
should-be-moved that of-the-laws the-penalties should-dread that to-the-times
rei publicae cedas non est postulandum. Neque enim
of-the-thing public should-yield not it-is to-be-demanded nor for

is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor a turpitudine aut
such you-are Catiline that you either shame from turpitude or
metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocarit.
fear from danger or reason from madness has-called-back
Quam ob rem, ut saepe iam dixi, proficiscere 23
which on-account-of thing as often already I-have-said set-out
ac, si mihi inimico, ut praedicas, tuo conflare vis
and if for-me hostile as you-proclaim your to-kindle you-wish
invidiam, recta perge in exsilium; vix feram sermones
odium straight go into exile scarcely I-shall-bear the-talk
hominum, si id feceris, vix molem istius invidiae,
of-men if that you-shall-have-done scarcely the-mass of-that odium
si in exsilium iussu consulis iveris, sustinebo. Sin
if into exile by-order of-the-consul you-shall-have-gone I-shall-sustain but-if
autem servire meae laudi et gloriae mavis, egredere cum
however to-serve my praise and glory you-prefer go-out with
importuna sceleratorum manu, confer te ad Manlium,
the-pernicious of-criminals band betake yourself to Manlius
concita perditos civis, secerne te a bonis, infer
rouse the-abandoned citizens separate yourself from the-good bring-on
patriae bellum, exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non
your-fatherland war exult in-impious brigandage that by me not
eiectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris.
thrown-out to strangers but invited to your-own to-have-gone you-may-seem
Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo iam sciam esse 24
and-yet why I you should-invite by whom already I-know to-have-been
praemissos qui tibi ad forum Aurelium praestolarentur
sent-ahead men-who for-you at the-Forum Aurelium might-wait
armati, cui sciam pactam et constitutam cum Manlio diem,
armed for-whom I-know agreed-on and fixed with Manlius a-day
a quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam quam tibi ac tuis
by whom also eagle that silver which to-you and to-your

omnibus confido perniciosam ac funestam futuram, cui
all I-trust destructive and deadly going-to-be for-which
domi tuae sacrarium sceleratum constitutum fuit, sciam
in-the-house your a-shrine criminal set-up was I-know
esse praemissam? Tu ut illa carere diutius possis quam
to-have-been sent-ahead you that it to-be-without longer could whom
venerari ad caedem proficiscens solebas, a cuius altaribus
to-worship for slaughter setting-out you-were-accustomed from whose altars
saepe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti?
often that impious right-hand to the-murder of-citizens you-have-transferred
25 Ibis tandem aliquando quo te iam pridem tua ista
you-will-go at-last at-length whither you already long-ago your that
cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat; neque enim tibi haec
greed unbridled and furious was-sweeping nor for to-you this
res adfert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem.
thing brings pain but a-certain incredible pleasure
Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exercuit,
for this you madness nature bore will trained
fortuna servavit. Numquam tu non modo otium sed ne
fortune preserved never you not only peace but not
bellum quidem nisi nefarium concupisti. Nactus es ex
war even except wicked have-desired got you-have from
perditis atque ab omni non modo fortuna verum etiam
the-abandoned and by all not only fortune but also
spe derelictis conflatam improborum manum.
hope deserted collected of-the-wicked a-band
26 Hic tu qua laetitia perfruere, quibus gaudiis exsultabis,
here you with-what joy you-will-delight in-what gladness you-will-exult
quanta in voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero
how-great in pleasure you-will-revel when in so-great a-number
tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque
of-your-men neither you-will-hear a-man good any nor

videbis! Ad huius vitae studium meditati illi sunt qui
you-will-see for of-this life the-pursuit practiced those are which
feruntur labores tui, iacere humi non solum ad
are-spoken-of labors your to-lie on-the-ground not only for
obsidendum stuprum verum etiam ad facinus obeundum,
besieging debauchery but also for deed committing
vigilare non solum insidiantem somno maritorum verum
to-stay-awake not only lying-in-wait for-the-sleep of-husbands but
etiam bonis otiosorum. Habes ubi ostentes tuam illam
also for-the-goods of-the-peaceful you-have where you-may-display your that
praeclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium
famous endurance of-hunger of-cold of-want of-things all
quibus te brevi tempore confectum esse senties.
by-which you in-a-short time worn-out to-be you-will-feel

VII · THE FATHERLAND'S COMPLAINT

By keeping Catiline from the consulship Cicero made his war a brigandage. Now he answers the fatherland's near-just complaint: why let a public enemy go, why not have him killed, when ancestral custom allows it, the laws do not protect a rebel, and the people made Cicero consul without ancestors? Cicero replies that had he judged it best he would not have granted the gladiator an hour, and ill-will earned by virtue he counts glory.

Tantum profeci, cum te a consulatu reppuli, ut exsul 27
so-much I-achieved when you from the-consulship I-repulsed that as-an-exile
potius temptare quam consul vexare rem publicam posses,
rather to-assail than as-consul to-harass the-thing public you-could
atque ut id quod esset a te scelerate susceptum latrocinium
and that that which had-been by you criminally undertaken brigandage
potius quam bellum nominaretur. Nunc, ut a me, patres
rather than war should-be-named now that by me fathers

conscripti, quandam prope iustam patriae querimoniam
enrolled a-certain almost just of-the-fatherland complaint
detester ac deprecer, percipite, quaeso, diligenter quae dicam,
I-may-avert and deprecate take-in I-pray diligently what I-shall-say
et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim si
and it deep in-minds your and-hearts commit for-indeed if
mecum patria, quae mihi vita mea multo est carior, si
with-me the-fatherland which to-me than-life my much is dearer if
cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica loquatur: 'M. Tulli, quid
all Italy if all the-thing public should-speak Marcus Tullius what
agis? Tune eum quem esse hostem comperisti, quem
are-you-doing will-you-whether him whom to-be an-enemy you-have-found whom
ducem belli futurum vides, quem exspectari imperatorem
the-leader of-the-war going-to-be you-see whom to-be-awaited as-commander
in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem
in the-camp of-the-enemy you-perceive the-author of-crime the-chief
coniurationis, evocatorem servorum et civium perditorum,
of-the-conspiracy the-summoner of-slaves and of-citizens abandoned
exire patiere, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed
to-go-out will-you-allow so-that by you not let-out from the-city but
immissus in urbem esse videatur? Nonne hunc in vincla duci,
let-loose into the-city to-be he-may-seem surely this-man into chains to-be-led
non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio mactari
not to death to-be-hurried not with-the-highest punishment to-be-sacrificed
imperabis? Quid tandem te impedit? mosne maiorum?
will-you-order what pray you hinders the-custom-whether of-the-ancestors
28 At persaepe etiam privati in hac re publica perniciosos civis
but very-often even private-men in this thing public pernicious citizens
morte multarunt. An leges quae de civium Romanorum
with-death punished or the-laws which about of-citizens Roman
supplicio rogatae sunt? At numquam in hac urbe qui
punishment proposed were but never in this city those-who

a re publica defecerunt civium iura tenuerunt. An
from the-thing public revolted of-citizens the-rights held or
invidiam posteritatis times? Praeclaram vero populo Romano
the-odium of-posterity do-you-fear splendid indeed to-the-people Roman
refers gratiam qui te, hominem per te cognitum, nulla
you-return gratitude who you a-man through yourself known with-no
commendatione maiorum tam mature ad summum imperium
recommendation of-ancestors so early to the-highest command
per omnis honorum gradus extulit, si propter invidiam
through all of-honors the-steps raised if on-account-of odium
aut alicuius periculi metum salutem civium tuorum neglegis.
or of-some danger fear the-safety of-citizens your you-neglect
Sed si quis est invidiae metus, non est vehementius 29
but if any is of-odium fear not it-is more-strongly
severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae
of-severity and courage the-odium than of-inertia and of-worthlessness
pertimescenda. An, cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur
to-be-dreaded or when by-war will-be-laid-waste Italy will-be-harassed
urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non existimas invidiae incendio
the-cities the-houses will-burn then you not do-you-judge of-odium in-the-fire
conflagraturum?' His ego sanctissimis rei publicae
going-to-burn-up to-these I most-sacred of-the-thing public
vocibus et eorum hominum qui hoc idem sentiunt mentibus
utterances and of-those men who this same feel to-the-minds
pauca respondebo. Ego, si hoc optimum factu iudicarem,
a-few-things will-answer I if this best to-do I-judged
patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari, unius usuram
fathers enrolled Catiline with-death to-be-punished of-one the-use
horae gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim
of-an-hour to-the-gladiator that for living not I-would-have-given for-indeed
si summi viri et clarissimi cives Saturnini et Gracchorum
if the-highest men and most-illustrious citizens of-Saturninus and of-the-Gracchi

et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo
and of-Flaccus and of-the-earlier many with-the-blood not only
se non contaminarunt sed etiam honestarunt, certe
themselves not polluted but even honored certainly
verendum mihi non erat ne quid hoc parricida civium
to-be-feared by-me not it-was lest any with-this murderer of-citizens
interfecto invidiae mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quod si ea
killed of-odium on-me into posterity should-overflow but if it
mihi maxime impenderet, tamen hoc animo fui semper
on-me most should-hang still of-this mind I-have-been always
ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem.
that odium by-virtue won glory not odium I-should-think

VIII · THE PRAYER TO JUPITER

Some senators fed Catiline's hopes and would call his execution a tyrant's act; once he reaches Manlius' camp no one will deny the conspiracy. Killing him alone would relieve the state for a time, as cold water a fever, while the sickness stayed in its veins. Let the wicked gather in one place, walled off from the good. Catiline should go to his impious war, and Jupiter Stator will keep him from the temples and punish his band living and dead.

30 Quamquam non nulli sunt in hoc ordine qui aut ea quae
and-yet not none are in this order who either those-things which
imminent non videant aut ea quae vident dissimulent; qui
threaten not see or those-things which they-see dissemble who
spem Catilinae mollibus sententiis aluerunt coniurationemque
the-hope of-Catiline with-soft opinions have-fed and-the-conspiracy
nascentem non credendo conroboraverunt; quorum auctoritate
being-born not by-believing have-strengthened whose by-authority
multi non solum improbi verum etiam imperiti, si in
many not only wicked but also ignorant if upon

hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse
this-man I-had-punished cruelly and tyrannically done to-have-been
dicerent. Nunc intellego, si iste, quo intendit, in Manliana
would-say now I-understand if that-man whither he-is-heading into the-Manlian
castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore qui non
camp shall-have-arrived no-one so stupid going-to-be who not
videat coniurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum
sees a-conspiracy to-have-been made no-one so wicked
qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto intellego hanc
who not confesses with-this however one killed I-understand this
rei publicae pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum
of-the-thing public plague for-a-little to-be-checked not for ever
comprimi posse. Quod si sese eiecerit secumque
to-be-crushed to-be-able but if himself he-shall-have-thrown-out and-with-him
suos eduxerit et eodem ceteros undique conlectos
his-men shall-have-led-out and to-the-same-place the-rest from-everywhere gathered
naufragos adgregarit, exstinguetur atque delebitur non
shipwrecked-men shall-have-herded will-be-extinguished and will-be-destroyed not
modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis verum etiam
only this so grown-up of-the-thing public plague but also
stirps ac semen malorum omnium.
the-stock and seed of-evils all
Etenim iam diu, patres conscripti, in his periculis coniurationis 31
for-indeed now long fathers enrolled in these dangers of-conspiracy
insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum
and-plots we-are-living but I-know-not by-what means of-all crimes
ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus
and of-old madness and audacity the-ripeness into of-our consulship
tempus erupit. Nunc si ex tanto latrocinio iste unus
the-time has-burst-out now if from so-great brigandage that-man alone
tolletur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus
shall-be-removed we-shall-seem perhaps for short some time

cura et metu esse relevati, periculum autem residebit et
from-care and fear to-be relieved the-danger however will-remain and
erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei
will-be shut-up deep in the-veins and in the-vitals of-the-thing
publicae. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, cum aestu
public as often men sick with-a-disease grave when with-heat
febrique iactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo
and-fever they-are-tossed if water cold they-have-drunk at-first
relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque
to-be-relieved seem then much more-gravely and-more-violently
adflictantur, sic hic morbus qui est in re publica relevatus
are-afflicted so this disease which is in the-thing public relieved
istius poena vehementius reliquis vivis ingravescet.
of-that-man by-the-punishment more-violently with-the-rest living will-grow-worse
32 Qua re secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis,
by-which thing let-withdraw the-wicked let-them-separate themselves from the-good
unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, quod saepe
one into place let-them-gather by-a-wall finally as often
iam dixi, secernantur a nobis; desinant insidiari
already I-have-said let-them-be-separated from us let-them-cease to-lay-snares
domi suae consuli, circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani,
at-home in-his-own for-the-consul to-stand-around the-tribunal of-the-praetor urban
obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad
to-besiege with swords the-senate-house fire-darts and torches for
inflammandam urbem comparare; sit denique inscriptum
burning the-city to-prepare let-it-be finally written
in fronte unius cuiusque quid de re publica sentiat.
on the-forehead of-one of-each what about the-thing public he-thinks
Polliceor hoc vobis, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis
I-promise this to-you fathers enrolled so-great in us
consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem,
the-consuls going-to-be diligence so-great in you authority

tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus
so-great in the-knights Roman courage so-great in all
bonis consensionem ut Catilinae profectione omnia patefacta,
the-good agreement that by-Catiline's departure all-things disclosed
inlustrata, oppressa, vindicata esse videatis.
brought-to-light crushed avenged to-be you-shall-see
Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae 33
with-these omens Catiline with the-highest of-the-thing public
salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio qui
safety with your plague and ruin and-with their destruction who
se tecum omni scelere parricidioque iunxerunt, proficiscere
themselves with-you by-every crime and-parricide have-joined set-out
ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tu, Iuppiter, qui isdem
for impious war and wicked you Jupiter who by-the-same
quibus haec urbs auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus, quem
by-which this city auspices by Romulus were established whom
Statorem huius urbis atque imperi vere nominamus, hunc
the-Stayer of-this city and empire truly we-name this-man
et huius socios a tuis ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis
and his allies from your and-the-other temples from the-roofs of-the-city
ac moenibus, a vita fortunisque civium omnium arcebis
and walls from the-life and-fortunes of-citizens all will-ward-off
et homines bonorum inimicos, hostis patriae, latrones
and the-men of-the-good enemies the-foes of-the-fatherland the-brigands
Italiae scelerum foedere inter se ac nefaria societate
of-Italy of-crimes by-a-pact among themselves and by-wicked fellowship
coniunctos aeternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.
joined with-eternal punishments living and-dead you-will-sacrifice

IN CATILINAM II

I · HE HAS GONE

At last, citizens, Catiline is out of the city, driven out or let go or seen off with words. He has gone, departed, escaped, broken out. The leader of this war at home is beaten: his dagger no longer moves among us, and the war will now be fought openly against an open enemy. He lies prostrate, grieving that he carried out no bloody blade and left the city standing, while Rome rejoices at having vomited him out.

Tandem aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam, furentem audacia, 1
at-last at-length citizens Lucius Catiline raging with-audacity
scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, vobis
crime panting-out the-plague of-the-fatherland wickedly contriving to-you
atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem ex urbe vel
and to-this city with-sword and-flame threatening from the-city either
eiecimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis
we-have-thrown-out or we-have-let-go or himself going-out with-words
prosecuti sumus. Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit.
escorted we-have he-has-gone he-has-departed he-has-escaped he-has-broken-out
Nulla iam pernicies a monstro illo atque prodigio moenibus
no now ruin by monster that and portent against-the-walls
ipsis intra moenia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum
themselves within the-walls will-be-contrived and this-one indeed alone
huius belli domestici ducem sine controversia vicimus.
of-this war domestic the-leader without dispute we-have-conquered
Non enim iam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur, non
not for now between the-sides our dagger that will-turn not
in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique
in the-Field not in the-forum not in the-senate-house not finally
intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. Loco ille
within domestic walls we-shall-dread from-(his)-position he

motus est, cum est ex urbe depulsus. Palam iam cum
moved was when he-was from the-city driven-out openly now with
hoste nullo impediente bellum iustum geremus. Sine
an-enemy with-no-one hindering war regular we-shall-wage without
dubio perdidimus hominem magnificeque vicimus, cum
doubt we-have-ruined the-man and-magnificently we-have-conquered when
illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium coniecimus.
him from hidden plots into open brigandage we-have-thrown
2 Quod vero non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit,
that indeed not bloody the-point as he-wished he-carried-out
quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e
that with-living us gone-out he-has that from-him the-steel from
manibus extorsimus, quod incolumis civis, quod stantem
his-hands we-have-wrested that unharmed the-citizens that standing
urbem reliquit, quanto tandem illum maerore esse
the-city he-has-left with-how-great pray him with-grief to-be
adflictum et profligatum putatis? Iacet ille nunc prostratus,
stricken and overthrown do-you-think he-lies he now prostrate
Quirites, et se perculsum atque abiectum esse sentit et
citizens and himself struck-down and cast-down to-be he-feels and
retorquet oculos profecto saepe ad hanc urbem quam e
he-turns-back his-eyes surely often to this city which from
suis faucibus ereptam esse luget: quae quidem mihi laetari
his jaws snatched to-be he-mourns which indeed to-me to-rejoice
videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque proiecerit.
seems because so-great a-plague it-has-vomited and-out-of-doors has-thrown

If anyone blames Cicero for letting Catiline go rather than seizing him, the fault is the times': too many disbelieved or favored him, and his death would have left his allies unpunished. Cicero's one regret is that Catiline took so few with him, debtors from the tavern, and left behind the perfumed men in purple who still haunt the forum and the senate. Cicero knows each man's allotted region; let them follow him down the Aurelian Way.

Ac si quis est talis qualis esse omnis oportebat, qui in hoc 3
and if any-one is such as to-be all it-was-fitting who in this
ipso in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea me vehementer
very in which exults and triumphs speech my me vehemently
accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim
should-accuse because so capital an-enemy not I-have-seized
potius quam emiserim, non est ista mea culpa, Quirites,
rather than let-go not is that my fault citizens
sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilinam et
but of-the-times killed to-have-been Lucius Catiline and
gravissimo supplicio adfectum iam pridem oportebat, idque
with-the-heaviest punishment visited already long-ago it-was-fitting and-that
a me et mos maiorum et huius imperi severitas et
from me both the-custom of-the-ancestors and of-this command the-severity and
res publica postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisse putatis
the-thing public demanded but how many to-have-been do-you-think
qui quae ego deferrem non crederent, quam multos qui
who what I reported not believed how many who
propter stultitiam non putarent, quam multos qui etiam
on-account-of stupidity not thought-so how many who even
defenderent, quam multos qui propter improbitatem faverent?
defended-him how many who on-account-of wickedness favored-him
Ac si illo sublato depelli a vobis omne periculum
and if with-him removed to-be-driven-off from you all danger

iudicarem, iam pridem ego L. Catilinam non modo
I-judged already long-ago I Lucius Catiline not only
invidiae meae verum etiam vitae periculo sustulissem.
of-odium my but even of-my-life at-the-risk would-have-removed
4 Sed cum viderem, ne vobis quidem omnibus etiam tum
but when I-saw not to-you even all even then
re probata si illum, ut erat meritus, morte
with-the-thing proved if him as he-had deserved with-death
multassem, fore ut eius socios invidia oppressus persequi
I-had-punished going-to-be that his allies by-odium crushed to-pursue
non possem, rem huc deduxi ut tum palam pugnare
not I-could the-thing to-this I-brought that then openly to-fight
possetis cum hostem aperte videretis. Quem quidem ego
you-could when the-enemy openly you-saw whom indeed I
hostem, Quirites, quam vehementer foris esse timendum
enemy citizens how vehemently outside to-be to-be-feared
putem, licet hinc intellegatis, quod etiam illud
I-think it-is-allowed from-this you-may-understand that even that
moleste fero quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit.
annoyingly I-bear that from the-city too-little accompanied he-has-gone-out
Utinam ille omnis secum suas copias eduxisset! Tongilium
would-that he all with-him his forces had-led-out Tongilius
mihi eduxit quem amare in praetexta coeperat, Publicium
for-me he-led-out whom to-love in the-bordered-toga he-had-begun Publicius
et Minucium quorum aes alienum contractum in popina
and Minucius whose bronze another's contracted in a-cookshop
nullum rei publicae motum adferre poterat: reliquit quos
no to-the-thing public disturbance to-bring could he-left what
viros, quanto aere alieno, quam valentis, quam nobilis!
men with-how-great bronze another's how strong how noble

Itaque ego illum exercitum prae Gallicanis legionibus et 5
and-so I that army compared-with the-Gallic legions and
hoc dilectu quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus
this levy which in the-territory Picene and Gallic Quintus Metellus
habuit, et his copiis quae a nobis cotidie comparantur, magno
has-held and these forces which by us daily are-prepared with-great
opere contemno, conlectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti
work I-despise collected from old-men desperate from rustic
luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex eis qui vadimonia deserere
luxury from country spendthrifts from those who bail-bonds to-desert
quam illum exercitum maluerunt; quibus ego non modo si
than that army have-preferred to-whom I not only if
aciem exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum praetoris
the-line of-the-army our but even if the-edict of-the-praetor
ostendero, concident. Hos quos video volitare in foro,
I-shall-have-shown they-will-collapse these whom I-see to-flit-about in the-forum
quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire, qui
whom to-stand at the-senate-house whom even into the-senate to-come who
nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura, mallem secum suos
glisten with-ointments who shine with-purple I-would-prefer with-him his
milites eduxisset: qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam
soldiers he-had-led-out who if here they-remain remember not so-much
exercitum illum esse nobis quam hos qui exercitum deseruerunt
army that to-be by-us as these who the-army have-deserted
pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis quod
to-be-dreaded and for-this also they-are to-be-feared more because
quid cogitent me scire sentiunt neque tamen permoventur.
what they-plan me to-know they-perceive nor still are-they-moved
Video cui sit Apulia attributa, quis habeat Etruriam, quis 6
I-see to-whom has-been Apulia assigned who has Etruria who
agrum Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has urbanas
the-territory Picene who the-Gallic who for-himself these urban

insidias caedis atque incendiorum depoposcerit. Omnia
plots of-slaughter and of-fires has-demanded all
superioris noctis consilia ad me perlata esse sentiunt;
of-the-earlier night the-plans to me reported to-have-been they-perceive
patefeci in senatu hesterno die; Catilina ipse pertimuit,
I-disclosed-them in the-senate on-yesterday day Catiline himself was-terrified
profugit: hi quid exspectant? Ne illi vehementer errant, si
he-fled these-men what do-they-await truly they greatly err if
illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.
that my former leniency perpetual they-hope going-to-be
Quod exspectavi, iam sum adsecutus ut vos omnes factam
what I-awaited already I-have attained that you all made
esse aperte coniurationem contra rem publicam videretis;
to-be openly a-conspiracy against the-thing public should-see
nisi vero si quis est qui Catilinae similis cum Catilina
unless indeed if any-one is who Catiline's like with Catiline
sentire non putet. Non est iam lenitati locus; severitatem
to-feel not thinks not there-is now for-leniency room severity
res ipsa flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: exeant,
the-thing itself demands one-thing even now I-will-grant let-them-go-out
proficiscantur, ne patiantur desiderio sui Catilinam
let-them-set-out not let-them-allow by-longing for-themselves Catiline
miserum tabescere. Demonstrabo iter: Aurelia via profectus
poor to-waste-away I-will-show the-road by-the-Aurelian road set-out
est; si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur.
he-has if to-hurry they-wish by evening they-will-overtake-him

III · THE CITY'S BILGE

Rome is fortunate to have drained this bilge. Every poisoner, gladiator, cutthroat, forger, and debauchee in Italy was Catiline's intimate; he seduced the young, promised some their pleasures and others their parents' deaths, and drew every debtor into his pact, while his endurance of cold and hunger served only his lusts. If his companions follow him, the consulship will have secured the state for ages, for no foreign enemy remains: the enemy is within, and Cicero declares himself general in this war.

O fortunatam rem publicam, si quidem hanc sentinam 7
O fortunate the-thing public if indeed this bilge-water
urbis eiecerit! Uno me hercule Catilina exhausto
of-the-city it-shall-have-thrown-out with-one by Hercules Catiline drained
levata mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim
relieved to-me and refreshed the-thing public seems what for
mali aut sceleris fingi aut cogitari potest quod non ille
of-evil or of-crime to-be-imagined or to-be-thought can which not he
conceperit? quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro,
has-conceived who in-all Italy poisoner who gladiator who brigand
quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subiector,
who assassin who parricide who of-wills forger
quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter,
who cheat who glutton who spendthrift who adulterer
quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor iuventutis, quis corruptus,
what woman infamous who corrupter of-youth who corrupted
quis perditus inveniri potest qui se cum Catilina non
who abandoned to-be-found can who himself with Catiline not
familiarissime vixisse fateatur? quae caedes per hosce annos
most-intimately to-have-lived would-confess what slaughter through these years
sine illo facta est, quod nefarium stuprum non per illum?
without him done has-been what wicked debauchery not through him

8 Iam vero quae tanta umquam in ullo iuventutis inlecebra
now indeed what so-great ever in any of-youth allurement
fuit quanta in illo? qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum
was as in him who others himself loved most-basely of-others
amori flagitiosissime serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum,
to-the-love most-disgracefully was-slave to-some the-enjoyment of-lusts
aliis mortem parentum non modo impellendo verum etiam
to-others the-death of-their-parents not only by-urging but also
adiuvando pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito non solum ex
by-helping he-promised now indeed how suddenly not only from
urbe verum etiam ex agris ingentem numerum perditorum
the-city but also from the-fields a-huge number of-abandoned
hominum conlegerat! Nemo non modo Romae sed ne ullo
men he-had-collected no-one not only at-Rome but not any
quidem in angulo totius Italiae oppressus aere alieno
even in corner of-all Italy burdened with-bronze another's
fuit quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris foedus asciverit.
was whom not to this incredible of-crime league he-has-enlisted
9 Atque ut eius diversa studia in dissimili ratione perspicere
and that his different pursuits in a-dissimilar way to-see-through
possitis, nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paulo ad facinus
you-may-be-able no-one is in the-school gladiatorial a-little for crime
audacior qui se non intimum Catilinae esse fateatur,
bolder who himself not intimate of-Catiline to-be would-confess
nemo in scaena levior et nequior qui se non
no-one on the-stage more-frivolous and more-worthless who himself not
eiusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem
of-the-same almost a-comrade to-have-been would-recall and the-same
tamen stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione adsuefactus
still of-debaucheries and of-crimes by-the-practice accustomed
frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis perferendis fortis ab
cold and hunger and thirst and watchings for-enduring brave by

istis praedicabatur, cum industriae subsidia atque instrumenta
those was-proclaimed when of-industry the-supports and the-instruments
virtutis in libidine audaciaque consumeret.
of-virtue on lust and-audacity he-spent
Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites, si ex urbe exierint 10
him indeed if followed shall-have his companions if from the-city shall-have-gone-out
desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges, o nos beatos, o rem
of-desperate men the-disgraceful herds O us happy O the-thing
publicam fortunatum, o praeclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non
public fortunate O the-splendid glory of-consulship my not
enim iam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanae et
for now are moderate of-the-men the-lusts not human and
tolerandae audaciae; nihil cogitant nisi caedem, nisi incendia,
tolerable the-audacities nothing they-plan except slaughter except fires
nisi rapinas. Patrimonia sua profuderunt, fortunas suas
except plunder inheritances their-own they-have-squandered fortunes their-own
obligaverunt; res eos iam pridem, fides nuper deficere coepit:
they-have-mortgaged money them already long-ago credit lately to-fail began
eadem tamen illa quae erat in abundantia libido permanet. Quod
the-same still that which was in abundance lust remains but
si in vino et alea comissationes solum et scorta quaererent,
if in wine and dice revels only and harlots they-sought
essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi:
they-would-be they indeed to-be-despaired-of but still they-would-be to-be-borne
hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertis homines fortissimis
this indeed who to-bear could inactive men against-the-bravest
viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebrios sobriis,
men to-plot the-stupidest against-the-wisest the-drunk against-the-sober
dormientis vigilantibus? qui mihi accubantes in conviviis,
the-sleeping against-the-wakeful who to-me reclining at banquets
complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, conferti cibo,
embracing women shameless with-wine languid crammed with-food

sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris eructant
with-garlands crowned with-ointments smeared weakened by-debaucheries belch-out
sermonibus suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia.
in-talk their-own the-slaughter of-the-good and of-the-city the-burning
11 Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod et poenam
over-whom I trust to-hang-over a-fate some and a-penalty
iam diu improbitati, nequitiae, sceleri, libidini debitam aut
now long to-wickedness to-worthlessness to-crime to-lust owed either
instare iam plane aut certe appropinquare. Quos si meus
to-be-pressing now plainly or certainly to-be-approaching whom if my
consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit, non breve
consulship since to-cure not it-can shall-have-removed not a-short
nescio quod tempus sed multa saecula propagarit rei
I-know-not what time but many ages shall-have-prolonged of-the-thing
publicae. Nulla enim est natio quam pertimescamus, nullus
public no for is nation which we-should-dread no
rex qui bellum populo Romano facere possit. Omnia sunt
king who war on-the-people Roman to-make could all-things are
externa unius virtute terra marique pacata: domesticum
external of-one-man by-the-valor on-land and-sea pacified domestic
bellum manet, intus insidiae sunt, intus inclusum periculum
war remains within the-plots are within shut-up the-danger
est, intus est hostis. Cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum
is within is the-enemy with luxury by-us with madness with
scelere certandum est. Huic ego me bello ducem profiteor,
crime to-be-contended is for-this I myself war leader declare
Quirites; suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum; quae
citizens I-undertake the-enmities of-men abandoned those-which
sanari poterunt quacumque ratione sanabo, quae resecanda
to-be-cured shall-be-able by-whatever means I-will-cure those-which to-be-cut-out
erunt non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde
shall-be not I-will-allow to the-ruin of-the-state to-remain therefore

aut exeant aut quiescant aut, si et in urbe et in
either let-them-go-out or let-them-be-quiet or if both in the-city and in
eadem mente permanent, ea quae merentur exspectent.
the-same mind they-remain those-things which they-deserve let-them-await

IV · DRIVEN OUT, OR LET GO?

Some say Cicero drove Catiline into exile. Yet the day before, after a plot on his life, Cicero called the senate, where no one greeted Catiline, and when questioned about Laeca's house he fell silent and left. He was not driven into exile but sent to the war already prepared, with eagle, fasces, and trumpets sent ahead. If he should lose heart, men would call him an innocent exile and Cicero a tyrant; Cicero will bear that, but in three days Rome will hear he is in arms.

At etiam sunt qui dicant, Quirites, a me eiectum 12
but even there-are those-who say citizens by me thrown-out
esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo adsequi possem,
to-have-been Catiline which I if by-a-word to-achieve I-could
istos ipsos eicerem qui haec loquuntur. Homo enim
those very-men I-would-throw-out who these-things say the-man for
videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem consulis ferre
forsooth timid or even very-modest the-voice of-the-consul to-bear
non potuit; simul atque ire in exsilium iussus est, paruit.
not could as-soon as to-go into exile ordered he-was he-obeyed
Quin hesterno die, cum domi meae paene interfectus essem,
nay on-yesterday day when at-home my almost killed I-had-been
senatum in aedem Iovis Statoris convocavi, rem omnem
the-senate into the-temple of-Jupiter the-Stayer I-called-together the-matter whole
ad patres conscriptos detuli. Quo cum Catilina venisset, quis
to the-fathers enrolled I-reported whither when Catiline had-come what
eum senator appellavit, quis salutavit, quis denique ita aspexit
him senator addressed who greeted who finally so looked-at-him

ut perditum civem ac non potius ut importunissimum hostem?
as an-abandoned citizen and not rather as the-most-pernicious enemy
Quin etiam principes eius ordinis partem illam subselliorum
nay even the-leading-men of-that order part that of-the-benches
ad quam ille accesserat nudam atque inanem reliquerunt.
to which he had-approached bare and empty left
13 Hic ego vehemens ille consul qui verbo civis in exsilium
here I vehement that consul who by-a-word citizens into exile
eicio quaesivi a Catilina in nocturno conventu ad M. Laecam
throw I-asked of Catiline at the-nightly meeting at Marcus Laeca's
fuisset necne. Cum ille homo audacissimus conscientia
he-had-been or-not when he the-man most-audacious by-consciousness
convictus primo reticuisset, patefeci cetera: quid ea nocte
convicted at-first had-kept-silent I-disclosed the-rest what on-that night
egisset, ubi fuisset, quid in proximam constituisset, quem
he-had-done where he-had-been what for the-next he-had-settled in-what
ad modum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta
to manner had-been for-him the-plan of-the-whole war drawn-up
edocui. Cum haesitaret, cum teneretur, quaesivi quid
I-informed-him when he-hesitated when he-was-held I-asked why
dubitaret proficisci eo quo iam pridem pararet, cum
he-hesitated to-set-out thither whither already long-ago he-was-preparing when
arma, cum securis, cum fascis, cum tubas, cum signa
arms when axes when fasces when trumpets when standards
militaria, cum aquilam illam argenteam cui ille etiam
military when eagle that silver for-which he even
sacrarium domi suae fecerat scirem esse praemissam.
a-sbrine in-the-house his-own had-made I-knew to-have-been sent-ahead
14 In exsilium eiciebam quem iam ingressum esse in
into exile was-I-throwing whom already entered to-have-been on
bellum videram? Etenim, credo, Manlius iste centurio qui in
war I-had-seen for-indeed I-suppose Manlius that centurion who in

agro Faesulano castra posuit bellum populo Romano
the-territory Faesulan a-camp has-pitched war on-the-people Roman
suo nomine indixit, et illa castra nunc non Catilinam
in-his-own name declared and that camp now not Catiline
ducem exspectant, et ille eiectus in exsilium se Massiliam,
as-leader awaits and he thrown-out into exile himself to-Massilia
ut aiunt, non in haec castra confert. O condicionem miseram
as they-say not into this camp betakes O the-condition wretched
non modo administrandae verum etiam conservandae rei
not only of-administering but also of-preserving the-thing
publicae! Nunc si L. Catilina consiliis, laboribus, periculis
public now if Lucius Catiline by-plans labors dangers
meis circumclusus ac debilitatus subito pertimuerit,
my hemmed-in and weakened suddenly shall-have-taken-fright
sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium belli
his-opinion shall-have-changed shall-have-deserted his-men the-plan of-war
faciendi abiecerit, et ex hoc cursu sceleris ac belli
of-waging shall-have-cast-away and from this course of-crime and war
iter ad fugam atque in exsilium converterit, non ille a me
the-road to flight and into exile shall-have-turned not he by me
spoliatus armis audaciae, non obstupefactus ac perterritus
stripped of-the-arms of-audacity not stunned and terrified
mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed indemnatus
by-my diligence not from hope and-attempt driven but uncondemned
innocens in exsilium eiectus a consule vi et minis
innocent into exile thrown-out by the-consul by-force and threats
esse dicetur: et erunt qui illum, si hoc fecerit,
to-have-been will-be-said and there-will-be those-who him if this he-shall-have-done
non improbum sed miserum, me non diligentissimum
not wicked but wretched me not the-most-diligent
consulem sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint!
consul but the-cruelest tyrant to-be-thought wish

15 Est mihi tanti, Quirites, huius invidiae falsae atque
it-is to-me worth-so-much citizens of-this odium false and
iniquae tempestatem subire, dum modo a vobis huius
unjust the-storm to-undergo provided only from you of-this
horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur
horrible war and wicked the-danger be-driven-off let-him-be-said
sane eiectus esse a me, dum modo eat in
by-all-means thrown-out to-have-been by me provided only he-go into
exsilium. Sed mihi credite, non est iturus. Numquam ego ab
exile but me believe not he-is going-to-go never I from
dis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiae meae relevandae
the-gods immortal shall-wish citizens odium my of-relieving
causa ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium atque
for-the-sake that Lucius Catiline to-lead an-army of-enemies and
in armis volitare audiatis, sed triduo tamen audietis;
in arms to-flit-about you-should-hear but in-three-days still you-will-hear
multoque magis illud timeo ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando
and-much more that I-fear lest to-me it-be a-cause-of-odium at-some-time
quod illum emiserim potius quam quod eiecerim. Sed cum
that him I-let-go rather than that I-threw-out but since
sint homines qui illum, cum profectus sit, eiectum
there-are men who him when set-out he-has thrown-out
esse dicant, idem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent?
to-have-been say the-same if killed he-had-been what would-they-say
16 Quamquam isti qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dictitant non
and-yet those who Catiline to-Massilia to-go keep-saying not
tam hoc queruntur quam verentur. Nemo est istorum tam
so-much this complain as fear no-one is of-those so
misericors qui illum non ad Manlium quam ad Massiliensis
pitiful who him not to Manlius than to the-Massiliots
ire malit. Ille autem, si me hercule hoc quod agit
to-go would-prefer he however if by Hercules this which he-is-doing

numquam antea cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici
never before had-thought-of still practicing-brigandage himself to-be-killed
mallet quam exsulem vivere. Nunc vero, cum ei nihil
would-prefer than an-exile to-live now indeed when to-him nothing
adhuc praeter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit,
so-far besides his-own will and-thought has-happened
nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est, optemus
except that with-living us from-Rome set-out he-has let-us-wish
potius ut eat in exsilium quam queramur.
rather that he-go into exile than let-us-complain

V · THE SIX KINDS OF CONSPIRATOR

Cicero turns to the men still in Rome and sorts Catiline's forces into kinds. Rich debtors who will not sell their land; debtors who hope for power in chaos; Sulla's colonists ruined by extravagance; old debtors sinking in their debts; murderers and criminals, whom Cicero leaves to Catiline; and Catiline's own darlings, curled, perfumed, and dressed in sleeved tunics, who have learned to dance and to brandish daggers. How will they bear the Apennine snows?

Sed cur tam diu de uno hoste loquimur et de eo hoste 17
but why so long about one enemy do-we-speak and about that enemy
qui iam fatetur se esse hostem, et quem, quia, quod
who already confesses himself to-be an-enemy and whom because what
semper volui, murus interest, non timeo: de his qui
always I-wished a-wall stands-between not I-fear about these who
dissimulant, qui Romae remanent, qui nobiscum sunt nihil
dissemble who at-Rome remain who with-us are nothing
dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit,
do-we-say whom indeed I if in-any way to-be-done it-could
non tam ulcisci studeo quam sanare sibi ipsos,
not so-much to-avenge am-eager as to-cure to-themselves themselves

placare rei publicae, neque id qua re fieri
to-reconcile to-the-thing public nor that by-what means to-be-done
non possit, si iam me audire volent, intellego. Exponam
not could if now me to-hear they-will-wish I-see I-will-set-out
enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae
for to-you citizens from what classes of-men those
copiae comparentur; deinde singulis medicinam consili atque
forces are-gathered then to-each the-medicine of-counsel and
orationis meae, si quam potero, adferam.
of-speech my if any I-shall-be-able I-will-bring

18 Unum genus est eorum qui magno in aere alieno maiores
one class is of-those who great in bronze another's greater
etiam possessiones habent quarum amore adducti dissolvi
even possessions have whose by-love led to-be-freed
nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum species est
in-no way can of-these men the-appearance is
honestissima — sunt enim locupletes — voluntas vero et
most-honorable they-are for rich the-will indeed and
causa impudentissima. Tu agris, tu aedificiis, tu argento, tu
the-cause most-shameless you with-lands you with-buildings you with-silver you
familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis, et
with-a-household you with-things all furnished and well-supplied would-be and
dubites de possessione detrahere, adquirere ad fidem? Quid
you-hesitate from your-possessions to-take-away to-acquire for credit what
enim exspectas? Bellum? Quid ergo? In vastatione omnium tuas
for do-you-await war what therefore in the-devastation of-all your
possessiones sacrosanctas futuras putes? An tabulas novas?
possessions inviolable going-to-be do-you-think or tablets new
Errant qui istas a Catilina exspectant: meo beneficio tabulae
they-err who those from Catiline await by-my kindness tablets
novae proferuntur, verum auctionariae; neque enim isti qui
new are-brought-out but of-the-auctioneer nor for those who

possessiones habent alia ratione ulla salvi esse possunt. Quod
possessions have by-other means any safe to-be can but
si maturius facere voluissent neque, id quod stultissimum est,
if earlier to-do-it they-had-wished nor that which most-stupid is
certare cum usuris fructibus praediorum, et locupletioribus
to-contend with the-interest by-the-yields of-their-estates both richer
his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines
these-men and better as-citizens we-should-have but these men
minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de
least I-think to-be-dreaded because either to-be-led-away from
sententia possunt aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur
their-opinion they-can or if they-will-remain more to-me they-seem
vota facturi contra rem publicam quam arma laturi.
prayers going-to-make against the-thing public than arms going-to-bear
Alterum genus est eorum qui, quamquam premuntur aere 19
the-second class is of-those who although they-are-pressed by-bronze
alieno, dominationem tamen exspectant, rerum potiri
another's mastery still await of-affairs to-gain-control
volunt, honores quos quieta re publica desperant
they-wish the-offices which with-quiet the-thing public they-despair-of
perturbata se consequi posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc
with-disturbed themselves to-obtain to-be-able they-think to-whom this
praecipiendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem quod reliquis
to-be-enjoined seems one-thing forsooth and the-same as to-the-rest
omnibus, ut desperent id quod conantur se consequi
all that they-should-despair that which they-attempt themselves to-obtain
posse: primum omnium me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere
to-be-able first of-all me myself to-watch to-be-present to-provide
rei publicae; deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris,
for-the-thing public then great spirits to-be in the-good men
magnam concordiam ordinum, maximam multitudinem, magnas
great concord of-the-orders the-greatest multitude great

praeterea militum copias; deos denique immortalis huic
besides of-soldiers forces the-gods finally immortal to-this
invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimae urbi
unconquered people to-the-most-illustrious empire to-the-most-beautiful city
contra tantam vim sceleris praesentis auxilium esse laturos.
against so-great force of-crime present help to-be going-to-bring
Quod si iam sint id quod summo furore cupiunt
but if now they-have that which with-the-highest madness they-desire
adepti, num illi in cinere urbis et in sanguine civium,
attained surely-not they in the-ashes of-the-city and in the-blood of-citizens
quae mente conscelerata ac nefaria concupiverunt,
which-things with-a-mind criminal and wicked they-have-craved
consules se aut dictatores aut etiam reges sperant
consuls themselves or dictators or even kings do-they-hope
futuros? Non vident id se cupere quod, si adepti sint,
going-to-be not they-see that themselves to-desire which if attained they-have
fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit necesse?
to-a-runaway-slave some or to-a-gladiator to-be-yielded it-would-be necessary
20 Tertium genus est aetate iam adfectum, sed tamen exercitatione
the-third class is by-age now worn but still by-exercise
robustum; quo ex genere iste est Manlius cui nunc Catilina
sturdy which from class that-man is Manlius whom now Catiline
succedit. Hi sunt homines ex eis coloniis quas Sulla constituit;
succeeds these are men from those colonies which Sulla established
quas ego universas civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum
which I all of-citizens to-be excellent and of-bravest
virorum sentio, sed tamen ei sunt coloni qui se in
men I-feel but still those are colonists who themselves in
insperatis ac repentinis pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque
unhoped-for and sudden moneys too-lavishly and-too-insolently
iactarunt. Hi dum aedificant tamquam beati, dum praediis lectis,
have-flaunted these while they-build as-if wealthy while in-estates choice

familiis magnis, conviviis apparatis delectantur, in tantum aes
in-households great in-banquets lavish they-delight into so-great bronze
alienum inciderunt ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit eis
another's have-fallen that if safe to-be they-wish Sulla would-be for-them
ab inferis excitandus: qui etiam non nullos agrestis homines
from the-dead to-be-raised who also not none rustic men
tenuis atque egentis in eandem illam spem rapinarum veterum
poor and needy into the-same that hope of-plunders old
impulerunt. Quos ego utrosque in eodem genere praedatorum
have-driven whom I both in the-same class of-plunderers
direptorumque pono, sed eos hoc moneo, desinant furere
and-robbers place but them this I-warn let-them-cease to-rage
ac proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum
and proscriptions and dictatorships to-plan so-great for of-those
temporum dolor inustus est civitati ut iam ista non modo
times the-pain branded is on-the-state that now those-things not only
homines sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passurae esse videantur.
men but not cattle even to-me going-to-suffer to-be seem
Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et turbulentum; 21
the-fourth class is indeed varied and mixed and turbulent
qui iam pridem premuntur, qui numquam emergunt, qui
who already long-ago are-pressed who never emerge who
partim inertia, partim male gerendo negotio, partim etiam
partly by-inertia partly by-badly managing business partly also
sumptibus in vetere aere alieno vacillant, qui vadimoniis,
by-expenses in old bronze another's totter who by-bail-bonds
iudiciis, proscriptione bonorum defetigati permulti et ex
by-judgments by-confiscation of-goods worn-out very-many both from
urbe et ex agris se in illa castra conferre dicuntur.
the-city and from the-fields themselves into that camp to-betake are-said
Hosce ego non tam milites acris quam infitiatores lentos
these I not so-much soldiers keen as defaulters slow

esse arbitror. Qui homines quam primum, si stare non
to-be I-judge which men as soon-as-possible if to-stand not
possunt, conruant, sed ita ut non modo civitas sed ne
they-can let-them-collapse but so that not only the-state but not
vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intellego
the-neighbors even nearest may-perceive-it for that not I-understand
quam ob rem, si vivere honeste non possunt, perire
what on-account-of thing if to-live honorably not they-can to-perish
turpiter velint, aut cur minore dolore perituros se
disgracefully they-wish or why with-less pain going-to-perish themselves
cum multis quam si soli pereant arbitrentur.
with many than if alone they-perish they-think

22 Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium
the-fifth class is of-parricides of-assassins finally of-all
facinerosorum. Quos ego a Catilina non revoco; nam
criminals whom I from Catiline not call-back for
neque ab eo divelli possunt et pereant sane
neither from him to-be-torn-away they-can and let-them-perish by-all-means
in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi ut eos carcer capere
in brigandage since they-are so many that them the-prison to-hold
non possit. Postremum autem genus est non solum numero
not could the-last however class is not only in-number
verum etiam genere ipso atque vita quod proprium
but also in-kind itself and life which the-peculiar-property
Catilinae est, de eius dilectu, immo vero de complexu
of-Catiline is from his levy nay indeed from the-embrace
eius ac sinu; quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut imberbis
his and bosom whom with-combed hair sleek either beardless
aut bene barbatos videtis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis,
or well bearded you-see in-long-sleeved and ankle-length tunics

velis amictos, non togis; quorum omnis industria vitae
with-sails wrapped not with-togas whose all industry of-life
et vigilandi labor in antelucanis cenis expromitur.
and of-staying-awake the-labor in before-dawn dinners is-displayed
In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes 23
in these herds all gamblers all adulterers all
impuri impudicique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac
impure and-unchaste-men live these boys so charming and
delicati non solum amare et amari neque saltare et cantare
dainty not only to-love and to-be-loved nor to-dance and to-sing
sed etiam sicas vibrare et spargere venena didicerunt. Qui
but also daggers to-brandish and to-scatter poisons have-learned who
nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiam si Catilina perierit,
unless they-go-out unless they-perish even if Catiline shall-have-perished
scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarum futurum.
know this in the-thing public a-seed-bed of-Catilines going-to-be
Verum tamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? num suas
but still what for-themselves those wretches want surely-not their
secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? Quem ad
with-them little-women are-they into the-camp going-to-lead in-what to
modum autem illis carere poterunt, his praesertim
manner however them to-be-without will-they-be-able on-these especially
iam noctibus? Quo autem pacto illi Appenninum atque illas
now nights in-what however way they the-Apennines and those
pruinas ac nivis perferent? nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem
frosts and snows will-endure unless therefore themselves more-easily the-winter
toleraturos putant, quod nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt.
going-to-bear they-think because naked at banquets to-dance they-have-learned

A war to be feared indeed, with a guard of harlots! Set against it the consuls, the flower of Italy, the colonies and towns; Catiline has neither senate, knights, treasury, nor provinces. On one side fight modesty, faith, piety, constancy, and every virtue, on the other wantonness, fraud, crime, madness, and every vice, and the gods will not let the vices win. Let the citizens guard their homes; the colonists, the gladiators, and Quintus Metellus in the Picene are provided for.

24 O bellum magno opere pertimescendum, cum hanc sit
O war with-great work to-be-dreaded when this is
habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem praetoriam! Instruite
going-to-have Catiline of-harlots cohort praetorian draw-up
nunc, Quirites, contra has tam praeclaras Catilinae copias
now citizens against these so splendid of-Catiline forces
vestra praesidia vestrosque exercitus. Et primum gladiatori illi
your garrisons and-your armies and first against-gladiator that
confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite;
worn-out and wounded the-consuls and-commanders your set
deinde contra illam naufragorum eiectam ac debilitatam
then against that of-shipwrecked-men cast-out and weakened
manum florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Iam vero urbes
band the-flower of-all Italy and strength lead-out now indeed the-cities
coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumulis
of-the-colonies and of-the-towns will-answer to-Catiline's mounds
silvestribus. Neque ego ceteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia
wooded nor I the-other forces equipment garrisons
vestra cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo.
your with of-that brigand the-want and need to-compare ought
25 Sed si, omissis his rebus quibus nos suppeditamur, eget
but if with-omitted these things with-which we are-supplied lacks
ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus,
he the-senate the-knights Roman the-city the-treasury the-revenues

cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus, si his
all Italy the-provinces all foreign nations if these
rebus omissis causas ipsas quae inter se confligunt
things with-omitted the-causes themselves which among themselves clash
contendere velimus, ex eo ipso quam valde illi iaceant
to-compare we-wish from that very how greatly they lie-prostrate
intellegere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc
to-understand we-can from this for side shame fights from-there
petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fides,
wantonness on-this-side chastity on-that-side debauchery on-this-side good-faith
illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, illinc scelus; hinc
from-there fraud on-this-side dutifulness from-there crime on-this-side
constantia, illinc furor; hinc honestas, illinc turpitudo;
constancy from-there madness on-this-side honor from-there turpitude
hinc continentia, illinc libido; hinc denique aequitas,
on-this-side self-control from-there lust on-this-side finally fairness
temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum
temperance fortitude prudence virtues all contend with
iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus;
injustice luxury cowardice rashness with vices all
postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, mens
lastly plenty with want good reason with ruined a-mind
sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum
sound with madness good finally hope with of-all things
desperatione confligit. In eius modi certamine ac proelio nonne,
despair clashes in of-this kind contest and battle surely
si hominum studia deficiant, di ipsi immortales cogant
if of-men the-zeal should-fail the-gods themselves immortal would-force
ab his praeclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?
by these most-splendid virtues so-many and so-great vices to-be-overcome

26 Quae cum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quem ad modum
which-things since so they-are citizens you in-what to manner
iam antea dixi, vestra tecta vigiliis custodiisque defendite;
already before I-said your houses with-watches and-guards defend
mihi ut urbi sine vestro metu ac sine ullo tumultu
by-me that for-the-city without your fear and without any disturbance
satis esset praesidi consultum atque provisum est. Coloni
enough would-be of-protection provided-for and foreseen it-is the-colonists
omnes municipesque vestri certiores a me facti de hac
all and-townsmen your informed by me made about this
nocturna excursione Catilinae facile urbis suas finisque
nightly sally of-Catiline easily cities their-own and-boundaries
defendent; gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam
will-defend the-gladiators which for-himself he band most-certain
fore putavit, quamquam animo meliore sunt quam
going-to-be thought although with-spirit better they-are than
pars patriciorum, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur.
part of-the-patricians by-power still our will-be-restrained
Q. Metellus quem ego hoc prospiciens in agrum
Quintus Metellus whom I this foreseeing into the-territory
Gallicum Picenumque praemisi aut opprimet hominem aut
Gallic and-Picene sent-ahead either will-crush the-man or
eius omnis motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem
his all movements and-attempts will-prevent the-remaining however
de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis iam ad senatum
about matters to-be-settled to-be-hastened to-be-done now to the-senate
referemus, quem vocari videtis.
we-shall-refer which to-be-summoned you-see

Cicero warns those left in Rome: his mildness waited only for the plot to break out. The gates are unguarded and any may leave, but whoever moves against the fatherland will find watchful consuls, a brave senate, arms, and the prison. He promises to end the cruelest civil war in memory as a general in a toga, with no good man lost and few punished, trusting the gods, who now defend their temples in person; let the citizens pray to them.

Nunc illos qui in urbe remanserunt atque adeo qui contra 27
now those who in the-city have-remained and indeed who against
urbis salutem omniumque vestrum in urbe a Catilina relicti
of-the-city the-safety and-of-all you in the-city by Catiline left
sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia nati sunt cives,
were although they-are enemies still because born they-are citizens
monitos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si
warned again and again I-wish-them-to-be my leniency so-far if
cui solutior visa est, hoc exspectavit ut id quod latebat
to-any-one too-lax seemed it-has this has-waited-for that that which lay-hidden
erumperet. Quod reliquum est, iam non possum oblivisci
should-break-out as-for-what remaining is now not I-can forget
meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem, mihi aut
my this to-be fatherland me of-these to-be the-consul by-me either
cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est
with these must-be-lived or for these to-be must-be-died no is
portis custos, nullus insidiator viae: si qui exire volunt,
at-the-gates guard no ambusher of-the-road if any to-go-out wish
conivere possum; qui vero se in urbe commoverit cuius
to-shut-my-eyes I-can who indeed himself in the-city shall-have-stirred whose
ego non modo factum sed vel inceptum ullum conatumve
I not only deed but even beginning any or-attempt
contra patriam deprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse
against the-fatherland shall-have-caught he-will-feel in this city to-be

consules vigilantis, esse egregios magistratus, esse fortem
consuls watchful to-be excellent magistrates to-be a-brave
senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem quem vindicem nefariorum
senate to-be arms to-be a-prison which as-avenger of-wicked
ac manifestorum scelerum maiores nostri esse voluerunt.
and manifest crimes ancestors our to-be wished
28 Atque haec omnia sic agentur ut maximae res
and these-things all so will-be-managed that the-greatest matters
minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum
with-the-least stir dangers the-highest with-no disturbance war
intestinum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam
internal and domestic since of-men memory
crudelissimum et maximum me uno togato duce et
the-cruelest and greatest with-me alone in-a-toga leader and
imperatore sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites,
commander be-settled which I so shall-administer citizens
ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem
that if in-any way to-be-done it-shall-be-able not wicked even
quisquam in hac urbe poenam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si
anyone in this city the-penalty of-his-own crime may-suffer but if
vis manifestae audaciae, si impendens patriae periculum
the-force of-manifest audacity if hanging-over to-the-fatherland danger
me necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit, illud
me necessarily from this of-mind leniency shall-have-drawn-away that
profecto perficiam quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello
surely I-will-accomplish which in so-great and so treacherous war
vix optandum videtur, ut neque bonus quisquam intereat
scarcely to-be-wished seems that neither good anyone perish
paucorumque poena vos omnes salvi esse possitis.
and-of-a-few by-the-punishment you all safe to-be may-be-able

Quae quidem ego neque mea prudentia neque humanis 29
which-things indeed I neither on-my prudence nor on-human
consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites, sed multis et non
counsels relying promise to-you citizens but on-many and not
dubiis deorum immortalium significationibus, quibus ego
doubtful of-the-gods immortal signs with-which I
ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus; qui
as-leaders into this hope and-opinion have entered who
iam non procul, ut quondam solebant, ab externo
now not far-off as once they-were-accustomed from a-foreign
hoste atque longinquo, sed hic praesentes suo numine
enemy and distant but here present by-their-own divinity
atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendunt.
and help their-own temples and of-the-city the-houses defend
Quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, implorare debetis ut,
whom you citizens to-pray-to to-worship to-implore ought that
quam urbem pulcherrimam florentissimam potentissimamque
which city most-beautiful most-flourishing and-most-powerful
esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique
to-be they-wished this with-all of-the-enemies forces on-land and-sea
superatis a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.
overcome from of-the-most-abandoned citizens the-wicked crime they-may-defend

IN CATILINAM III

I · THE CITY SAVED

Today, citizens, the state, your lives, wives, children, and this most beautiful city have been snatched from fire and sword by the gods' love and Cicero's labors. If Romulus who founded Rome was raised to the gods, the man who saved it deserves honor too. Cicero will now tell the people briefly what the senate has learned: when he drove Catiline out, he expected the rest either to follow or to be weak without him.

Rem publicam, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona, 1
the-thing public citizens and-the-life of-all of-you the-goods
fortunas, coniuges liberosque vestros atque hoc domicilium
the-fortunes wives and-children your and this home
clarissimi imperi, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque
of-the-most-illustrious empire the-most-fortunate and-most-beautiful
urbem, hodierno die deorum immortalium summo erga
city on-today's day of-the-gods immortal highest toward
vos amore, laboribus, consiliis, periculis meis e flamma
you by-love by-labors counsels dangers my from flame
atque ferro ac paene ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis
and sword and almost from the-jaws of-fate snatched and for-you
conservatam ac restitutam videtis.
preserved and restored you-see
Et si non minus nobis iucundi atque inlustres sunt 2
and if not less to-us pleasant and illustrious are
ei dies quibus conservamur quam illi quibus nascimur,
those days on-which we-are-preserved than those on-which we-are-born
quod salutis certa laetitia est, nascendi incerta condicio
because of-safety certain the-joy is of-being-born uncertain the-condition
et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur,
and because without feeling we-are-born with pleasure we-are-saved

profecto, quoniam illum qui hanc urbem condidit ad deos
surely since him who this city founded to the-gods
immortalis benivolentia famaque sustulimus, esse apud vos
immortal with-goodwill and-fame we-have-raised to-be among you
posterosque vestros in honore debebit is qui eandem hanc
and-posterity your in honor will-be-obliged he who the-same this
urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. Nam toti urbi,
city founded and-enlarged has-saved for to-the-whole city
templis, delubris, tectis ac moenibus subiectos prope
to-the-temples to-the-shrines to-the-houses and to-the-walls set-under almost
iam ignis circumdatosque restinximus, idemque gladios
already the-fires and-placed-around we-have-quenched and-the-same-men the-swords
in rem publicam destrictos rettudimus mucronesque
against the-thing public drawn we-have-blunted and-the-points
eorum a iugulis vestris deiecimus.
of-them from the-throats your we-have-turned-aside

3 Quae quoniam in senatu inlustrata, patefacta, comperta
which-things since in the-senate brought-to-light disclosed discovered
sunt per me, vobis iam exponam breviter ut et
have-been through me to-you now I-will-set-out briefly that both
quanta et quam manifesta et qua ratione investigata et
how-great and how manifest and by-what means traced and
comprehensa sint vos qui et ignoratis et exspectatis
seized they-have-been you who both are-ignorant and are-waiting
scire possitis. Principio, ut Catilina paucis ante diebus
to-know may-be-able in-the-beginning when Catiline a-few before days
erupit ex urbe, cum sceleris sui socios huiusce nefarii
burst-out from the-city when of-crime his-own the-partners of-this wicked
belli acerrimos duces Romae reliquisset, semper vigilavi
war the-fiercest leaders at-Rome he-had-left always I-have-watched
et providi, Quirites, quem ad modum in tantis et tam
and provided citizens in-what to manner in so-great and so

absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus. Nam tum cum ex
hidden plots safe to-be we-could for then when from
urbe Catilinam eiciebam — non enim iam vereor huius verbi
the-city Catiline I-was-throwing-out not for now I-fear of-this word
invidiam, cum illa magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit—,
the-odium since that more be to-be-feared that alive he-went-out
sed tum cum illum exterminari volebam, aut reliquam
but then when him to-be-banished I-wished either the-remaining
coniuratorum manum simul exituram aut eos qui
of-the-conspirators band at-the-same-time going-to-go-out or those who
restitissent infirmos sine illo ac debilis fore putabam.
had-stayed weak without him and feeble going-to-be I-thought

II · THE MULVIAN BRIDGE

Seeing the fiercest conspirators still in Rome, Cicero watched them day and night, wanting proof the people could see. When he learned that Lentulus had approached the envoys of the Allobroges and was sending them with letters to Catiline, he set the praetors Flaccus and Pomptinus in ambush at the Mulvian Bridge. The envoys and Volturcius were seized with the letters sealed; Gabinius, Statilius, Cethegus, and Lentulus were summoned, and Cicero brought the letters unopened to the senate.

Atque ego, ut vidi, quos maximo furore et scelere 4
and I when I-saw those-whom with-the-greatest madness and crime
esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse et Romae
to-be inflamed I-knew them with-us to-be and at-Rome
remansisse, in eo omnis dies noctesque consumpsi ut quid
to-have-remained in that all days and-nights I-spent that what
agerent, quid molirentur sentirem ac viderem, ut,
they-were-doing what they-were-contriving I-might-perceive and see so-that
quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem
since to-the-ears your on-account-of the-incredible magnitude

sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita
of-the-crime less credit should-win speech my the-thing so
comprehenderem ut tum demum animis saluti vestrae
I-might-grasp that then at-last with-minds for-the-safety your
provideretis cum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis. Itaque
you-might-provide when with-eyes the-crime itself you-saw and-so
ut comperi legatos Allobrogum belli Transalpini et tumultus
when I-found-out the-envoys of-the-Allobroges of-war Transalpine and of-uprising
Gallici excitandi causa a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos,
Gallic of-rousing for-the-sake by Publius Lentulus to-have-been tampered-with
eosque in Galliam ad suos civis eodemque itinere cum
and-them into Gaul to their-own citizens and-on-the-same journey with
litteris mandatisque ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque
letters and-instructions to Catiline to-have-been sent and-a-companion
eis adiunctum esse T. Volturcium, atque huic
to-them joined to-have-been Titus Volturcius and to-this-man
esse ad Catilinam datas litteras, facultatem mihi oblatam
to-have-been to Catiline given letters the-opportunity to-me offered
putavi ut, quod erat difficillimum quodque ego semper
I-thought that what was most-difficult and-which I always
optabam ab dis immortalibus, tota res non solum a
prayed-for from the-gods immortal the-whole thing not only by
me sed etiam a senatu et a vobis manifesto deprenderetur.
me but also by the-senate and by you manifestly should-be-caught
5 Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum
and-so on-yesterday day Lucius Flaccus and Gaius Pomptinus
praetores, fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicae
the-praetors bravest and most-loving of-the-thing public
viros, ad me vocavi, rem exposui, quid fieri placeret
men to me I-called the-matter I-set-out what to-be-done it-pleased
ostendi. Illi autem, qui omnia de re publica praeclara
I-showed they however who all-things about the-thing public splendid

atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione ac sine ulla mora
and excellent felt without refusal and without any delay
negotium susceperunt et, cum advesperasceret, occulte ad
the-business undertook and when evening-was-falling secretly to
pontem Mulvium pervenerunt atque ibi in proximis villis ita
the-bridge Mulvian they-arrived and there in the-nearest villas so
bipertito fuerunt ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset.
in-two-parts they-were that the-Tiber between them and the-bridge lay
Eodem autem et ipsi sine cuiusquam suspicione
to-the-same-place however also they-themselves without of-anyone suspicion
multos fortis viros eduxerant, et ego ex praefectura Reatina
many brave men had-led-out and I from the-prefecture of-Reate
compluris delectos adulescentis quorum opera utor adsidue
several picked young-men whose service I-use constantly
in rei publicae praesidio cum gladiis miseram.
in of-the-thing public the-protection with swords had-sent
Interim tertia fere vigilia exacta, cum iam pontem 6
meanwhile with-the-third about watch passed when now the-bridge
Mulvium magno comitatu legati Allobroges ingredi
Mulvian with-a-great retinue the-envoys Allobrogian to-enter
inciperent unaque Volturcius, fit in eos impetus;
began and-together Volturcius is-made upon them an-attack
ducuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris. Res praetoribus
are-drawn both by them swords and by ours the-matter to-the-praetors
erat nota solis, ignorabatur a ceteris. Tum interventu
was known to-them-alone it-was-unknown by the-rest then at-the-intervention
Pomptini atque Flacci pugna quae erat commissa sedatur.
of-Pomptinus and Flaccus the-fight which had-been begun is-calmed
Litterae quaecumque erant in eo comitatu integris signis
the-letters whatever were in that retinue with-unbroken seals
praetoribus traduntur; ipsi comprehensi ad me, cum
to-the-praetors are-handed-over they-themselves seized to me when

iam dilucesceret, deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum
now day-was-dawning are-brought and of-these all crimes
improbissimum machinatorem, Cimbrum Gabinium, statim
the-most-wicked contriver Cimber Gabinius at-once
ad me nihil dum suspicantem vocavi; deinde item arcessitus
to me nothing yet suspecting I-called then likewise summoned
est L. Statilius et post eum Cethegus; tardissime
was Lucius Statilius and after him Cethegus most-slowly
autem Lentulus venit, credo quod in litteris dandis praeter
however Lentulus came I-believe because in letters writing beyond
consuetudinem proxima nocte vigilarat.
custom on-the-last night he-had-stayed-awake

7 Cum summis et clarissimis huius civitatis viris qui audita
when to-the-highest and most-illustrious of-this state men who with-heard
re frequentes ad me mane convenerant litteras a me
the-thing in-crowds to me in-the-morning had-gathered the-letters by me
prius aperiri quam ad senatum deferri placeret, ne, si
sooner to-be-opened than to the-senate to-be-brought it-was-pleasing lest if
nihil esset inventum, temere a me tantus tumultus iniectus
nothing had-been found rashly by me so-great an-alarm thrown
civitati videretur, negavi me esse facturum ut de
upon-the-state should-seem I-said-that-not I to-be going-to-do that about
periculo publico non ad consilium publicum rem integram
a-danger public not to the-council public the-matter whole
deferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea quae erant ad me delata
I-should-bring for-indeed citizens if those-things which had-been to me reported
reperta non essent, tamen ego non arbitrabar in tantis rei
found not had-been still I not did-think in so-great of-the-thing
publicae periculis esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam.
public dangers to-be for-me too-much diligence to-be-dreaded
Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, coegi.
the-senate crowded quickly as you-saw I-convened

Arms were found in Cethegus' house. Volturcius, promised immunity, told of Lentulus' message to Catiline to use slaves and march on the city once it was burning, and the Gauls told of oaths and letters, of the cavalry asked of them, and of Lentulus' Sibylline boast that he was the third Cornelius fated to rule. Shown his seal, each conspirator knew it; Cethegus fell silent, Statilius confessed, and Lentulus, though he could have denied it, suddenly confessed.

Atque interea statim admonitu Allobrogum C. Sulpicium 8
and meanwhile at-once at-the-prompting of-the-Allobroges Gaius Sulpicius
praetorem, fortem virum, misi qui ex aedibus Cethegi si
the-praetor a-brave man I-sent who from the-house of-Cethegus if
quid telorum esset efferret; ex quibus ille maximum
any of-weapons there-were should-carry-out from which he a-very-great
sicarum numerum et gladiorum extulit. Introduxi Volturcium
of-daggers number and of-swords carried-out I-brought-in Volturcius
sine Gallis; fidem publicam iussu senatus dedi; hortatus
without the-Gauls the-pledge public by-order of-the-senate I-gave urged-him
sum ut ea quae sciret sine timore indicaret. Tum
I-have that those-things which he-knew without fear he-should-disclose then
ille dixit, cum vix se ex magno timore recreasset, a
he said when scarcely himself from great fear he-had-recovered from
P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et litteras
Publius Lentulus himself to-have to Catiline instructions and a-letter
ut servorum praesidio uteretur, ut ad urbem quam primum
that of-slaves the-help he-should-use that to the-city as soon-as-possible
cum exercitu accederet; id autem eo consilio ut, cum
with an-army he-should-approach that however with-this design that when
urbem ex omnibus partibus quem ad modum descriptum
the-city from all parts in-what to manner marked-out
distributumque erat incendissent caedemque infinitam civium
and-assigned it-was they-had-set-on-fire and-a-slaughter boundless of-citizens

fecissent, praesto esset ille qui et fugientis exciperet et
they-had-made at-hand should-be he who both the-fugitives should-catch and
se cum his urbanis ducibus coniungeret.
himself with these urban leaders should-join
9 Introducti autem Galli ius iurandum sibi et litteras
brought-in however the-Gauls an-oath sworn to-themselves and letters
a P. Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem
by Publius Lentulus Cethegus Statilius to their-own nation
datas esse dixerunt, atque ita sibi ab his et a
given to-have-been said and thus to-themselves by these and by
L. Cassio esse praescriptum ut equitatum in Italiam
Lucius Cassius to-have-been prescribed that cavalry into Italy
quam primum mitterent; pedestris sibi copias non
as soon-as-possible they-should-send infantry for-themselves forces not
defuturas. Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fatis
going-to-be-lacking Lentulus however to-them to-have-assured from the-fates
Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis se esse tertium illum
Sibylline and-of-the-soothsayers the-answers himself to-be third that
Cornelium ad quem regnum huius urbis atque imperium
Cornelius to whom the-kingship of-this city and empire
pervenire esset necesse: Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse.
to-come was necessary Cinna before himself and Sulla to-have-been
Eundemque dixisse fatalem hunc annum esse ad interitum
and-the-same to-have-said fated this year to-be for the-destruction
huius urbis atque imperi qui esset annus decimus post virginum
of-this city and empire which was the-year tenth after of-the-virgins
absolutionem, post Capitoli autem incensionem vicesimus.
the-acquittal after of-the-Capitol however the-burning the-twentieth
10 Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse
this however for-Cethegus with the-others the-dispute to-have-been
dixerunt quod Lentulo et aliis Saturnalibus caedem fieri
they-said that Lentulus and others at-the-Saturnalia slaughter to-be-made

atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum
and the-city to-be-burned pleased to-Cethegus too that long
videretur. Ac ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri
seemed and lest long it-be citizens the-tablets to-be-brought-out
iussimus quae a quoque dicebantur datae. Primo ostendimus
we-ordered which by each were-said given first we-showed-them
Cethego: signum cognovit. Nos linum incidimus; legimus.
to-Cethegus the-seal he-recognized we the-thread cut we-read
Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo
it-was written with-his-own hand to-the-Allobroges' senate and people
sese quae eorum legatis confirmasset facturum esse;
himself what-things their envoys he-had-assured going-to-do to-be
orare ut item illi facerent quae sibi eorum legati
he-begged that likewise they should-do what-things to-him their envoys
recepissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante aliquid tamen
had-undertaken then Cethegus who a-little before something still
de gladiis ac sicis quae apud ipsum erant deprehensa
about the-swords and daggers which at himself had-been caught
respondisset dixissetque se semper bonorum ferramentorum
had-answered and-had-said himself always of-good iron-tools
studiosum fuisse, recitatis litteris debilitatus atque abiectus
fond to-have-been with-read-out the-letter weakened and cast-down
conscientia repente conticuit. Introductus Statilius cognovit et
by-consciousness suddenly fell-silent brought-in Statilius recognized both
signum et manum suam. Recitatae sunt tabellae in eandem
the-seal and hand his-own read were his-tablets to the-same
fere sententiam; confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo
about effect confessed he-has then I-showed the-tablets to-Lentulus
et quaesivi cognosceretne signum. Adnuit. 'Est vero' inquam
and asked whether-he-recognized the-seal he-nodded it-is indeed I-said
'notum quidem signum, imago avi tui, clarissimi
known indeed the-seal the-likeness of-the-grandfather your most-illustrious

viri, qui amavit unice patriam et civis suos; quae quidem
man who loved singly his-fatherland and citizens his-own which indeed
te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit.'
you from so-great crime even mute to-call-back ought

11 Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque
are-read in-the-same way to the-senate of-the-Allobroges and-people
litterae. Si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci
a-letter if anything about these matters to-say he-wished I-gave-him
potestatem. Atque ille primo quidem negavit; post autem
the-power and he at-first indeed denied afterward however
aliquanto, toto iam indicio exposito atque edito,
somewhat with-the-whole now information set-forth and published
surrexit, quaesivit a Gallis quid sibi esset cum eis,
he-rose he-asked of the-Gauls what to-him there-was with them
quam ob rem domum suam venissent, itemque a
which on-account-of thing to-the-house his they-had-come and-likewise of
Volturcio. Qui cum illi breviter constanterque respondissent
Volturcius who when they briefly and-steadily had-answered
per quem ad eum quotiensque venissent, quaesissentque
through whom to him and-how-often they-had-come and-had-asked
ab eo nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus,
of him whether-nothing with-them he-had about the-fates Sibylline spoken
tum ille subito scelere demens quanta conscientiae vis
then he suddenly by-crime maddened how-great of-conscience the-force
esset ostendit. Nam, cum id posset infitiari, repente praeter
was showed for when it he-could to-deny suddenly beyond
opinionem omnium confessus est. Ita eum non modo
the-expectation of-all confessed he-has thus him not only
ingenium illud et dicendi exercitatio qua semper valuit
talent that and of-speaking the-practice in-which always he-was-strong

sed etiam propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi
but also on-account-of the-force of-the-crime manifest and caught
impudentia qua superabat omnis improbitasque defecit.
the-shamelessness by-which he-excelled all and-the-wickedness failed
Volturcius vero subito litteras proferri atque aperiri iubet 12
Volturcius indeed suddenly the-letter to-be-brought-out and to-be-opened orders
quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat.
which to-himself by Lentulus to Catiline given to-have-been he-said
Atque ibi vehementissime perturbatus Lentulus tamen et
and there most-violently disturbed Lentulus still both
signum et manum suam cognovit. Erant autem sine nomine,
the-seal and hand his-own recognized they-were however without name
sed ita: 'Quis sim scies ex eo quem ad te misi. Cura
but thus who I-am you-will-know from him whom to you I-have-sent take-care
ut vir sis et cogita quem in locum sis progressus.
that a-man you-be and consider what into place you-have advanced
Vide ecquid tibi iam sit necesse et cura ut omnium
see whether-anything to-you now be necessary and take-care that of-all
tibi auxilia adiungas, etiam infimorum.' Gabinius deinde
to-yourself the-help you-add even of-the-lowest Gabinius then
introductus, cum primo impudenter respondere coepisset, ad
brought-in when at-first shamelessly to-answer he-had-begun at
extremum nihil ex eis quae Galli insimulabant negavit.
the-last nothing of those-things which the-Gauls charged denied

Beyond the letters and seals, the conspirators' faces convicted them. The senate thanked Cicero, praised the praetors and his colleague, and ordered Lentulus, once he resigned his praetorship, into custody with Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and five others. It decreed a thanksgiving in Cicero's name, the first for a man in a toga. Catiline alone was to be feared while inside the walls, never Lentulus' sleepiness or Cassius' fat.

13 Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, cum illa certissima visa sunt
and to-me indeed citizens though those most-certain seemed were
argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellae, signa, manus,
the-proofs and signs of-the-crime the-tablets the-seals the-hands
denique unius cuiusque confessio, tum multo certiora illa,
finally of-one each the-confession then much more-certain those
color, oculi, voltus, taciturnitas. Sic enim obstupuerant, sic
the-color the-eyes the-faces the-silence so for they-had-been-stunned so
terram intuebantur, sic furtim non numquam inter sese
the-ground they-gazed-at so stealthily not never among themselves
aspiciebant ut non iam ab aliis indicari sed indicare
they-looked that not now by others to-be-informed-on but to-inform
se ipsi viderentur. Indiciis expositis atque editis,
themselves themselves they-seemed with-the-informations set-forth and published
Quirites, senatum consului de summa re publica quid fieri
citizens the-senate I-consulted about the-highest thing public what to-be-done
placeret. Dictae sunt a principibus acerrimae ac fortissimae
it-pleased spoken were by the-leading-men the-keenest and bravest
sententiae, quas senatus sine ulla varietate est secutus. Et
opinions which the-senate without any variation has followed and
quoniam nondum est perscriptum senatus consultum, ex
since not-yet is written-out of-the-senate the-decree from
memoria vobis, Quirites, quid senatus censuerit exponam.
memory to-you citizens what the-senate decreed I-will-set-out

Primum mihi gratiae verbis amplissimis aguntur, quod virtute, 14
first to-me thanks in-words most-ample are-given because by-the-courage
consilio, providentia mea res publica maximis periculis
counsel foresight my the-thing public from-the-greatest dangers
sit liberata. Deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus praetores,
has been-freed then Lucius Flaccus and Gaius Pomptinus the-praetors
quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito ac iure
because their service brave and-faithful used I-had deservedly and by-right
laudantur. Atque etiam viro forti, conlegae meo, laus
are-praised and also to-the-man brave colleague my praise
impertitur, quod eos qui huius coniurationis participes fuissent
is-imparted because those who of-this conspiracy partners had-been
a suis et a rei publicae consiliis removisset. Atque
from his-own and from of-the-thing public counsels he-had-removed and
ita censuerunt ut P. Lentulus, cum se praetura
thus they-decreed that Publius Lentulus when himself from-the-praetorship
abdicasset, in custodiam traderetur; itemque uti C. Cethegus,
he-had-resigned into custody should-be-handed and-likewise that Gaius Cethegus
L. Statilius, P. Gabinius qui omnes praesentes erant in
Lucius Statilius Publius Gabinius who all present were into
custodiam traderentur; atque idem hoc decretum est in
custody should-be-handed and the-same this decreed was against
L. Cassium qui sibi procurationem incendendae urbis
Lucius Cassius who for-himself the-charge of-burning the-city
depoposcerat, in M. Ceparium cui ad sollicitandos
had-demanded against Marcus Ceparius to-whom for tampering-with
pastores Apuliam attributam esse erat indicatum, in
the-shepherds Apulia assigned to-have-been had-been informed against
P. Furium qui est ex eis colonis quos Faesulas L. Sulla
Publius Furius who is from those colonists whom to-Faesulae Lucius Sulla
deduxit, in Q. Annium Chilonem qui una cum hoc
led-out against Quintus Annius Chilo who together with this

Furio semper erat in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus,
Furius always had in this of-the-Allobroges tampering engaged
in P. Umbrenum, libertinum hominem, a quo primum
against Publius Umbrenus a-freedman man by whom first
Gallos ad Gabinium perductos esse constabat. Atque ea
the-Gauls to Gabinius brought to-have-been it-was-agreed and such
lenitate senatus est usus, Quirites, ut ex tanta coniuratione
leniency the-senate has used citizens that from so-great a-conspiracy
tantaque hac multitudine domesticorum hostium novem
and-so-great this multitude of-domestic enemies of-nine
hominum perditissimorum poena re publica
men most-abandoned by-the-punishment with-the-thing public
conservata reliquorum mentis sanari posse arbitraretur.
preserved of-the-rest the-minds to-be-cured to-be-able it-judged
15 Atque etiam supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari
and also a-thanksgiving to-the-gods immortal for the-singular
eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, quod mihi primum
their service in-my name decreed was which to-me first
post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit, et his
after this city founded in-a-toga has-befallen and in-these
decreta verbis est: 'quod urbem incendiis, caede civis,
decreed words it-was that the-city from-fires from-slaughter the-citizens
Italiam bello liberassem.' Quae supplicatio si cum ceteris
Italy from-war I-had-freed which thanksgiving if with the-other
supplicationibus conferatur, hoc interest, quod ceterae bene
thanksgivings it-be-compared this is-the-difference that the-others with-well
gesta, haec una conservata re publica constituta est. Atque
done this one with-preserved the-thing public established was and
illud quod faciendum primum fuit factum atque transactum
that which to-be-done first was done and accomplished
est. Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam patefactis indiciis,
has for Publius Lentulus although with-disclosed informations

confessionibus suis, iudicio senatus non modo praetoris
with-confessions his-own by-the-judgment of-the-senate not only of-a-praetor
ius verum etiam civis amiserat, tamen magistratu
the-right but also of-a-citizen had-lost still from-his-magistracy
se abdicavit, ut quae religio C. Mario, clarissimo
himself resigned that which scruple to-Gaius Marius a-most-illustrious
viro, non fuerat quo minus C. Glauciam de quo nihil
man not had-been whereby the-less Gaius Glaucia about whom nothing
nominatim erat decretum praetorem occideret, ea nos
by-name had-been decreed a-praetor he-should-kill from-that we
religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.
scruple in a-private-man Publius Lentulus punishing might-be-freed
Nunc quoniam, Quirites, conscelerati**ssimi** periculosissimique 16
now since citizens of-the-most-criminal and-most-dangerous
belli nefarios duces captos iam et comprehensos tenetis,
war the-wicked leaders taken already and seized you-hold
existimare debetis omnis Catilinae copias, omnis spes atque
to-judge you-ought all of-Catiline the-forces all hopes and
opes his depulsis urbis periculis concidisse. Quem
resources with-these driven-off of-the-city dangers to-have-collapsed whom
quidem ego cum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo,
indeed I when from the-city I-was-driving this I-foresaw in-mind
Quirites, remoto Catilina non mihi esse P. Lentuli
citizens with-removed Catiline not to-me to-be of-Publius Lentulus
somnum nec L. Cassi adipes nec C. Cethegi furiosam
the-sleepiness nor of-Lucius Cassius the-fat nor of-Gaius Cethegus the-furious
temeritatem pertimescendam. Ille erat unus timendus ex istis
rashness to-be-dreaded he was alone to-be-feared out-of those
omnibus, sed tam diu dum urbis moenibus continebatur.
all but so long as of-the-city by-the-walls he-was-held
Omnia norat, omnium aditus tenebat; appellare, temptare,
all-things he-knew of-all the-approaches he-held to-address to-try

sollicitare poterat, audebat. Erat ei consilium ad facinus
to-tamper he-could he-dared there-was to-him a-plan for crime
aptum, consilio autem neque lingua neque manus deerat.
fit to-the-plan however neither tongue nor hand was-lacking
Iam ad certas res conficiendas certos homines delectos
now for fixed things to-be-accomplished fixed men chosen
ac descriptos habebat. Neque vero, cum aliquid mandarat,
and assigned he-had nor indeed when something he-had-entrusted
confectum putabat: nihil erat quod non ipse obiret,
done he-thought-it nothing was which not himself he-would-undertake
occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret; frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat.
meet watch labor cold thirst hunger to-bear he-could
17 Hunc ego hominem tam acrem, tam audacem, tam paratum,
this I man so keen so audacious so ready
tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditis rebus
so cunning so in crime watchful so in abandoned affairs
diligentem nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium
diligent unless from domestic plots into camp brigandage
compulissem — dicam id quod sentio, Quirites — non facile
I-had-driven I-will-say that which I-feel citizens not easily
hanc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris depulissem.
this so-great mass of-evil from the-necks your I-would-have-driven-off
Non ille nobis Saturnalia constituisset, neque tanto ante
not he for-us the-Saturnalia would-have-fixed nor so-long before
exiti ac fati diem rei publicae denuntiavisset neque
of-destruction and of-fate the-day to-the-thing public would-have-announced nor
commisisset ut signum, ut litterae suae testes manifesti
would-have-allowed that the-seal that the-letter his-own witnesses of-manifest
sceleris deprehenderentur. Quae nunc illo absente sic gesta
crime should-be-caught which-things now with-him absent so done
sunt ut nullum in privata domo furtum umquam sit tam
have-been that no in a-private house theft ever be so

palam inventum quam haec in tota re publica coniuratio
openly found as this in the-whole thing public conspiracy
manifesto comprehensa est. Quod si Catilina in urbe ad
manifestly seized has-been but if Catiline in the-city to
hanc diem remansisset, quamquam, quoad fuit, omnibus eius
this day had-remained although as-long-as he-was all his
consiliis occurri atque obstiti, tamen, ut levissime dicam,
plans I-met and opposed still that most-mildly I-may-speak
dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset, neque nos umquam, cum
to-be-fought by-us with him would-have-been nor we ever while
ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis rem publicam
he in the-city an-enemy was from-so-great dangers the-thing public
tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio liberassemus.
with-so-great peace with-so-great quiet with-so-great silence would-have-freed

V · THE STATUE OF JUPITER

All this was guided by the gods. When lightning struck the Capitol under Cotta and Torquatus, the soothsayers foretold massacre and civil war unless a larger statue of Jupiter were set facing east to bring hidden plots to light. It was set up this very morning, as the conspirators were led to the temple of Concord. Only the gods could have made Lentulus trust such secrets to barbarian strangers.

Quamquam haec omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a me 18
and-yet these-things all citizens so have-been by me
administrata ut deorum immortalium nutu atque consilio
administered that of-the-gods immortal by-the-nod and counsel
et gesta et provisa esse videantur. Idque cum coniectura
both done and provided to-have-been they-seem and-that both by-conjecture
consequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consili
to-reach we-can because scarcely seems of-human counsel

tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse, tum vero
of-such-great things the-steering to-be to-have-been-able and indeed
ita praesentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis
so present in-these times aid and help to-us
tulerunt ut eos paene oculis videre possimus. Nam ut
they-have-brought that them almost with-the-eyes to-see we-can for that
illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces
those-things I-may-omit seen at-the-night time from the-west torches
ardoremque caeli, ut fulminum iactus, ut terrae motus
and-the-blaze of-the-sky that of-thunderbolts the-hurling that of-the-earth the-quakes
relinquam, ut omittam cetera quae tam multa nobis
I-may-leave that I-may-omit the-other-things which so many with-us
consulibus facta sunt ut haec quae nunc fiunt canere
as-consuls done have-been that these-things which now are-done to-foretell
di immortales viderentur, hoc certe, Quirites, quod sum
the-gods immortal seemed this certainly citizens which I-am
dicturus neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum est.
going-to-say neither to-be-passed-over nor to-be-left is

19 Nam profecto memoria tenetis Cotta et Torquato consulibus
for surely in-memory you-hold Cotta and Torquatus as-consuls
compluris in Capitolio res de caelo esse percussas, cum et
several on the-Capitol things from the-sky to-have-been struck when both
simulacra deorum depulsa sunt et statuae veterum hominum
the-images of-the-gods knocked-down were and the-statues of-old men
deiectae et legum aera liquefacta et tactus etiam ille qui
thrown-down and of-the-laws the-bronzes melted and struck even he who
hanc urbem condidit Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio,
this city founded Romulus whom gilded on the-Capitol
parvum atque lactantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem fuisse
small and suckling at-the-teats wolf's gaping to-have-been
meministis. Quo quidem tempore cum haruspices ex tota
you-remember at-which indeed time when the-soothsayers from all

Etruria convenissent, caedis atque incendia et legum interitum
Etruria had-gathered slaughter and fires and of-the-laws the-destruction
et bellum civile ac domesticum et totius urbis atque imperi
and war civil and domestic and of-the-whole city and empire
occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi di immortales omni
the-fall to-be-approaching they-said unless the-gods immortal by-every
ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent.
means placated by-their-own divinity almost the-fates themselves had-bent
Itaque illorum responsis tum et ludi per decem dies facti sunt 20
and-so by-their answers then both games for ten days held were
neque res ulla quae ad placandos deos pertineret praetermissa
nor thing any which to placating the-gods pertained passed-over
est. Idemque iusserunt simulacrum Iovis facere maius
was and-the-same-men ordered an-image of-Jupiter to-make larger
et in excelso conlocare et contra atque antea fuerat ad
and on a-height to-place and contrary as before it-had-been to
orientem convertere; ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud
the-east to-turn and themselves to-hope said if that
signum quod videtis solis ortum et forum curiamque
statue which you-see of-the-sun the-rising and the-forum and-the-senate-house
conspiceret, fore ut ea consilia quae clam essent inita
should-look-on going-to-be that those plans which secretly had-been entered-on
contra salutem urbis atque imperi inlustrarentur ut a
against the-safety of-the-city and empire should-be-brought-to-light that by
senatu populoque Romano perspici possent. Atque illud
the-senate and-people Roman to-be-seen-through they-could and that
signum conlocandum consules illi locaverunt; sed tanta fuit
statue to-be-placed the-consuls those contracted-for but so-great was
operis tarditas ut neque superioribus consulibus neque
of-the-work the-slowness that neither by-the-former consuls nor
nobis ante hodiernum diem conlocaretur.
by-us before today's day it-was-placed

21 Hic quis potest esse tam aversus a vero, tam praeceps,
here who can to-be so turned-away from the-truth so headlong
tam mente captus qui neget haec omnia quae videmus
so in-mind captured as-to deny these-things all which we-see
praecipueque hanc urbem deorum immortalium nutu ac
and-especially this city of-the-gods immortal by-the-nod and
potestate administrari? Etenim cum esset ita responsum,
power to-be-administered for-indeed when it-had-been so answered
caedis, incendia, interitum rei publicae comparari, et ea
slaughter fires the-destruction of-the-thing public to-be-prepared and these
per civis, quae tum propter magnitudinem scelerum non
through citizens which-things then on-account-of the-magnitude of-the-crimes not
nullis incredibilia videbantur, ea non modo cogitata a nefariis
to-some incredible seemed these not only planned by wicked
civibus verum etiam suscepta esse sensistis. Illud vero
citizens but also undertaken to-have-been you-have-perceived that indeed
nonne ita praesens est ut nutu Iovis Optimi Maximi
surely so present is that by-the-nod of-Jupiter best greatest
factum esse videatur, ut, cum hodierno die mane
done to-have-been it-seems that when on-today's day in-the-morning
per forum meo iussu et coniurati et eorum indices in
through the-forum by-my order both the-conspirators and their informers into
aedem Concordiae ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum
the-temple of-Concord were-being-led at-that very time the-statue
statueretur? Quo conlocato atque ad vos senatumque
was-being-set-up with-which placed and toward you and-the-senate
converso omnia et senatus et vos quae erant contra
turned all-things both the-senate and you which had-been against
salutem omnium cogitata inlustrata et patefacta vidistis.
the-safety of-all planned brought-to-light and disclosed have-seen

Quo etiam maiore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni qui 22
by-which even of-greater are those-men of-hatred and-punishment worthy who
non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis sed etiam deorum
not only on-your homes and houses but also on-the-gods'
templis atque delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignis inferre
temples and shrines have deadly and wicked fires to-bring
conati. Quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi
tried whom I if myself to-have-resisted should-say too-much to-myself
sumam et non sim ferendus: ille, ille Iuppiter restitit;
I-should-take and not I-should-be to-be-borne he he Jupiter resisted
ille Capitolium, ille haec templa, ille cunctam urbem, ille vos
he the-Capitol he these temples he the-whole city he you
omnis salvos esse voluit. Dis ego immortalibus ducibus
all safe to-be willed with-the-gods I immortal as-leaders
hanc mentem voluntatemque suscepi atque ad haec tanta
this mind and-will took-up and to these so-great
indicia perveni. Iam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio, iam ab
proofs I-came now indeed that of-the-Allobroges tampering now by
Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus tam dementer tantae
Lentulus and-the-other domestic enemies so madly such-great
res creditae et ignotis et barbaris commissaeque litterae
matters entrusted both to-strangers and to-barbarians and-entrusted letters
numquam essent profecto, nisi ab dis immortalibus
never would-have-been surely unless by the-gods immortal
huic tantae audaciae consilium esset ereptum. Quid vero?
from-this so-great audacity counsel had-been snatched what indeed
Ut homines Galli ex civitate male pacata, quae gens una
that men Gauls from a-state badly pacified which nation alone
restat quae bellum populo Romano facere posse et non
remains which war on-the-people Roman to-make to-be-able and not
nolle videatur, spem imperi ac rerum maximarum
to-be-unwilling seems the-hope of-empire and of-things greatest

ultro sibi a patriciis hominibus oblatam neglegerent
unasked to-themselves by patrician men offered should-neglect
vestramque salutem suis opibus anteponerent, id non
and-your safety to-their-own resources should-prefer that not
divinitus esse factum putatis, praesertim qui nos non
by-divine-will to-have-been done do-you-think especially who us not
pugnando sed tacendo superare potuerunt?
by-fighting but by-keeping-silent to-overcome could

VI · VICTORY WITHOUT BLOODSHED

Let the people keep the thanksgiving with their wives and children, saved without slaughter, with a man in a toga as their general. Sulla, Marius, Octavius, Cinna, and Lepidus fought civil wars that ended in the killing of citizens, though none sought to destroy the state. In this war, the cruelest in memory, the conspirators counted as enemies all who could be safe, and Cicero preserved every citizen.

23 Quam ob rem, Quirites, quoniam ad omnia pulvinaria
which on-account-of thing citizens since at all couches-of-the-gods
supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies cum coniugibus
a-thanksgiving decreed has-been celebrate those days with wives
ac liberis vestris. Nam multi saepe honores dis
and children your for many often honors to-the-gods
immortalibus iusti habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto
immortal just held have-been and owed but surely
iustiores numquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo
more-just never snatched for you-have-been from the-cruelest
ac miserrimo interitu, erepti sine caede, sine sanguine,
and most-wretched destruction snatched without slaughter without blood

sine exercitu, sine dimicatione; togati me uno togato
without an-army without fighting in-togas with-me alone in-a-toga
duce et imperatore vicistis.
leader and commander you-have-conquered
Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnis civilis dissensiones, non 24
for-indeed recall citizens all civil dissensions not
solum eas quas audistis sed eas quas vosmet ipsi
only those which you-have-heard but those which you yourselves
meministis atque vidistis. L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit:
remember and have-seen Lucius Sulla Publius Sulpicius crushed
C. Marium, custodem huius urbis, multosque fortis viros
Gaius Marius the-guardian of-this city and-many brave men
partim eiecit ex civitate, partim interemit. Cn. Octavius
partly he-threw-out from the-state partly he-killed Gnaeus Octavius
consul armis expulit ex urbe conlegam: omnis hic locus
the-consul by-arms drove from the-city his-colleague all this place
acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit
with-heaps of-bodies and of-citizens with-the-blood overflowed prevailed
postea Cinna cum Mario: tum vero clarissimis viris
afterward Cinna with Marius then indeed with-most-illustrious men
interfectis lumina civitatis exstincta sunt. Ultus est huius
killed the-lights of-the-state extinguished were avenged has of-this
victoriae crudelitatem postea Sulla: ne dici quidem opus
victory the-cruelty afterward Sulla not to-be-said even need
est quanta deminutione civium et quanta calamitate
is with-how-great diminution of-citizens and with-how-great calamity
rei publicae. Dissensit M. Lepidus a clarissimo
of-the-thing public disagreed Marcus Lepidus with the-most-illustrious
et fortissimo viro Q. Catulo: attulit non tam ipsius
and bravest man Quintus Catulus brought not so-much of-his-own
interitus rei publicae luctum quam ceterorum.
destruction to-the-thing public mourning as of-the-rest

25 Dissensiones erant eius modi quae non ad delendam sed ad
the-dissensions were of-such kind as not to destroying but to
commutandam rem publicam pertinerent. Non illi nullam
changing the-thing public pertained not they none
esse rem publicam sed in ea quae esset se esse
to-be the-thing public but in that which existed themselves to-be
principes, neque hanc urbem conflagrare sed se in hac
the-leaders nor this city to-burn-up but themselves in this
urbe florere voluerunt. Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones,
city to-flourish wished and those still all dissensions
quarum nulla exitium rei publicae quaesivit, eius modi
of-which none the-destruction of-the-thing public sought of-such kind
fuerunt ut non reconciliatione concordiae sed internicione
were that not by-reconciliation of-concord but by-the-massacre
civium diiudicatae sint. In hoc autem uno post hominum
of-citizens decided they-were in this however one since of-men
memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum nulla
memory greatest and-cruelest war such-as war no
umquam barbaria cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello
ever barbarian-people with its-own nation has-waged which in war
lex haec fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego, Cassio constituta
the-law this was by Lentulus Catiline Cethegus Cassius established
ut omnes qui salva urbe salvi esse possent in hostium
that all who with-safe the-city safe to-be could in of-enemies
numero ducerentur, ita me gessi, Quirites, ut salvi
the-number should-be-counted so myself I-conducted citizens that safe
omnes conservaremini, et, cum hostes vestri tantum civium
all you-might-be-preserved and when the-enemies your so-much of-citizens
superfuturum putassent quantum infinitae caedi restitisset,
going-to-survive had-thought as-much-as from-boundless slaughter had-remained

tantum autem urbis quantum flamma obire non potuisset,
so-much however of-the-city as-much-as the-flame to-go-over not had-been-able
et urbem et civis integros incolumisque servavi.
both the-city and the-citizens whole and-unharmed I-have-preserved

VII · THE MEMORY OF THIS DAY

Cicero asks no reward but the everlasting memory of this day. Rome has produced in one age one citizen who bounded its empire by the sky and one who saved its home. But Cicero must live among those he defeated, and the people must see that his deeds never harm him. Night has come: let them worship Jupiter and guard their homes.

Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a 26
which for so-great things citizens no I from
vobis praemium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum
you reward of-virtue no badge of-honor no
monumentum laudis postulabo praeterquam huius diei
monument of-praise shall-demand except of-this day
memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnis triumphos
the-memory everlasting in the-minds I your all triumphs
meos, omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriae, laudis
my all ornaments of-honor monuments of-glory of-praise
insignia condi et conlocari volo. Nihil me mutum potest
badges to-be-stored and to-be-placed wish nothing me mute can
delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique eius modi quod etiam
to-delight nothing silent nothing finally of-that kind which even
minus digni adsequi possint. Memoria vestra, Quirites,
less worthy-men to-attain can by-the-memory your citizens
nostrae res alentur, sermonibus crescent, litterarum
our deeds will-be-nourished by-talk will-grow of-letters
monumentis inveterascent et conroborabuntur; eandemque diem
by-the-monuments will-grow-old and will-be-strengthened and-the-same day

intellego, quam spero aeternam fore, propagatam esse et
I-understand which I-hope eternal going-to-be prolonged to-have-been both
ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei, unoque
for the-safety of-the-city and for the-memory of-consulship my and-at-one
tempore in hac re publica duos civis exstitisse quorum alter
time in this thing public two citizens to-have-arisen of-whom the-one
finis vestri imperi non terrae sed caeli regionibus
the-bounds of-your empire not by-the-earth's but by-the-sky's regions
terminaret, alter huius imperi domicilium sedisque servaret.
should-limit the-other of-this empire the-home and-seat should-preserve

27 Sed quoniam earum rerum quas ego gessi non eadem est
but since of-those things which I have-done not the-same is
fortuna atque condicio quae illorum qui externa bella gesserunt,
the-fortune and condition as of-those who foreign wars have-waged
quod mihi cum eis vivendum est quos vici ac subegi,
because by-me with them to-be-lived it-is whom I-have-conquered and subdued
illi hostis aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt, vestrum
they the-enemies either killed or crushed have-left yours
est, Quirites, si ceteris facta sua recte prosunt, mihi
it-is citizens if to-the-rest deeds their-own rightly profit for-me
mea ne quando obsint providere. Mentes enim hominum
mine lest at-any-time they-harm to-provide the-minds for of-men
audacissimorum sceleratae ac nefariae ne vobis nocere possent
most-audacious criminal and wicked lest you to-harm could
ego providi, ne mihi noceant vestrum est providere. Quamquam,
I provided lest me they-harm yours it-is to-provide and-yet
Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istis iam noceri potest.
citizens to-me indeed myself nothing by those now to-be-harmed can
Magnum enim est in bonis praesidium quod mihi in perpetuum
great for is in the-good the-protection which for-me for ever
comparatum est, magna in re publica dignitas quae me
acquired has-been great in the-thing public the-dignity which me

semper tacita defendet, magna vis conscientiae quam qui
always silent will-defend great the-force of-conscience which those-who
neglegunt, cum me violare volent, se indicabunt.
neglect when me to-violate they-shall-wish themselves will-betray
Est enim nobis is animus, Quirites, ut non modo nullius 28
is for to-us such spirit citizens that not only to-no
audaciae cedamus sed etiam omnis improbos ultro semper
audacity we-yield but even all the-wicked unprovoked always
lacessamus. Quod si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium
we-attack but if all the-assault of-domestic enemies
depulsus a vobis se in me unum converterit, vobis
driven-off from you itself against me alone shall-have-turned by-you
erit videndum, Quirites, qua condicione posthac eos
it-will-be to-be-seen citizens in-what condition hereafter them
esse velitis qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiae
to-be you-wish who themselves for the-safety your shall-have-exposed to-odium
periculisque omnibus: mihi quidem ipsi quid est quod
and-dangers all to-me indeed myself what is-there which
iam ad vitae fructum possit adquiri, cum praesertim
now for of-life the-enjoyment could to-be-acquired when especially
neque in honore vestro neque in gloria virtutis quicquam
neither in honor your nor in glory of-virtue anything
videam altius quo mihi libeat ascendere?
I-see higher whither me it-may-please to-climb
Illud perficiam profecto, Quirites, ut ea quae gessi in 29
that I-will-accomplish surely citizens that those-things which I-did in
consulatu privatus tuear atque ornem, ut, si qua est
the-consulship as-a-private-man I-may-protect and adorn that if any is
invidia in conservanda re publica suscepta, laedat invidos,
odium in preserving the-thing public incurred it-may-hurt the-envious
mihi valeat ad gloriam. Denique ita me in re publica
for-me it-may-avail for glory finally so myself in the-thing public

tractabo ut meminerim semper quae gesserim, curemque ut
I-will-conduct that I-may-remember always what I-have-done and-take-care that
ea virtute non casu gesta esse videantur. Vos, Quirites,
they by-virtue not by-chance done to-have-been they-may-seem you citizens
quoniam iam est nox, venerati Iovem illum custodem huius
since now it-is night having-worshiped Jupiter that guardian of-this
urbis ac vestrum in vestra tecta discedite et ea, quamquam
city and of-you into your houses depart and them although
iam est periculum depulsum, tamen aeque ac priore nocte
now is the-danger driven-off still equally as on-the-former night
custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutius faciendum sit
with-guards and-watches defend that lest by-you longer to-be-done it-be
atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis providebo, Quirites.
and that in perpetual peace to-be you-may-be-able I-will-provide citizens

IN CATILINAM IV

I · THINK NOT OF ME

The senators' eyes are on Cicero, anxious for his danger, but he bids them forget his safety and think of their own and their children's. No place has ever been free of plots against him, forum, field, senate house, home, or bed; if the gods meant his consulship to save Rome, he will bear whatever comes. He is moved by his brother's grief, his wife, daughter, little son, and son-in-law, but would rather all be saved even if he falls.

Video, patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrum ora 1
I-see fathers enrolled upon me of-all you the-faces
atque oculos esse conversos, video vos non solum de
and eyes to-be turned I-see you not only about
vestro ac rei publicae verum etiam, si id depulsum
your-own and of-the-thing public but also if that driven-off
sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi iucunda in
be about my danger to-be anxious is to-me pleasant in
malis et grata in dolore vestra erga me voluntas, sed
evils and welcome in grief your toward me goodwill but
eam per deos immortalis! Deponite atque obliti salutis
it by the-gods immortal lay-aside and forgetting of-safety
meae de vobis ac de vestris liberis cogitate. Mihi si
my about yourselves and about your children think to-me if
haec condicio consulatus data est ut omnis acerbitates,
this condition of-the-consulship given has-been that all bitternesses
omnis dolores cruciatusque perferrem, feram non solum
all pains and-tortures I-should-endure I-shall-bear-them not only
fortiter verum etiam libenter, dum modo meis laboribus
bravely but also gladly provided only by-my labors
vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariatur.
for-you and-for-the-people Roman dignity and-safety be-won

2 Ego sum ille consul, patres conscripti, cui non forum
I am that consul fathers enrolled to-whom not the-forum
in quo omnis aequitas continetur, non campus consularibus
in which all justice is-contained not the-Field by-consular
auspiciis consecratus, non curia, summum auxilium
auspices consecrated not the-senate-house the-highest help
omnium gentium, non domus, commune perfugium, non
of-all nations not the-house the-common refuge not
lectus ad quietem datus, non denique haec sedes honoris
the-bed for rest given not finally this seat of-honor
umquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis fuit. Ego
ever free from-death's danger and plots has-been I
multa tacui, multa pertuli, multa concessi,
many-things kept-silent-about many-things endured many-things conceded
multa meo quodam dolore in vestro timore sanavi.
many-things with-my certain pain in your fear cured
Nunc si hunc exitum consulatus mei di immortales esse
now if this outcome of-consulship my the-gods immortal to-be
voluerunt ut vos populumque Romanum ex caede miserrima,
willed that you and-the-people Roman from slaughter most-wretched
coniuges liberosque vestros virginesque Vestalis ex acerbissima
the-wives and-children your and-the-virgins Vestal from most-bitter
vexatione, templa atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam
harassment the-temples and shrines this most-beautiful fatherland
omnium nostrum ex foedissima flamma, totam Italiam ex
of-all of-us from most-foul flame the-whole Italy from
bello et vastitate eriperem, quaecumque mihi uni proponetur
war and devastation I-should-snatch whatever to-me alone shall-be-set-before
fortuna subeatur. Etenim si P. Lentulus suum nomen
fortune let-it-be-undergone for-indeed if Publius Lentulus his name
inductus a vatibus fatale ad perniciem rei publicae
led by soothsayers fated for the-ruin of-the-thing public

fore putavit, cur ego non laeter meum consulatum
going-to-be thought why I not should-rejoice my consulship
ad salutem populi Romani prope fatalem exstitisse?
for the-safety of-the-people Roman almost fated to-have-arisen
Qua re, patres conscripti, consulite vobis, prospicite 3
by-which thing fathers enrolled take-counsel for-yourselves look-out
patriae, conservate vos, coniuges, liberos fortunasque
for-the-fatherland preserve yourselves wives children and-fortunes
vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite; mihi
your of-the-people Roman the-name and-safety defend me
parcere ac de me cogitare desinite. Nam primum debeo
to-spare and about me to-think cease for first I-ought
sperare omnis deos qui huic urbi praesident pro eo mihi ac
to-hope all the-gods who over-this city preside for it to-me as
mereor relaturos esse gratiam; deinde, si quid obtigerit,
I-deserve going-to-return to-be thanks then if anything shall-have-befallen
aequo animo paratoque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors
with-calm mind and-prepared I-shall-die for neither a-shameful death
forti viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari nec
to-a-brave man can to-befall nor untimely to-a-consular nor
misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus qui fratris
wretched to-a-wise-man nor still I am that iron-man who of-a-brother
carissimi atque amantissimi praesentis maerore non movear
most-dear and most-loving present by-the-grief not am-moved
horumque omnium lacrimis a quibus me circumsessum
and-of-these all by-the-tears by whom me surrounded
videtis. Neque meam mentem non domum saepe revocat
you-see nor my mind not home often calls-back
exanimata uxor et abiecta metu filia et parvolus filius,
a-lifeless wife and cast-down by-fear a-daughter and little son
quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica tamquam obsidem
whom to-me seems to-embrace the-thing public as-if a-hostage

consulatus mei, neque ille qui exspectans huius exitum
of-consulship my nor he who awaiting of-this the-outcome
diei stat in conspectu meo gener. Moveor his rebus
of-the-day stands in sight my son-in-law I-am-moved by-these things
omnibus, sed in eam partem uti salvi sint vobiscum omnes,
all but in that direction that safe be with-you all
etiam si me vis aliqua oppresserit, potius quam et illi
even if me force some shall-have-crushed rather than both they
et nos una rei publicae peste pereamus.
and we together of-the-thing public by-the-plague perish

II · DECIDE BEFORE NIGHTFALL

This is no Gracchus or Saturninus on trial: men are held who stayed in Rome to burn the city and slaughter the senate, convicted by letters, seals, hands, and confessions. The senate has already judged them by its thanks to Cicero, the praetor's forced resignation, custody, the thanksgiving, and the rewards to the Allobroges and Volturcius. Cicero still puts the question afresh: the evil has spread beyond the Alps, and they must decide before nightfall.

4 Qua re, patres conscripti, incumbite ad salutem rei
by-which thing fathers enrolled bend-yourselves to the-safety of-the-thing
publicae, circumspicite omnis procellas quae impendent nisi
public look-round-at all the-storms which threaten unless
providetis. Non Ti. Gracchus quod iterum tribunus plebis
you-provide not Tiberius Gracchus because again tribune of-the-plebs
fieri voluit, non C. Gracchus quod agrarios concitare
to-be-made wished not Gaius Gracchus because the-agrarians to-rouse
conatus est, non L. Saturninus quod C. Memmium occidit,
tried has not Lucius Saturninus because Gaius Memmius he-killed
in discrimen aliquod atque in vestrae severitatis iudicium
into crisis some and into of-your severity the-judgment

adducitur: tenentur ei qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram
is-brought they-are-held those who for of-the-city the-burning for your
omnium caedem, ad Catilinam accipiendum Romae restiterunt,
of-all slaughter for Catiline receiving at-Rome have-stayed
tenentur litterae, signa, manus, denique unius cuiusque
are-held the-letters the-seals the-hands finally of-one each
confessio: sollicitantur Allobroges, servitia excitantur, Catilina
the-confession are-tampered-with the-Allobroges the-slaves are-roused Catiline
arcessitur, id est initum consilium ut interfectis omnibus
is-summoned that is entered-on a-plan that with-killed all
nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem populi Romani nomen
no-one not for deploring even of-the-people Roman the-name
atque ad lamentandam tanti imperi calamitatem relinquatur.
and for lamenting of-so-great empire the-calamity be-left
Haec omnia indices detulerunt, rei confessi sunt, 5
these-things all the-informers have-reported the-accused confessed have
vos multis iam iudiciis iudicavistis, primum quod mihi
you by-many already judgments have-judged first because to-me
gratias egistis singularibus verbis et mea virtute atque
thanks you-gave in-singular words and by-my virtue and
diligentia perditorum hominum coniurationem patefactam
diligence of-abandoned men the-conspiracy disclosed
esse decrevistis, deinde quod P. Lentulum se
to-have-been you-decreed then because Publius Lentulus himself
abdicare praetura coegistis; tum quod eum et ceteros
to-resign from-the-praetorship you-forced then because him and the-others
de quibus iudicastis in custodiam dandos censuistis,
about whom you-have-judged into custody to-be-handed you-voted
maximeque quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis,
and-most-of-all because in-my name a-thanksgiving you-decreed
qui honos togato habitus ante me est nemini;
which honor to-a-man-in-a-toga held before me has-been to-no-one

postremo hesterno die praemia legatis Allobrogum Titoque
lastly on-yesterday day rewards to-the-envoys of-the-Allobroges and-to-Titus
Volturcio dedistis amplissima. Quae sunt omnia eius
Volturcius you-gave most-ample which-things are all of-such
modi ut ei qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt sine
kind that those who into custody by-name given were without
ulla dubitatione a vobis damnati esse videantur.
any doubt by you condemned to-have-been seem

6 Sed ego institui referre ad vos, patres conscripti, tamquam
but I resolved to-refer to you fathers enrolled as-if
integrum, et de facto quid iudicetis et de poena quid
whole-and-untouched both about the-deed what you-judge and about the-penalty what
censeatis. Illa praedicam quae sunt consulis. Ego magnum
you-decree those-things I-will-say-first which are a-consul's I great
in re publica versari furorem et nova quaedam misceri
in the-thing public to-be-at-work madness and new certain to-be-mixed
et concitari mala iam pridem videbam, sed hanc tantam, tam
and to-be-stirred evils already long-ago I-saw but this so-great so
exitiosam haberi coniurationem a civibus numquam putavi.
destructive to-be-held conspiracy by citizens never I-thought
Nunc quicquid est, quocumque vestrae mentes inclinant atque
now whatever it-is whithersoever your minds incline and
sententiae, statuendum vobis ante noctem est. Quantum facinus
opinions to-be-decided by-you before night it-is how-great a-deed
ad vos delatum sit videtis. Huic si paucos putatis adfinis
to you reported has-been you-see to-this if few you-think connected
esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est
to-be greatly you-err more-widely than-thought disseminated is
hoc malum; manavit non solum per Italiam verum etiam
this evil it-has-spread not only through Italy but also
transcendit Alpis et obscure serpens multas iam provincias
it-has-crossed the-Alps and obscurely creeping many already provinces

occupavit. Id opprimi sustentando et prolatando nullo pacto
has-seized it to-be-crushed by-delaying and by-postponing in-no way
potest; quacumque ratione placet celeriter vobis vindicandum est.
can by-whatever means it-pleases quickly by-you to-be-punished it-is

III · SILANUS AND CAESAR

Two proposals stand. Silanus would put the conspirators to death; Caesar rejects death, which the gods made rest from toil, not punishment, and would hold them in perpetual chains, distributed among the towns, their goods confiscated and no appeal allowed. Cicero sees that Caesar's proposal, coming from a man of the people's party, would spare him popular attack, but the state's good must outweigh his own danger, and Caesar has given a pledge of his loyalty.

Video duas adhuc esse sententias, unam D. Silani qui 7
I-see two so-far to-be opinions one of-Decimus Silanus who
censet eos qui haec delere conati sunt morte esse
proposes those who these-things to-destroy tried have with-death to-be
multandos, alteram C. Caesaris qui mortis poenam removet,
to-be-punished the-other of-Gaius Caesar who of-death the-penalty removes
ceterorum suppliciorum omnis acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque
of-the-other punishments all the-bitternesses embraces each
et pro sua dignitate et pro rerum
both in-accordance-with his-own dignity and in-accordance-with of-the-matters
magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. Alter eos qui nos
the-magnitude in the-highest severity is-engaged the-one those who us
omnis, qui populum Romanum vita privare conati sunt, qui
all who the-people Roman of-life to-deprive tried have who
delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen exstinguere,
to-destroy the-empire who of-the-people Roman the-name to-extinguish
punctum temporis frui vita et hoc communi spiritu non
for-a-point of-time to-enjoy life and this common breath not

putat oportere atque hoc genus poenae saepe in improbos
thinks to-be-fitting and this kind of-penalty often against wicked
civis in hac re publica esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter
citizens in this thing public to-have-been used he-recalls the-other
intellegit mortem a dis immortalibus non esse supplici
understands death by the-gods immortal not to-have-been of-punishment
causa constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturae aut laborum
for-the-sake established but either a-necessity of-nature or of-labors
ac miseriarum quietem. Itaque eam sapientes numquam inviti,
and of-miseries a-rest and-so it the-wise never unwilling
fortes saepe etiam libenter oppetiverunt. Vincula vero et
the-brave often even gladly have-met chains indeed and
ea sempiterna certe ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris
those everlasting certainly for singular punishment of-wicked crime
inventa sunt. Municipiis dispertiri iubet. Habere videtur
devised were among-the-towns to-be-distributed he-orders to-have seems
ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis, difficultatem, si rogare.
that thing injustice if to-command you-wish difficulty if to-ask
8 Decernatur tamen, si placet. Ego enim suscipiam et, ut
let-it-be-decreed still if it-pleases I for will-undertake-it and as
spero, reperiam qui id quod salutis omnium causa
I-hope I-shall-find men-who that which of-the-safety of-all for-the-sake
statueritis non putent esse suae dignitatis recusare.
you-shall-have-decided not think to-be of-their-own dignity to-refuse
Adiungit gravem poenam municipiis, si quis eorum vincula
he-adds a-heavy penalty for-the-towns if any of-them the-chains
ruperit; horribilis custodias circumdat et dignas scelere
shall-have-broken dreadful guards he-places-around and worthy of-the-crime
hominum perditorum; sancit ne quis eorum poenam
of-men abandoned he-ordains that-not anyone of-those the-penalty
quos condemnat aut per senatum aut per populum
whom he-condemns either through the-senate or through the-people

levare possit; eripit etiam spem quae sola hominem
to-lighten be-able he-snatches-away even hope which alone a-man
in miseriis consolari solet. Bona praeterea publicari
in miseries to-console is-wont the-goods besides to-be-confiscated
iubet; vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus: quam si
he-orders life alone he-leaves to-wicked men which if
eripuisset, multas uno dolore animi atque corporis
he-had-snatched-away many with-one pain of-mind and of-body
miserias et omnis scelerum poenas ademisset. Itaque
miseries and all of-crimes penalties he-would-have-taken-away and-so
ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset proposita, apud
that some in life dread for-the-wicked should-be set-before among
inferos eius modi quaedam illi antiqui supplicia impiis
the-dead of-that kind certain those ancients punishments for-the-impious
constituta esse voluerunt, quod videlicet intellegebant his
established to-be wished because evidently they-understood with-these
remotis non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.
removed not to-be death itself to-be-dreaded
Nunc, patres conscripti, ego mea video quid intersit. Si 9
now fathers enrolled I my see what is-in-the-interest if
eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris, quoniam hanc is in
you-shall-have followed the-opinion of-Gaius Caesar since this he in
re publica viam quae popularis habetur secutus est, fortasse
the-thing public road which popular is-held followed has perhaps
minus erunt hoc auctore et cognitore huiusce sententiae
less will-be with-this-man as-author and sponsor of-this opinion
mihi populares impetus pertimescendi; sin illam alteram,
for-me popular attacks to-be-dreaded but-if that other
nescio an amplius mihi negoti contrahatur. Sed tamen
I-know-not whether more for-me of-trouble may-be-gathered but still
meorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei publicae
of-my dangers the-reckonings the-advantage of-the-thing public

vincat. Habemus enim a Caesare, sicut ipsius dignitas et
let-overcome we-have for from Caesar as his-own dignity and
maiorum eius amplitudo postulabat, sententiam tamquam
of-the-ancestors his the-greatness demanded an-opinion as-if
obsidem perpetuae in rem publicam voluntatis. Intellectum
a-hostage of-perpetual toward the-thing public goodwill understood
est quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et
it-has-been what was-the-difference between the-levity of-mob-orators and
animum vere popularem saluti populi consulentem.
a-mind truly popular for-the-safety of-the-people providing
10 Video de istis qui se popularis haberi volunt abesse
I-see of those who themselves popular to-be-held wish to-be-absent
non neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum
not no-one lest about the-life forsooth of-citizens Roman
sententiam ferat. Is et nudius tertius in custodiam
a-vote he-should-cast he both now-the-day third into custody
civis Romanos dedit et supplicationem mihi decrevit et
citizens Roman gave and a-thanksgiving to-me decreed and
indices hesterno die maximis praemiis adfecit. Iam hoc
the-informers on-yesterday day with-the-greatest rewards honored now this
nemini dubium est qui reo custodiam, quaesitori
to-no-one doubtful is who for-the-accused custody for-the-investigator
gratulationem, indici praemium decrerit, quid de tota
congratulation for-the-informer a-reward has-decreed what about the-whole
re et causa iudicarit. At vero C. Caesar intellegit legem
matter and case he-has-judged but indeed Gaius Caesar understands the-law
Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constitutam; qui
Sempronian to-have-been about citizens Roman established who
autem rei publicae sit hostis eum civem esse nullo
however of-the-thing public be an-enemy him a-citizen to-be in-no
modo posse: denique ipsum latorem Semproniae legis iussu
way to-be-able finally the-very proposer of-the-Sempronian law by-order

populi poenas rei publicae dependisse. Idem ipsum
of-the-people the-penalty to-the-thing public to-have-paid the-same-man the-very
Lentulum, largitorem et prodigum, non putat, cum de
Lentulus a-briber and a-spendthrift not thinks since about
pernicie populi Romani, exitio huius urbis tam acerbe,
the-ruin of-the-people Roman the-destruction of-this city so bitterly
tam crudeliter cogitarit, etiam appellari posse popularem.
so cruelly he-has-planned even to-be-called to-be-able popular
Itaque homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat
and-so a-man most-mild and most-gentle not hesitates
P. Lentulum aeternis tenebris vinculisque mandare et
Publius Lentulus to-eternal darkness and-chains to-commit and
sancit in posterum ne quis huius supplicio levando se
he-ordains for the-future that-not anyone of-this-man punishment by-lightening himself
iactare et in pernicie populi Romani posthac popularis esse
to-vaunt and in the-ruin of-the-people Roman hereafter popular to-be
possit. Adiungit etiam publicationem bonorum, ut omnis animi
be-able he-adds also the-confiscation of-goods that every of-mind
cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.
torture and of-body also want and beggary may-follow

Either way the people will clear the senate of cruelty, for no punishment of such a crime can be cruel. Cicero is stern from compassion: he sees Rome burning, its citizens unburied, Cethegus reveling in slaughter, Lentulus as king. A father would be ruthless if he spared the slave who killed his children. Lucius Caesar has already voted death for his own sister's husband.

11 Quam ob rem, sive hoc statueritis, dederitis
which on-account-of thing whether this you-shall-have-decided you-shall-have-given
mihi comitem ad contionem populo carum atque iucundum,
to-me a-companion to the-assembly to-the-people dear and pleasant
sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atque
or of-Silanus the-opinion to-follow you-shall-have-preferred easily me and
vos crudelitatis vituperatione populus Romanus liberabit, atque
you of-cruelty from-the-reproach the-people Roman will-free and
obtinebo eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, patres
I-shall-maintain it much milder to-have-been and-yet fathers
conscripti, quae potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate
enrolled what can to-be in of-so-great a-crime the-monstrousness
punienda crudelitas? Ego enim de meo sensu iudico. Nam
to-be-punished cruelty I for from my feeling judge for
ita mihi salva re publica vobiscum perfrui liceat
so to-me with-safe the-thing public with-you to-enjoy may-it-be-allowed
ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate
as I because in this case more-vehement I-am not by-savagery
animi moveor — quis enim est me mitior? — sed
of-mind am-moved who for is than-me milder but
singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia. Videor enim
by-singular a-certain humanity and pity I-seem for
mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum atque
to-myself to-see this city the-light of-the-circle of-the-lands and

arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem.
the-citadel of-all nations suddenly in-one fire collapsing
Cerno animo sepulta in patria miseros atque insepultos
I-perceive in-mind buried in fatherland wretched and unburied
acervos civium, versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi
heaps of-citizens moves to-me before the-eyes the-sight of-Cethegus
et furor in vestra caede bacchantis.
and his-madness in your slaughter reveling
Cum vero mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse 12
when indeed to-myself I-have-set-before reigning Lentulus as himself
se ex fatis sperasse confessus est, purpuratum esse
himself from the-fates to-have-hoped confessed has in-purple to-be
huic Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, tum
to-this-man Gabinius with an-army to-have-come Catiline then
lamentationem matrum familias, tum fugam virginum atque
the-lamentation of-mothers of-families then the-flight of-maidens and
puerorum ac vexationem virginum Vestalium perhorresco,
of-boys and the-harassment of-the-virgins Vestal I-shudder
et, quia mihi vehementer haec videntur misera atque
and because to-me vehemently these-things seem wretched and
miseranda, idcirco in eos qui ea perficere voluerunt me
to-be-pitied therefore toward those who them to-accomplish wished myself
severum vehementemque praebebo. Etenim quaero, si quis
severe and-vehement I-will-show for-indeed I-ask if any
pater familias, liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore
father of-a-family with-children his by a-slave killed with-his-wife
occisa, incensa domo, supplicium de servis non quam
slain with-burned his-house punishment upon the-slaves not as
acerbissimum sumpserit, utrum is clemens ac misericors an
most-bitter shall-have-taken whether he merciful and pitying or
inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse videatur? Mihi vero
most-inhuman and most-cruel to-be may-seem to-me indeed

importunus ac ferreus qui non dolore et cruciatu nocentis
savage and iron who not by-the-pain and torture of-the-guilty-one
suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos in his
his-own pain and-torture shall-have-soothed so we in-the-case-of these
hominibus qui nos, qui coniuges, qui liberos nostros trucidare
men who us who our-wives who children our to-butcher
voluerunt, qui singulas unius cuiusque nostrum domos et
wished who the-single of-one each of-us houses and
hoc universum rei publicae domicilium delere conati
this universal of-the-thing public home to-destroy tried
sunt, qui id egerunt ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis
have who that aimed-at that the-nation of-the-Allobroges in the-footprints
huius urbis atque in cinere deflagrati imperi conlocarent,
of-this city and in the-ashes of-burned-up empire they-might-settle
si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur; sin
if most-vehement we-shall-have-been merciful we-shall-be-held but-if
remissiores esse voluerimus, summae nobis crudelitatis in
more-lax to-be we-shall-have-wished of-the-highest by-us cruelty in
patriae civiumque pernicie fama subeunda est.
of-fatherland and-of-citizens ruin the-reputation to-be-undergone is
13 Nisi vero cuipiam L. Caesar, vir fortissimus et
unless indeed to-anyone Lucius Caesar a-man bravest and
amantissimus rei publicae, crudelior nudius tertius visus
most-loving of-the-thing public more-cruel now-the-day third seemed
est, cum sororis suae, feminae lectissimae, virum praesentem
has when of-sister his a-woman most-excellent the-husband present
et audientem vita privandum esse dixit, cum avum suum
and listening of-life to-be-deprived to-be he-said when grandfather his
iussu consulis interfectum filiumque eius impuberem legatum
by-order of-the-consul killed and-son his under-age an-envoy
a patre missum in carcere necatum esse dixit. Quorum
by his-father sent in prison put-to-death to-have-been he-said of-which-men

quod simile factum, quod initum delendae rei publicae
what like deed what entered-on of-destroying the-thing public
consilium? Largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata
plan of-largess the-will then in the-thing public was-at-work
est et partium quaedam contentio. Atque illo tempore
has and of-parties a-certain contention and at-that time
huius avus Lentuli, vir clarissimus, armatus Gracchum
of-this the-grandfather Lentulus a-man most-illustrious armed Gracchus
est persecutus. Ille etiam grave tum volnus accepit, ne
has pursued he even a-heavy then wound received lest
quid de summa rei publicae minueretur; hic ad
anything of the-highest of-the-thing public should-be-diminished this-man for
evertenda fundamenta rei publicae Gallos arcessit, servitia
overturning the-foundations of-the-thing public the-Gauls summons the-slaves
concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego
rouses Catiline calls assigns us to-be-butchered to-Cethegus
et ceteros civis interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam
and the-other citizens to-be-killed to-Gabinius the-city to-be-burned
Cassio, totam Italiam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinae.
to-Cassius the-whole Italy to-be-laid-waste and-plundered to-Catiline
Vereamini minus censeo ne in hoc scelere tam immani ac
fear less I-advise lest in this crime so monstrous and
nefando aliquid severius statuisse videamini: multo magis
unspeakable something too-severe to-have-decided you-may-seem much more
est verendum ne remissione poenae crudeles in patriam
is to-be-feared lest by-relaxation of-the-penalty cruel toward the-fatherland
quam ne severitate animadversionis nimis vehementes in
than lest by-severity of-punishment too vehement toward
acerbissimos hostis fuisse videamur.
the-bitterest enemies to-have-been we-may-seem

Cicero hears it murmured that he lacks force to carry out the decree, but everything is ready. All orders, ranks, and ages fill the forum and temples, the first cause since Rome's founding on which all agree but the conspirators. The knights are reconciled with the senate after long dispute; the treasury tribunes, the clerks, the freeborn poor, the freedmen who count Rome their fatherland, even the slaves, all stand for the common safety. Lentulus' agent canvassed the shops, but the shopkeepers love peace.

14 Sed ea quae exaudio, patres conscripti, dissimulare non
but those-things which I-overhear fathers enrolled to-dissemble not
possum. Iaciuntur enim voces quae perveniunt ad auris meas
I-can are-thrown for voices which reach to the-ears my
eorum qui vereri videntur ut habeam satis praesidi ad ea
of-those who to-fear seem that I-may-have enough of-protection for those-things
quae vos statueritis hodierno die transigenda. Omnia et
which you shall-have-decided on-today's day to-be-carried-out all-things both
provisa et parata et constituta sunt, patres conscripti, cum
provided and prepared and settled are fathers enrolled both
mea summa cura atque diligentia tum multo etiam maiore
by-my highest care and diligence and much even by-the-greater
populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum et ad
of-the-people Roman for the-highest empire retaining and for
communis fortunas conservandas voluntate. Omnes adsunt
the-common fortunes preserving will all are-present
omnium ordinum homines, omnium generum, omnium denique
of-all orders men of-all kinds of-all finally
aetatum; plenum est forum, plena templa circum forum, pleni
ages full is the-forum full the-temples around the-forum full
omnes aditus huius templi ac loci. Causa est enim post
all the-approaches of-this temple and place a-cause has-been for since
urbem conditam haec inventa sola in qua omnes sentirent
the-city founded this found alone in which all should-feel

unum atque idem praeter eos qui, cum sibi viderent esse
one and the-same except those who when for-themselves they-saw it-was
pereundum, cum omnibus potius quam soli perire voluerunt.
to-be-perished with all rather than alone to-perish wished
Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno libenter, neque in 15
these I men except and set-apart gladly nor in
improborum civium sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero
of-wicked citizens but in of-the-bitterest enemies the-number
habendos puto. Ceteri vero, di immortales! Qua frequentia,
to-be-held I-think the-rest indeed gods immortal with-what crowding
quo studio, qua virtute ad communem salutem
with-what zeal with-what courage for the-common safety
dignitatemque consentiunt! Quid ego hic equites Romanos
and-dignity they-agree why I here the-knights Roman
commemorem? qui vobis ita summam ordinis consilique
should-mention who to-you so the-highest-place of-rank and-of-counsel
concedunt ut vobiscum de amore rei publicae certent;
concede that with-you about love of-the-thing public they-contend
quos ex multorum annorum dissensione huius ordinis ad
whom from of-many years dissension with-this order to
societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum
alliance and-concord recalled today's day with-you
atque haec causa coniungit. Quam si coniunctionem in
and this cause joins which if union in
consulatu confirmatam meo perpetuam in re publica
the-consulship confirmed my perpetual in the-thing public
tenuerimus, confirmo vobis nullum posthac malum civile ac
we-shall-have-held I-assure you no hereafter evil civil and
domesticum ad ullam rei publicae partem esse venturum.
domestic to any of-the-thing public part to-be going-to-come
Pari studio defendendae rei publicae convenisse video
with-equal zeal of-defending the-thing public to-have-assembled I-see

tribunos aerarios, fortissimos viros; scribas item universos
the-tribunes of-the-treasury bravest men the-clerks likewise all
quos, cum casu hic dies ad aerarium frequentasset, video ab
whom when by-chance this day to the-treasury had-crowded I-see from
exspectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse conversos.
the-expectation of-the-lot to the-safety common to-be turned
16 Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum.
the-whole of-the-freeborn is-present multitude even of-the-humblest
Quis est enim cui non haec templa, aspectus urbis,
who is-there for to-whom not these temples the-sight of-the-city
possessio libertatis, lux denique haec ipsa et commune
the-possession of-liberty the-light finally this very and common
patriae solum cum sit carum tum vero dulce atque
of-the-fatherland soil both be dear and indeed sweet and
iucundum? Operae pretium est, patres conscripti, libertinorum
pleasant of-the-trouble worth it-is fathers enrolled of-freedmen
hominum studia cognoscere qui, sua virtute fortunam
men the-zeal to-learn who by-their-own merit the-fortune
huius civitatis consecuti, vere hanc suam patriam esse
of-this state having-attained truly this their fatherland to-be
iudicant quam quidam hic nati, et summo nati loco, non
judge which certain-men here born and in-the-highest born place not
patriam suam sed urbem hostium esse iudicaverunt. Sed quid
fatherland their-own but a-city of-enemies to-be have-judged but why
ego hosce ordines atque homines commemoro quos privatae
I these orders and men mention whom private
fortunae, quos communis res publica, quos denique libertas
fortunes whom the-common thing public whom finally liberty
ea quae dulcissima est ad salutem patriae defendendam
that which sweetest is for the-safety of-the-fatherland defending
excitavit? Servus est nemo, qui modo tolerabili condicione
has-roused a-slave there-is none who only in-a-tolerable condition

sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat, qui non
be of-slavery who not the-audacity of-citizens shudders-at who not
haec stare cupiat, qui non quantum audet et quantum
these-things to-stand desires who not as-much-as he-dares and as-much-as
potest conferat ad salutem voluntatis.
he-can contributes to the-safety of-goodwill
Qua re si quem vestrum forte commovet hoc quod auditum 17
by-which thing if anyone of-you perhaps moves this which heard
est, lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas,
has-been a-pimp certain of-Lentulus to-run-about around the-shops
pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque
for-a-price to-hope to-be-tampered-with to-be-able the-minds of-the-needy and
imperitorum, est id quidem coeptum atque temptatum, sed
of-the-ignorant was that indeed begun and tried but
nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri aut voluntate
none were found so either in-fortune wretched or in-will
perditi qui non illum ipsum sellae atque operis et quaestus
abandoned who not that very of-the-stool and of-work and of-gain
cotidiani locum, qui non cubile ac lectulum suum,
daily the-place who not the-sleeping-place and little-bed his-own
qui denique non cursum hunc otiosum vitae suae salvum
who finally not course this peaceful of-life his-own safe
esse velint. Multo vero maxima pars eorum qui in tabernis
to-be wish by-much indeed the-greatest part of-those who in the-shops
sunt, immo vero — id enim potius est dicendum —
are nay indeed that for rather must-be said
genus hoc universum amantissimum est oti. Etenim omne
class this whole most-loving is of-peace for-indeed all
instrumentum, omnis opera atque quaestus frequentia civium
equipment all work and gain by-the-crowding of-citizens

sustentatur, alitur otio; quorum si quaestus occlusis tabernis
is-sustained is-nourished by-peace of-whom if the-gain with-closed shops
minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum fuit?
to-be-diminished is-wont what pray with-burned going-to-be would-have-been

VI · THE FATHERLAND IMPLORES

The people do not fail the senate; let the senate not fail the people. They have a consul preserved from death for their safety, and the fatherland, besieged by torches and weapons, stretches out her hands to them, entrusting the Capitol, Vesta's fire, and the temples. One night nearly destroyed an empire built by such labor. Cicero has made many enemies, but he will never regret his deeds, for no one has won such praise as their decrees gave him.

18 Quae cum ita sint, patres conscripti, vobis populi Romani
which-things since so they-are fathers enrolled to-you of-the-people Roman
praesidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano deesse
the-protections not are-lacking you lest to-the-people Roman to-be-lacking
videamini providete. Habetis consulem ex plurimis periculis et
you-seem see-to-it you-have a-consul from very-many dangers and
insidiis atque ex media morte non ad vitam suam sed ad
plots and from the-midst-of death not for life his-own but for
salutem vestram reservatum. Omnes ordines ad conservandam
the-safety your preserved all orders for preserving
rem publicam mente, voluntate, voce consentiunt. Obsessa
the-thing public in-mind in-will in-voice agree besieged
facibus et telis impiae coniurationis vobis supplex manus
by-the-torches and weapons of-an-impious conspiracy to-you suppliant hands
tendit patria communis, vobis se, vobis vitam omnium
stretches the-fatherland common to-you herself to-you the-life of-all
civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras Penatium,
citizens to-you the-citadel and the-Capitol to-you the-altars of-the-Penates

vobis illum ignem Vestae sempiternum, vobis omnium
to-you that fire of-Vesta everlasting to-you of-all
deorum templa atque delubra, vobis muros atque urbis
the-gods the-temples and shrines to-you the-walls and of-the-city
tecta commendat. Praeterea de vestra vita, de coniugum
the-houses commends besides about your life about of-wives
vestrarum atque liberorum anima, de fortunis omnium, de
your and of-children the-soul about the-fortunes of-all about
sedibus, de focis vestris hodierno die vobis iudicandum est.
the-homes about the-hearths your on-today's day by-you to-be-judged it-is
Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblitum sui, quae non 19
you-have a-leader mindful of-you forgetful of-himself which not
semper facultas datur; habetis omnis ordines, omnis homines,
always the-opportunity is-given you-have all orders all men
universum populum Romanum, id quod in civili causa hodierno
the-whole people Roman that which in a-civil cause on-today's
die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem.
day for-the-first-time we-see one and the-same feeling
Cogitate quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quanta
consider with-how-great labors founded the-empire with-how-great
virtute stabilitam libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate
virtue established liberty with-how-great of-the-gods kindness
auctas exaggeratasque fortunas una nox paene delerit. Id ne
increased and-heaped-up the-fortunes one night almost has-destroyed that lest
umquam posthac non modo non confici sed ne cogitari
ever hereafter not only not to-be-accomplished but not to-be-thought
quidem possit a civibus hodierno die providendum est.
even could by citizens on-today's day to-be-provided it-is
Atque haec, non ut vos qui mihi studio paene praecurritis
and these-things not that you who me in-zeal almost outrun

excitarem, locutus sum, sed ut mea vox quae debet esse in
I-might-rouse spoken I-have but that my voice which ought to-be in
re publica princeps officio functa consulari videretur.
the-thing public foremost its-duty having-performed consular might-seem
20 Nunc ante quam ad sententiam redeo, de me pauca
now before than to the-motion I-return about myself a-few-things
dicam. Ego, quanta manus est coniuratorum, quam videtis
I-will-say I as-great-as the-band is of-the-conspirators which you-see
esse permagnam, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem
to-be very-great so-great me of-enemies a-multitude
suscepisse video; sed eam turpem iudico et infirmam et
to-have-taken-on I-see but it shameful I-judge and weak and
abiectam. Quod si aliquando alicuius furore et scelere
abject but if at-some-time of-someone by-the-madness and crime
concitata manus ista plus valuerit quam vestra ac
roused band that more shall-have-prevailed than your and
rei publicae dignitas, me tamen meorum factorum atque
of-the-thing public dignity me still of-my deeds and
consiliorum numquam, patres conscripti, paenitebit. Etenim
counsels never fathers enrolled it-will-repent for-indeed
mors, quam illi fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parata: vitae
death which they perhaps threaten for-all is prepared of-life
tantam laudem quanta vos me vestris decretis honestastis
so-great praise as-great-as you me by-your decrees have-honored
nemo est adsecutus; ceteris enim semper bene gesta,
no-one has attained for-the-others for always with-well done
mihi uni conservata re publica gratulationem decrevistis.
for-me alone with-preserved the-thing public a-thanksgiving you-decreed

Let Scipio, Africanus, Paulus, Marius, and Pompey have their glory: there is room among them for the man who kept a home to which the victors could return. A foreign enemy is crushed or won over, but citizens turned enemies can be neither, so Cicero has taken on endless war with them. For the province and triumph he gave up he asks only the memory of his consulship, and commends his little son. Let them decide boldly; he will carry out their decree.

Sit Scipio clarus ille cuius consilio atque virtute Hannibal 21
let-be Scipio famous that-man whose by-counsel and virtue Hannibal
in Africam redire atque Italia decedere coactus est,
into Africa to-return and from-Italy to-depart forced was
ornetur alter eximia laude Africanus qui duas urbis
let-be-adorned the-other with-exceptional praise Africanus who two cities
huic imperio infestissimas Karthaginem Numantiamque delevit,
to-this empire most-hostile Carthage and-Numantia destroyed
habeatur vir egregius Paulus ille cuius currum rex
let-be-held a-man outstanding Paulus that-one whose chariot a-king
potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus Perses honestavit, sit
most-powerful once and most-noble Perseus adorned let-be
aeterna gloria Marius qui bis Italiam obsidione et metu
with-eternal glory Marius who twice Italy from-siege and from-fear
servitutis liberavit, anteponatur omnibus Pompeius cuius res
of-slavery freed let-be-set-before all Pompey whose deeds
gestae atque virtutes isdem quibus solis cursus regionibus
done and virtues by-the-same by-which of-the-sun the-course regions
ac terminis continentur: erit profecto inter horum laudes
and bounds are-contained there-will-be surely among of-these the-praises
aliquid loci nostrae gloriae, nisi forte maius est patefacere
some of-place for-our glory unless perhaps greater it-is to-open

nobis provincias quo exire possimus quam curare ut
for-us provinces whither to-go-out we-may-be-able than to-take-care that
etiam illi qui absunt habeant quo victores revertantur.
also those who are-absent may-have whither as-victors they-may-return
22 Quamquam est uno loco condicio melior externae victoriae
and-yet is in-one place the-condition better of-foreign victory
quam domesticae, quod hostes alienigenae aut oppressi
than of-domestic because enemies foreign-born either crushed
serviunt aut recepti beneficio se obligatos putant, qui
are-slaves or received by-kindness themselves bound think who
autem ex numero civium dementia aliqua depravati hostes
however from the-number of-citizens by-madness some corrupted enemies
patriae semel esse coeperunt, eos, cum a pernicie
of-the-fatherland once to-be have-begun them when from the-ruin
rei publicae reppuleris, nec vi coercere nec beneficio
of-the-thing public you-have-repulsed neither by-force to-restrain nor by-kindness
placare possis. Qua re mihi cum perditis civibus aeternum
to-placate can-you by-which thing for-me with abandoned citizens eternal
bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego vestro bonorumque
war undertaken to-have-been I-see that I by-your and-of-the-good
omnium auxilio memoriaque tantorum periculorum, quae
all help and-by-the-memory of-so-great dangers which
non modo in hoc populo qui servatus est sed in
not only in this people which preserved has-been but in
omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper haerebit,
of-all nations the-talk and minds always will-cling
a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido.
from me and from my-own easily to-be-repelled to-be-able I-trust
Neque ulla profecto tanta vis reperietur quae coniunctionem
nor any surely so-great force will-be-found which the-union

vestram equitumque Romanorum et tantam conspirationem
your and-of-the-knights Roman and so-great agreement
bonorum omnium confringere et labefactare possit.
of-the-good all to-break and to-shake could
Quae cum ita sint, pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provincia 23
which-things since so they-are for the-command for the-army for the-province
quam neglexi, pro triumpho ceterisque laudis insignibus
which I-have-neglected for the-triumph and-the-other of-praise badges
quae sunt a me propter urbis vestraeque salutis custodiam
which have-been by me on-account-of of-the-city and-your safety the-guarding
repudiata, pro clientelis hospitiisque provincialibus quae tamen
refused for the-clienteles and-hospitalities provincial which still
urbanis opibus non minore labore tueor quam comparo, pro
by-urban resources with-no less labor I-maintain than I-acquire for
his igitur omnibus rebus, pro meis in vos singularibus studiis
these therefore all things for my toward you singular zeal
proque hac quam perspicitis ad conservandam rem publicam
and-for this which you-perceive for preserving the-thing public
diligentia nihil a vobis nisi huius temporis totiusque mei
diligence nothing from you except of-this time and-of-the-whole my
consulatus memoriam postulo: quae dum erit in vestris
consulship the-memory I-demand which while it-shall-be in your
fixa mentibus, tutissimo me muro saeptum esse arbitrabor.
fixed minds by-the-safest me wall surrounded to-be I-shall-think
Quod si meam spem vis improborum fefellerit atque
but if my hope the-force of-the-wicked shall-have-deceived and
superaverit, commendo vobis parvum meum filium, cui
overcome I-commend to-you little my son for-whom
profecto satis erit praesidi non solum ad salutem verum
surely enough will-be of-protection not only for safety but

etiam ad dignitatem, si eius qui haec omnia suo
also for dignity if his who these-things all at-his-own
solius periculo conservarit illum filium esse memineritis.
alone danger has-preserved him son to-be you-shall-remember
24 Quapropter de summa salute vestra populique Romani,
wherefore about the-highest safety your and-of-the-people Roman
de vestris coniugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focis, de
about your wives and children about the-altars and hearths about
fanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus,
the-shrines and temples about of-the-whole city the-houses and seats
de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de universa
about the-empire and liberty about the-safety of-Italy about the-whole
re publica decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter.
thing public decide diligently as you-have-begun and bravely
Habetis eum consulem qui et parere vestris decretis non
you-have that consul who both to-obey your decrees not
dubitet et ea quae statueritis, quoad vivet,
hesitates and those-things which you-shall-have-decided as-long-as he-shall-live
defendere et per se ipsum praestare possit.
to-defend and by him himself to-make-good can

CICERO

Pro Caelio

In Defense of Caelius

PRO CAELIO

I · A TRIAL ON A HOLIDAY

A stranger would wonder what crime keeps a court sitting through the holiday games, and would find that a gifted young man is accused under the law on violence by the son of a man he is prosecuting himself, and is attacked with a harlot's wealth. Cicero excuses young Atratinus for filial duty, compulsion, or youth, but not the rest. He answers first the slurs on Caelius' father, a knight of high standing, and on Caelius' devotion to him.

Si quis, iudices, forte nunc adsit ignarus legum iudiciorum 1
if anyone judges by-chance now be-present ignorant of-the-laws of-the-courts
consuetudinisque nostrae, miretur profecto quae sit
and-of-custom our he-would-wonder surely what be
tanta atrocitas huiusce causae, quod diebus festis ludisque
so-great the-atrocity of-this case that on-days festal and-games
publicis, omnibus forensibus negotiis intermissis, unum hoc
public with-all forensic business suspended one this
iudicium exerceatur, nec dubitet quin tanti facinoris
trial is-being-conducted nor would-he-doubt that of-so-great a-deed
reus arguatur ut eo neglecto civitas stare non possit.
the-defendant is-accused that with-it neglected the-state to-stand not could
Idem cum audiat esse legem quae de seditiosis
the-same-man when he-should-hear there-to-be a-law which about seditious
consceleratisque civibus qui armati senatum obsederint,
and-criminal citizens who armed the-senate shall-have-besieged
magistratibus vim attulerint, rem publicam oppugnarint
on-the-magistrates violence shall-have-brought the-thing public shall-have-attacked
cotidie quaeri iubeat: legem non improbet,
daily an-inquiry-to-be-held orders the-law not he-would-disapprove
crimen quod versetur in iudicio requirat; cum audiat
the-charge which is-at-issue in the-trial he-would-ask when he-should-hear

nullum facinus, nullam audaciam, nullam vim in iudicium
no deed no audacity no violence into court
vocari, sed adulescentem inlustri ingenio, industria,
to-be-summoned but a-young-man of-distinguished talent industry
gratia accusari ab eius filio quem ipse in iudicium et
influence to-be-accused by his the-son whom he-himself into court both
vocet et vocarit, oppugnari autem opibus meretriciis:
summons and has-summoned to-be-assailed however by-resources harlot's
Atratini ipsius pietatem non reprehendat, libidinem muliebrem
of-Atratinus himself the-dutifulness not he-would-reprove the-lust womanly
comprimendam putet, vos laboriosos existimet quibus
to-be-repressed he-would-think you hard-worked he-would-judge to-whom
otiosis ne in communi quidem otio liceat esse.
at-leisure not in common even leisure it-is-allowed to-be

2 Etenim si attendere diligenter atque existimare vere de
for-indeed if to-attend diligently and to-judge truly about
omni hac causa volueritis, sic constituetis, iudices, nec
all this case you-shall-have-wished thus you-will-decide judges neither
descensurum quemquam ad hanc accusationem fuisse
going-to-descend anyone to this accusation to-have-been
cui utrum vellet liceret nec, cum descendisset,
to-whom which he-wished it-was-allowed nor when he-had-descended
quicquam habiturum spei fuisse, nisi alicuius intolerabili
anything going-to-have of-hope to-have-been unless of-someone on-the-intolerable
libidine et nimis acerbo odio niteretur. Sed ego Atratino,
lust and too bitter hatred he-were-relying but I Atratinus
humanissimo atque optimo adulescenti, meo necessario,
most-cultivated and excellent a-young-man my intimate
ignosco, qui habet excusationem vel pietatis vel necessitatis
pardon who has an-excuse either of-dutifulness or of-necessity
vel aetatis. Si voluit accusare, pietati tribuo, si iussus
or of-age if he-wished to-accuse to-dutifulness I-assign-it if ordered

est, necessitati, si speravit aliquid, pueritiae. Ceteris non
he-was to-necessity if he-hoped anything to-boyhood the-rest not
modo nihil ignoscendum sed etiam acriter est resistendum.
only nothing must-be-pardoned but even keenly is to-be-resisted
Ac mihi quidem videtur, iudices, hic introitus defensionis 3
and to-me indeed it-seems judges this opening of-the-defense
adulescentiae M. Caeli maxime convenire, ut ad ea
to-the-youth of-Marcus Caelius most to-suit that to those-things
quae accusatores deformandi huius causa et detrahendae
which the-accusers of-disfiguring him for-the-sake and of-detracting-from
spoliandaeque dignitatis gratia dixerunt primum respondeam.
and-stripping his-dignity for-the-sake have-said first I-may-reply
Obiectus est pater varie, quod aut parum splendidus ipse
charged was his-father variously because either too-little distinguished himself
aut parum pie tractatus a filio diceretur. De dignitate
or too-little dutifully treated by his-son he-was-said about his-dignity
M. Caelius notis ac maioribus natu etiam
Marcus Caelius to-those-who-know-him and to-the-elder by-birth even
sine mea oratione tacitus facile ipse respondet; quibus
without my speech silent easily himself answers to-whom
autem propter senectutem, quod iam diu minus in foro
however on-account-of old-age because now long less in the-forum
nobiscumque versatur, non aeque est cognitus, hi sic habeant,
and-with-us he-moves not equally is known these so let-hold
quaecumque in equite Romano dignitas esse possit, quae certe
whatever in a-knight Roman dignity to-be can which certainly
potest esse maxima, eam semper in M. Caelio habitam
can to-be the-greatest it always in Marcus Caelius held
esse summam hodieque haberi non solum a suis sed
to-have-been the-highest and-today to-be-held not only by his-own but
etiam ab omnibus quibus potuerit aliqua de causa esse notus.
also by all to-whom he-could some for reason to-be known

4 Equitis autem Romani esse filium criminis loco poni
of-a-knight however Roman to-be the-son of-a-charge in-place to-be-put
ab accusatoribus neque his iudicantibus oportuit neque
by the-accusers neither with-these judging it-was-fitting nor
defendentibus nobis. Nam quod de pietate dixistis, est
with-defending us for as-to-what about dutifulness you-have-said is
ista quidem nostra existimatio sed iudicium certe parentis.
that indeed our estimate but the-judgment certainly of-the-parent
Quid nos opinemur audietis ex iuratis; quid parentes sentiant
what we think you-will-hear from the-sworn what his-parents feel
lacrimae matris incredibilisque maeror, squalor patris et
the-tears of-his-mother and-the-incredible grief the-squalor of-his-father and
haec praesens maestitia quam cernitis luctusque declarat.
this present sadness which you-see and-mourning declares
5 Nam quod est obiectum municipibus esse adulescentem
for as-to-what has-been charged to-his-townsmen to-be the-young-man
non probatum suis, nemini umquam praesenti †Praestutiani†
not approved his-own to-no-one ever present the-Praetutians
maiores honores habuerunt, iudices, quam absenti M. Caelio;
greater honors have-given judges than to-the-absent Marcus Caelius
quem et absentem in amplissimum ordinem cooptarunt
whom both absent into the-most-ample order they-co-opted
et ea non petenti detulerunt quae multis petentibus
and those-things not seeking they-conferred which to-many seeking
denegarunt. Idemque nunc lectissimos viros et nostri ordinis
they-denied and-the-same now most-select men both of-our order
et equites Romanos cum legatione ad hoc iudicium et
and knights Roman with a-deputation to this trial and
cum gravissima atque ornatissima laudatione miserunt. Videor
with a-most-weighty and most-adorned commendation have-sent I-seem
mihi iecisse fundamenta defensionis meae, quae firmissima
to-myself to-have-laid the-foundations of-defense my which strongest

sunt si nituntur iudicio suorum. Neque enim vobis satis
are if they-rest on-the-judgment of-his-own nor for to-you enough
commendata huius aetas esse posset, si non modo parenti,
commended his age to-be could if not only to-his-parent
tali viro, verum etiam municipio tam inlustri ac tam gravi
such a-man but also to-a-township so distinguished and so weighty
displiceret. Equidem, ut ad me revertar, ab his fontibus
it-were-displeasing indeed so-that to myself I-may-return from these springs
profluxi ad hominum famam, et meus hic forensis
I-have-flowed-forth to of-men the-repute and my this forensic
labor vitaeque ratio demanavit ad existimationem hominum
labor and-of-life the-course has-spread to the-estimation of-men
paulo latius commendatione ac iudicio meorum.
a-little more-widely by-the-commendation and judgment of-my-own-people

II · SLANDER IS NOT ACCUSATION

The charge of unchastity is mere abuse, aimed at every handsome youth, and abuse is not accusation, which needs a charge, proof, and witness. Cicero regrets that Atratinus, whose modesty showed, was given that part, and gently warns him not to say of others what would make him blush. Caelius' boyhood was guarded by his own modesty and his father's discipline: from his coming of age he was never seen but with his father, with Cicero, or in Crassus' house.

Nam quod obiectum est de pudicitia quodque omnium 6
for as-to-what charged has-been about chastity and-what of-all
accusatorum non criminibus sed vocibus maledictisque
the-accusers not with-charges but with-cries and-abuse
celebratum est, id numquam tam acerbe feret M. Caelius
spread-abroad has-been that never so bitterly will-bear Marcus Caelius
ut eum paeniteat non deformem esse natum. Sunt
that him it-should-repent not ugly to-have-been born are

enim ista maledicta pervolgata in omnis quorum in
for those abuses commonly-flung against all whose in
adulescentia forma et species fuit liberalis. Sed aliud
youth form and appearance was gentlemanly but one-thing
est male dicere, aliud accusare. Accusatio crimen desiderat,
it-is badly to-speak another to-accuse accusation a-charge requires
rem ut definiat, hominem notet, argumento probet,
a-matter so-that it-may-define a-man brand by-argument prove
teste confirmet; maledictio autem nihil habet propositi
by-a-witness confirm abuse however nothing has of-purpose
praeter contumeliam; quae si petulantius iactatur, convicium,
besides insult which if too-wantonly it-is-flung railing
si facetius, urbanitas nominatur.
if too-wittily urbanity is-named

7 Quam quidem partem accusationis admiratus sum et moleste
which indeed part of-the-accusation wondered-at I-have and with-annoyance
tuli potissimum esse Atratino datam. Neque enim decebat
bore especially to-have-been to-Atratinus given nor for did-it-befit
neque aetas illa postulabat neque, id quod animum advertere
nor age that demanded nor that which (your)-mind to-turn
poteratis, pudor patiebatur optimi adulescentis in tali illum
you-could the-modesty allowed of-an-excellent young-man in such him
oratione versari. Vellem aliquis ex vobis robustioribus hunc
a-speech to-be-engaged I-could-wish someone of you sturdier this
male dicendi locum suscepisset; aliquanto liberius et fortius
badly of-speaking part had-undertaken somewhat more-freely and more-boldly
et magis more nostro refutaremus istam male dicendi
and more in-manner our we-would-refute that badly of-speaking
licentiam. Tecum, Atratine, agam lenius, quod et pudor
license with-you Atratinus I-will-deal more-gently because both the-modesty
tuus moderatur orationi meae et meum erga te parentemque
your moderates speech my and my toward you and-father

tuum beneficium tueri debeo. Illud tamen te esse admonitum
your kindness to-protect I-ought this still you to-be warned
volo, primum ut qualis es talem te omnes esse existiment,
I-wish first that such-as you-are such you all to-be may-judge
ut quantum a rerum turpitudine abes tantum te a
that as-far-as from of-things the-turpitude you-are-distant so-far yourself from
verborum libertate seiungas; deinde ut ea in alterum
of-words the-license you-may-separate then that those-things against another
ne dicas quae, cum tibi falso responsa sint, erubescas.
not you-say which when to-you falsely retorted they-have-been you-would-blush-at
Quis est enim cui via ista non pateat, quis est qui huic 8
who is-there for to-whom road that not lies-open who is-there who this
aetati atque isti dignitati non possit quam velit petulanter,
age and that dignity not can as-much-as he-wishes wantonly
etiam si sine ulla suspicione, at non sine argumento
even if without any suspicion at-least not without argument
male dicere? Sed istarum partium culpa est eorum qui te
badly to-speak but of-those parts the-blame is of-those who you
agere voluerunt; laus pudoris tui, quod ea te invitum
to-play wished the-praise of-modesty your that those-things you unwilling
dicere videbamus, ingeni, quod ornate politeque dixisti.
to-say we-saw of-talent that elegantly and-polishedly you-spoke
Verum ad istam omnem orationem brevis est defensio. Nam 9
but to that whole speech brief is the-defense for
quoad aetas M. Caeli dare potuit isti suspicioni locum,
as-long-as the-age of-Marcus Caelius to-give could to-that suspicion room
fuit primum ipsius pudore, deinde etiam patris diligentia
it-was first by-his-own modesty then also by-his-father's diligence
disciplinaque munita. Qui ut huic togam virilem dedit —
and-discipline fortified who when to-him the-toga of-manhood gave
nihil dicam hoc loco de me; tantum sit quantum vos
nothing I-will-say in-this place about myself so-much let-it-be as-much-as you

existimatis; hoc dicam, hunc a patre continuo ad me esse
judge this I-will-say him by his-father at-once to me to-have-been
deductum — nemo hunc M. Caelium in illo aetatis flore
brought no-one this Marcus Caelius in that of-age flower
vidit nisi aut cum patre aut mecum aut in M. Crassi
saw except either with his-father or with-me or in of-Marcus Crassus
castissima domo cum artibus honestissimis erudiretur.
most-chaste house when in-arts most-honorable he-was-being-educated

III · THE FRIEND OF CATILINE

Caelius' friendship with Catiline is no ground for suspicion. Through Cicero's praetorship, Catiline's extortion trial, and Cicero's candidacy for the consulship, Caelius stayed with Cicero and never went near Catiline; only years later did he support Catiline's second canvass, as many good men of every order did. For Catiline was a monster of contradictions who wore the outlines of great virtues, and he once nearly deceived Cicero himself.

10 Nam quod Catilinae familiaritas obiecta Caelio est, longe
for as-to-what of-Catiline the-intimacy charged to-Caelius has-been far
ab ista suspicione abhorrere debet. Hoc enim adulescente
from that suspicion to-shrink it-ought with-this for young-man
scitis consulatum mecum petisse Catilinam. Ad quem
you-know the-consulship with-me to-have-sought Catiline to whom
si accessit aut si a me discessit umquam — quamquam
if he-went or if from me he-departed ever although
multi boni adulescentes illi homini nequam atque improbo
many the-good young-men to-that man worthless and wicked
studuerunt — tum existimetur Caelius Catilinae nimium
were-devoted then let-it-be-thought Caelius with-Catiline too
familiaris fuisse. At enim postea scimus et vidimus esse
intimate to-have-been but for afterward we-know and have-seen to-be

hunc in illius etiam amicis. Quis negat? Sed ego illud
this-man among his even friends who denies-it but I that
tempus aetatis quod ipsum sua sponte infirmum, aliorum
time of-age which itself of-its-own accord weak of-others
autem libidine infestum est, id hoc loco defendo. Fuit
however by-the-lust endangered is that in-this place defend he-was
adsiduus mecum praetore me; non noverat Catilinam;
constantly with-me with-praetor me not he-had-known Catiline
Africam tum praetor ille obtinebat. Secutus est tum annus,
Africa then as-praetor he was-holding followed has then the-year
causam de pecuniis repetundis Catilina dixit. Mecum erat
a-case about moneys to-be-recovered Catiline pleaded with-me was
hic; illi ne advocatus quidem venit umquam. Deinceps fuit
this-man to-him not as-supporter even he-came ever next was
annus quo ego consulatum petivi; petebat Catilina mecum.
the-year in-which I the-consulship sought was-seeking-it Catiline with-me
Numquam ad illum accessit, a me numquam recessit.
never to him he-went from me never he-withdrew
Tot igitur annos versatus in foro sine suspicione, sine 11
so-many therefore years having-moved in the-forum without suspicion without
infamia, studuit Catilinae iterum petenti. Quem ergo ad
infamy he-supported Catiline a-second-time seeking-office what therefore to
finem putas custodiendam illam aetatem fuisse? Nobis
end do-you-think to-be-guarded that age to-have-been for-us
quidem olim annus erat unus ad cohibendum bracchium
indeed once a-year was one for restraining the-arm
toga constitutus, et ut exercitatione ludoque campestri
in-the-toga appointed and that in-exercise and-play of-the-Field
tunicati uteremur, eademque erat, si statim merere stipendia
in-tunics we-might-use and-the-same was if at-once to-earn pay
coeperamus, castrensis ratio ac militaris. Qua in aetate
we-had-begun of-the-camp the-system and military which in age

nisi qui se ipse sua gravitate et castimonia et
unless one-who himself he-himself by-his-own gravity and chastity and
cum disciplina domestica tum etiam naturali quodam bono
both by-discipline domestic and also by-natural some goodness
defenderet, quoquo modo a suis custoditus esset, tamen
defended in-whatever way by his-own guarded he-had-been still
infamiam veram effugere non poterat. Sed qui prima illa
infamy real to-escape not could but he-who the-first those
initia aetatis integra atque inviolata praestitisset, de eius
beginnings of-age whole and inviolate had-kept about his
fama ac pudicitia, cum iam sese conroboravisset ac vir
reputation and chastity when now himself he-had-strengthened and a-man
inter viros esset, nemo loquebatur.
among men was no-one spoke

12 At studuit Catilinae, cum iam aliquot annos esset in
but he-supported Catiline when now some years he-had-been in
foro, Caelius. Et multi hoc idem ex omni ordine atque
the-forum Caelius and many this same from every order and
ex omni aetate fecerunt. Habuit enim ille, sicuti meminisse
from every age did he-had for he as to-remember
vos arbitror, permulta maximarum non expressa signa sed
you I-think very-many of-the-greatest not expressed signs but
adumbrata virtutum. Utebatur hominibus improbis multis;
sketched of-virtues he-associated-with men wicked many
et quidem optimis se viris deditum esse simulabat.
and indeed to-the-best himself men devoted to-be he-pretended
Erant apud illum inlecebrae libidinum multae; erant
there-were with him allurements of-lusts many there-were
etiam industriae quidam stimuli ac laboris. Flagrabant vitia
also of-industry certain spurs and of-labor blazed the-vices
libidinis apud illum; vigebant etiam studia rei militaris.
of-lust with him were-strong also the-pursuits of-the-thing military

Neque ego umquam fuisse tale monstrum in terris ullum
nor I ever to-have-been such a-monster on earth any
puto, tam ex contrariis diversisque atque inter se
think so from contrary and-diverse and among themselves
pugnantibus naturae studiis cupiditatibusque conflatum.
fighting of-nature pursuits and-desires compounded
Quis clarioribus viris quodam tempore iucundior, quis 13
who to-more-illustrious men at-a-certain time more-agreeable who
turpioribus coniunctior? Quis civis meliorum partium
with-baser-men more-closely-joined who a-citizen of-the-better party
aliquando, quis taetrior hostis huic civitati? quis in voluptatibus
once who more-foul an-enemy to-this state who in pleasures
inquinatior, quis in laboribus patientior? quis in rapacitate
more-defiled who in labors more-enduring who in rapacity
avarior, quis in largitione effusior? Illa vero, iudices,
more-greedy who in largess more-lavish those-things indeed judges
in illo homine admirabilia fuerunt, comprehendere multos
in that man wonderful were to-embrace many
amicitia, tueri obsequio, cum omnibus communicare
with-friendship to-keep-them with-compliance with all to-share
quod habebat, servire temporibus suorum omnium pecunia,
what he-had to-serve the-occasions of-his-own all with-money
gratia, labore corporis, scelere etiam, si opus esset, et
with-influence with-labor of-body with-crime even if need were and
audacia, versare suam naturam et regere ad tempus atque
with-audacity to-turn his-own nature and to-rule-it to the-occasion and
huc et illuc torquere ac flectere, cum tristibus severe, cum
hither and thither to-twist-it and to-bend-it with the-gloomy severely with
remissis iucunde, cum senibus graviter, cum iuventute comiter,
the-relaxed pleasantly with the-old gravely with the-young affably
cum facinerosis audaciter, cum libidinosis luxuriose vivere.
with the-criminal audaciously with the-lustful luxuriously to-live

14 Hac ille tam varia multiplicique natura cum omnis omnibus
by-this he so varied and-manifold nature when all all
ex terris homines improbos audacisque conlegerat, tum etiam
from lands men wicked and-audacious he-had-collected then also
multos fortis viros et bonos specie quadam virtutis adsimulatae
many brave men and good by-a-show certain of-virtue feigned
tenebat. Neque umquam ex illo delendi huius imperi tam
he-held nor ever from him of-destroying this empire so
conscleratus impetus exstitisset, nisi tot vitiorum tanta
criminal an-assault would-have-arisen unless so-many of-vices so-great
immanitas quibusdam facilitatis et patientiae radicibus niteretur.
monstrousness on-certain of-affability and of-endurance roots had-rested
Qua re ista condicio, iudices, respuatur, nec Catilinae
by-which thing that condition judges let-be-spat-out nor of-Catiline's
familiaritatis crimen haereat. Est enim commune cum multis et
intimacy the-charge let-it-cling it-is for common with many and
cum quibusdam bonis. Me ipsum, me, inquam, quondam paene
with some good-men me myself me I-say once almost
ille decepit, cum et civis mihi bonus et optimi cuiusque
he deceived when both a-citizen to-me good and of-the-best each
cupidus et firmus amicus ac fidelis videretur; cuius ego
eager and a-firm friend and faithful he-seemed whose I
facinora oculis prius quam opinione, manibus ante quam
crimes with-the-eyes sooner than by-opinion with-the-hands before than
suspicione deprendi. Cuius in magnis catervis amicorum si fuit
by-suspicion caught whose in great troops of-friends if was
etiam Caelius, magis est ut ipse moleste ferat errasse
also Caelius more is that he-himself with-annoyance should-bear to-have-erred
se, sicuti non numquam in eodem homine me quoque erroris
himself as not never in the-same man me also of-error
mei paenitet, quam ut istius amicitiae crimen reformidet.
my repents than that of-that-man's friendship the-charge he-should-dread

Itaque a maledictis impudicitiae ad coniurationis invidiam 15
and-so from abuses of-unchastity to of-the-conspiracy the-odium
oratio est vestra delapsa. Posuistis enim, atque id tamen
speech has your slipped-down you-have-set-down for and that still
titubanter et strictim, coniurationis hunc propter amicitiam
haltingly and cursorily of-the-conspiracy this-man on-account-of the-friendship
Catilinae participem fuisse; in quo non modo crimen non
of-Catiline a-partner to-have-been in which not only the-charge not
haerebat sed vix diserti adulescentis cohaerebat oratio.
clung but scarcely of-the-eloquent young-man held-together the-speech
Qui enim tantus furor in Caelio, quod tantum aut in
what for such madness in Caelius what so-great either in
moribus naturaque volnus aut in re atque fortuna? Ubi
character and-nature wound or in property and fortune where
denique est in ista suspicione Caeli nomen auditum? Nimium
finally is in that suspicion Caelius' name heard too
multa de re minime dubia loquor; hoc tamen dico.
many-things about a-matter least doubtful I-speak this still I-say
Non modo si socius coniurationis, sed nisi inimicissimus
not only if a-partner of-the-conspiracy but unless most-hostile
istius sceleris fuisset, numquam coniurationis accusatione
of-that crime he-had-been never of-conspiracy by-an-accusation
adulescentiam suam potissimum commendare voluisset.
youth his-own especially to-commend he-would-have-wished

Caelius would not be so mad as to prosecute another for bribery if guilty of it himself. As for his debts, a son in his father's power keeps no accounts and has borrowed nothing; the rent alleged as thirty thousand is ten, paid to Clodius. He moved from his father's house with his father's approval to be near the forum, taking a modest house on the Palatine, the move that brought him near this Palatine Medea. Cicero does not fear the promised witnesses.

16 Quod haud scio an de ambitu et de criminibus istis
which not I-know whether about bribery and about charges those
sodalium ac sequestrium, quoniam huc incidi, similiter
of-the-club-men and of-the-agents since hither I-have-fallen similarly
respondendum putem. Numquam enim tam Caelius amens
to-be-answered I-should-think never for so Caelius mad
fuisset ut, si sese isto infinito ambitu commaculasset,
would-have-been that if himself with-that boundless bribery he-had-stained
ambitus alterum accusaret, neque eius facti in altero
of-bribery another he-should-accuse nor of-that deed in another
suspicionem quaereret cuius ipse sibi perpetuam licentiam
the-suspicion should-seek of-which himself for-himself perpetual license
optaret, nec, si sibi semel periculum ambitus subeundum
he-wished nor if for-himself once the-danger of-bribery to-be-undergone
putaret, ipse alterum iterum ambitus crimine arcesseret.
he-thought himself another a-second-time on-a-charge of-bribery should-summon
Quod quamquam nec sapienter et me invito facit,
which although neither wisely and with-me unwilling he-does
tamen est eius modi cupiditas ut magis insectari alterius
still it-is of-such kind a-desire that more to-pursue of-another
innocentiam quam de se timide cogitare videatur.
the-innocence than about himself timidly to-think he-seems

Nam quod aes alienum obiectum est, sumptus reprehensi, 17
for as-to-that bronze another's charged has-been the-expenses censured
tabulae flagitatae, videte quam pauca respondeam.
the-account-books demanded see how few-things I-answer
Tabulas qui in patris potestate est nullas conficit.
account-books he-who in of-his-father the-power is none draws-up
Versuram numquam omnino fecit ullam. Sumptus unius
a-loan-shift never at-all he-made any the-expenses of-one
generis obiectus est, habitationis; triginta milibus dixistis
kind charged has-been of-lodging at-thirty thousand you-have-said
habitare. Nunc demum intellego P. Clodi insulam esse
him-to-live now at-last I-understand of-Publius Clodius the-tenement to-be
venalem, cuius hic in aediculis habitat decem, ut
for-sale whose this-man in the-little-apartments lives at-ten as
opinor, milibus. Vos autem dum illi placere voltis, ad
I-think thousand you however while to-him to-please you-wish to
tempus eius mendacium vestrum accommodavistis.
the-occasion his lie your have-adapted
Reprehendistis a patre quod semigrarit. Quod quidem in 18
you-have-censured from his-father that he-moved-out which indeed in
hac aetate minime reprendendum est. Qui cum et ex publica
this age least to-be-censured is who when both from a-public
causa iam esset mihi quidem molestam, sibi tamen gloriosam
case now he-had to-me indeed annoying to-himself still glorious
victoriam consecutus et per aetatem magistratus petere posset,
a-victory won and by age magistracies to-seek could
non modo permittente patre sed etiam suadente ab eo
not only with-permitting his-father but even with-urging from him
semigravit et, cum domus patris a foro longe abesset,
he-moved and since the-house of-his-father from the-forum far was-distant
quo facilius et nostras domus obire et ipse a suis coli
so-that more-easily both our houses to-visit and himself by his-own to-be-courted

posset, conduxit in Palatio non magno domum. Quo
he-might-be-able he-rented on the-Palatine not at-great-cost a-house at-which
loco possum dicere id quod vir clarissimus, M. Crassus,
place I-can to-say that which a-man most-illustrious Marcus Crassus
cum de adventu regis Ptolemaei quereretur, paulo ante dixit:
when about the-arrival of-king Ptolemy he-was-complaining a-little before said

Utinam ne in nemore Pelio —
would-that not in the-grove Pelian

ac longius mihi quidem contexere hoc carmen liceret:
and further to-me indeed to-weave-on this poem it-were-allowed

nam numquam era errans
for never my-mistress wandering
hanc molestiam nobis exhiberet
this trouble to-us would-present
Medea animo aegro, amore saevo saucia.
Medea in-mind sick with-love cruel wounded

Sic enim, iudices, reperietis quod, cum ad id loci venero,
thus for judges you-will-find that when to that of-place I-shall-have-come
ostendam, hanc Palatinam Medeam migrationemque hanc
I-shall-show this Palatine Medea and-removal this
adulescenti causam sive malorum omnium sive potius
for-the-young-man the-cause either of-evils all or rather
sermonum fuisse.
of-talk to-have-been
19 Quam ob rem illa quae ex accusatorum oratione
which on-account-of thing those-things which from of-the-accusers the-speech
praemuniri iam et fingi intellegebam, fretus
to-be-fortified-in-advance already and to-be-invented I-understood relying-on

vestra prudentia, iudices, non pertimesco. Aiebant enim fore
your prudence judges not I-dread they-said for going-to-be
testem senatorem qui se pontificiis comitiis pulsatum a
a-witness a-senator who himself at-the-pontifical elections beaten by
Caelio diceret. A quo quaeram, si prodierit, primum
Caelius would-say of whom I-shall-ask if he-shall-have-come-forward first
cur statim nihil egerit, deinde, si id queri quam agere
why at-once nothing he-did then if that to-complain than to-act
maluerit, cur productus a vobis potius quam ipse per
he-preferred why brought-forward by you rather than himself by
se, cur tanto post potius quam continuo queri maluerit.
himself why so-long after rather than at-once to-complain he-preferred
Si mihi ad haec acute arguteque responderit, tum
if to-me to these-things acutely and-shrewdly he-shall-have-answered then
quaeram denique ex quo iste fonte senator emanet. Nam
I-shall-ask finally from what that-man spring senator flows for
si ipse orietur et nascetur ex sese, fortasse, ut soleo,
if himself he-shall-rise and shall-be-born from himself perhaps as I-am-wont
commovebor; sin autem est rivolus arcessitus et ductus
I-shall-be-moved but-if however he-is a-rivulet drawn and led
ab ipso capite accusationis vestrae, laetabor, cum tanta
from the-very source of-accusation your I-shall-rejoice since with-so-great
gratia tantisque opibus accusatio vestra nitatur, unum
influence and-so-great resources accusation your rests one
senatorem esse solum qui vobis gratificari vellet inventum.
senator to-be alone who to-you to-do-a-favor wished found

DE TESTE FUFIO.

about the-witness Fufius

Nec tamen illud genus alterum nocturnorum testium 20
nor still that class other of-nightly witnesses
perhorresco. Est enim dictum ab illis fore qui dicerent
I-dread it-was for said by them going-to-be men-who would-say

uxores suas a cena redeuntis attrectatas esse a Caelio.
wives their-own from dinner returning handled to-have-been by Caelius
Graves erunt homines qui hoc iurati dicere audebunt, cum
weighty will-be the-men who this sworn to-say will-dare when
sit eis confitendum numquam se ne congressu quidem
it-is for-them to-be-confessed never themselves not by-a-meeting even
et constituto coepisse de tantis iniuriis experiri. Sed
and an-appointment to-have-begun about so-great wrongs to-take-legal-action but
totum genus oppugnationis huius, iudices, et iam prospicitis
the-whole kind of-attack this judges both now you-foresee
animis et, cum inferetur, propulsare debebitis. Non enim
in-minds and when it-shall-be-brought to-repel you-will-be-obliged not for
ab isdem accusatur M. Caelius a quibus oppugnatur;
by the-same-men is-accused Marcus Caelius by whom he-is-attacked
palam in eum tela iaciuntur, clam subministrantur.
openly against him weapons are-hurled secretly they-are-supplied
21 Neque ego id dico ut invidiosum sit in eos quibus
nor I that say that odious it-should-be against those for-whom
gloriosum etiam hoc esse debet. Funguntur officio, defendunt
glorious even this to-be ought they-perform a-duty they-defend
suos, faciunt quod viri fortissimi solent; laesi dolent,
their-own they-do what men bravest are-wont injured they-grieve
irati efferuntur, pugnant lacessiti. Sed vestrae sapientiae
angered they-are-carried-away they-fight provoked but of-your wisdom
tamen est, iudices, non, si causa iusta est viris fortibus
still it-is judges not if a-cause just there-is for-men brave
oppugnandi M. Caelium, ideo vobis quoque causam putare
of-attacking Marcus Caelius therefore for-you also a-cause to-think
esse iustam alieno dolori potius quam vestrae fidei
to-be just for-another's pain rather than for-your-own good-faith
consulendi. Iam quae sit multitudo in foro, quae genera,
of-consulting now what be the-multitude in the-forum what classes

quae studia, quae varietas hominum videtis. Ex hac copia
what zeal what variety of-men you-see from this abundance
quam multos esse arbitramini qui hominibus potentibus,
how many to-be do-you-judge who for-men powerful
gratiosis, disertis, cum aliquid eos velle arbitrentur, ultro
influential eloquent when something them to-wish they-think unasked
se offerre soleant, operam navare, testimonium polliceri?
themselves to-offer are-wont service to-render testimony to-promise
Hoc ex genere si qui se in hoc iudicium forte 22
this from class if any themselves into this trial by-chance
proiecerint, excluditote eorum cupiditatem, iudices, sapientia
shall-have-thrown exclude their desire judges by-wisdom
vestra, ut eodem tempore et huius saluti et religioni
your that at-the-same time both for-his safety and for-scruple
vestrae et contra periculosas hominum potentias condicioni
your and against dangerous of-men powers for-the-condition
omnium civium providisse videamini. Equidem vos
of-all citizens to-have-provided you-may-seem I-for-my-part you
abducam a testibus neque huius iudici veritatem quae
I-shall-lead-away from the-witnesses nor of-this trial the-truth which
mutari nullo modo potest in voluntate testium conlocari
to-be-changed no way can in the-will of-witnesses to-be-placed
sinam quae facillime fingi, nullo negotio flecti ac
I-shall-allow which most-easily to-be-invented with-no trouble to-be-bent and
detorqueri potest. Argumentis agemus, signis luce omni
to-be-twisted can by-arguments we-shall-act by-signs than-light all
clarioribus crimina refellemus; res cum re, causa cum causa,
clearer the-charges we-shall-refute fact with fact case with case
ratio cum ratione pugnabit.
reason with reason will-fight

Crassus has answered the riots at Naples, the assault on the Alexandrians at Puteoli, and the goods of Palla. Dio's murder was done by a king who does not deny it, and Asicius, called his accomplice, was acquitted; the Coponii, Dio's hosts, will speak for Caelius. Cicero turns to Herennius, who played a stern uncle, censor, and schoolmaster, lecturing on the vices of youth, and asks indulgence for the license allowed to youth.

23 Itaque illam partem causae facile patior graviter et ornate
and-so that part of-the-case readily I-allow weightily and eloquently
a M. Crasso peroratam de seditionibus Neapolitanis,
by Marcus Crassus to-have-been-argued about the-seditions Neapolitan
de Alexandrinorum pulsatione Puteolana, de bonis Pallae.
about of-the-Alexandrians the-beating at-Puteoli about the-goods of-Palla
Vellem dictum esset ab eodem etiam de Dione. De
I-could-wish said had-been by the-same also about Dio about
quo ipso tamen quid est quod exspectetis? quod is qui
whom himself still what is-there that you-should-await since he who
fecit aut non timet aut etiam fatetur; est enim rex; qui
did-it either not fears or even confesses he-is for a-king he-who
autem dictus est adiutor fuisse et conscius, P. Asicius,
however said was helper to-have-been and accomplice Publius Asicius
iudicio est liberatus. Quod igitur est eius modi crimen
by-the-court has-been acquitted what therefore is of-such kind a-charge
ut qui commisit non neget, qui negavit absolutus sit,
that he-who committed-it not denies he-who denied acquitted has-been
id hic pertimescat qui non modo a facti verum
that this-man should-dread who not only from of-the-deed but
etiam a conscientiae suspicione afuit? Et, si Asicio
also from of-complicity suspicion has-been-absent and if to-Asicius
causa plus profuit quam nocuit invidia, huic oberit
his-case more helped than harmed the-odium to-this-man will-be-harmful

maledictum tuum qui istius facti non modo suspicione sed
the-abuse your who of-that deed not only by-suspicion but
ne infamia quidem est aspersus?
not by-ill-repute even has-been sprinkled
At praevaricatione est Asicius liberatus. Perfacile est isti loco 24
but by-collusion was Asicius acquitted very-easy it-is to-that point
respondere, mihi praesertim a quo illa causa defensa est. Sed
to-answer for-me especially by whom that case defended was but
Caelius optimam causam Asici esse arbitratur; cuicuimodi
Caelius the-best the-case of-Asicius to-be judges of-whatever-kind
autem sit, a sua putat esse seiunctam. Neque solum Caelius
however it-be from his-own he-thinks to-be separate nor only Caelius
sed etiam adulescentes humanissimi et doctissimi, rectissimis
but also young-men most-cultivated and most-learned in-the-most-upright
studiis atque optimis artibus praediti, Titus Gaiusque Coponii
studies and the-best arts endowed Titus and-Gaius Coponius
qui ex omnibus maxime Dionis mortem doluerunt, qui cum
who of all most Dio's death grieved who both
doctrinae studio atque humanitatis tum etiam hospitio
of-learning by-the-pursuit and of-culture and also by-hospitality
Dionis tenebantur. Habitabat apud Titum, ut audistis,
of-Dio were-held there-lived with Titus as you-have-heard
Dio, erat ei cognitus Alexandriae. Quid aut hic aut
Dio he-was to-him known at-Alexandria what either this-man or
summo splendore praeditus frater eius de M. Caelio
with-the-highest distinction endowed brother his about Marcus Caelius
existimet ex ipsis, si producti erunt, audietis.
may-think from them-themselves if brought-forward they-shall-have-been you-will-hear
Ergo haec removeantur, ut aliquando, in quibus causa 25
therefore these-things let-them-be-removed that at-last in which the-case
nititur, ad ea veniamus.
rests to those-things we-may-come

Animadverti enim, iudices, audiri a vobis meum familiarem,
I-noticed for judges to-be-heard by you my friend
L. Herennium, perattente. In quo etsi magna ex parte
Lucius Herennius very-attentively in whom although great from part
ingenio eius et dicendi genere quodam tenebamini, tamen
by-the-talent his and of-speaking style a-certain you-were-held still
non numquam verebar ne illa subtiliter ad criminandum
not never I-feared lest that subtly for accusing
inducta oratio ad animos vestros sensim ac leniter accederet.
brought-in speech to minds your gradually and gently should-approach
Dixit enim multa de luxurie, multa de libidine, multa
he-said for many-things about luxury many-things about lust many-things
de vitiis iuventutis, multa de moribus et, qui in reliqua
about the-vices of-youth many-things about morals and who in remaining
vita mitis esset et in hac suavitate humanitatis qua prope
life gentle was and in this sweetness of-culture in-which almost
iam delectantur omnes versari periucunde soleret, fuit in hac
now are-delighted all to-move very-pleasantly was-wont he-was in this
causa pertristis quidam patruus, censor, magister; obiurgavit
case very-gloomy a-certain uncle a-censor a-master he-rebuked
M. Caelium, sicut neminem umquam parens; multa de
Marcus Caelius as no-one ever a-parent many-things about
incontinentia intemperantiaque disseruit. Quid quaeritis, iudices?
incontinence and-intemperance he-discoursed what do-you-ask judges
ignoscebam vobis attente audientibus, propterea quod egomet
I-pardoned you attentively listening on-that-account because myself
tam triste illud, tam asperum genus orationis horrebam.
so gloomy that so harsh kind of-speech I-shuddered-at
26 Ac prima pars fuit illa quae me minus movebat, fuisse
and the-first part was that which me less moved to-have-been
meo necessario Bestiae Caelium familiarem, cenasse apud
with-my intimate Bestia Caelius familiar to-have-dined with

eum, ventitasse domum, studuisse praeturae. Non
him to-have-come-often to-his-house to-have-supported-him for-the-praetorship not
me haec movent quae perspicue falsa sunt; etenim eos una
me these-things move which plainly false are for-indeed those together
cenasse dixit qui aut absunt aut quibus necesse est idem
to-have-dined he-said who either are-absent or for-whom necessary it-is the-same
dicere. Neque vero illud me commovet quod sibi in
to-say nor indeed that me moves that to-himself among
Lupercis sodalem esse Caelium dixit. Fera quaedam sodalitas
the-Luperci a-fellow to-be Caelius he-said a-wild certain fellowship
et plane pastoricia atque agrestis germanorum Lupercorum,
and plainly pastoral and rustic of-the-genuine Luperci
quorum coitio illa silvestris ante est instituta quam humanitas
whose banding that woodland before was established than civilization
atque leges, si quidem non modo nomina deferunt inter
and laws if indeed not only names they-report among
se sodales sed etiam commemorant sodalitatem in
themselves fellows but also they-mention the-fellowship in
accusando, ut ne quis id forte nesciat timere videantur!
accusing as lest anyone it by-chance not-know to-fear they-seem
Sed haec omitto; ad illa quae me magis moverunt 27
but these-things I-omit to those-things which me more moved
respondeo.
I-reply
Deliciarum obiurgatio fuit longa, etiam lenior, plusque
of-the-delights the-rebuke was long even gentler and-more
disputationis habuit quam atrocitatis, quo etiam audita
of-argument it-had than of-savagery for-which even heard
est attentius. Nam P. Clodius, amicus meus, cum
it-was more-attentively for Publius Clodius friend my when
se gravissime vehementissimeque iactaret et omnia
himself most-weightily and-most-vehemently he-flung-about and everything

inflammatus ageret tristissimis verbis, voce maxima, tametsi
inflamed he-did with-most-gloomy words with-voice the-loudest although
probabam eius eloquentiam, tamen non pertimescebam;
I-approved his eloquence still not I-dreaded
aliquot enim in causis eum videram frustra litigantem. Tibi
several for in cases him I-had-seen in-vain litigating to-you
autem, Balbe, respondeo primum precario, si licet, si fas
however Balbus I-reply first by-your-leave if it-is-allowed if right
est defendi a me eum qui nullum convivium renuerit, qui
it-is to-be-defended by me him who no banquet has-refused who
in hortis fuerit, qui unguenta sumpserit, qui Baias viderit.
in gardens has-been who unguents has-taken who Baiae has-seen
28 Equidem multos et vidi in hac civitate et audivi, non modo
I-for-my-part many both have-seen in this state and have-heard not only
qui primoribus labris gustassent genus hoc vitae et extremis,
who with-the-tips-of-the lips had-tasted the-kind this of-life and with-the-ends
ut dicitur, digitis attigissent sed qui totam adulescentiam
as it-is-said fingers had-touched-it but who whole youth
voluptatibus dedidissent, emersisse aliquando et se ad
to-pleasures had-given to-have-emerged at-last and themselves to
frugem bonam, ut dicitur, recepisse gravisque homines atque
thrift good as it-is-said to-have-betaken and-weighty men and
inlustris fuisse. Datur enim concessu omnium huic aliqui
illustrious to-have-been is-given for by-the-concession of-all to-this some
ludus aetati, et ipsa natura profundit adulescentiae cupiditates.
play age and itself nature pours-forth of-youth the-desires
Quae si ita erumpunt ut nullius vitam labefactent, nullius
which if so they-burst-out that of-no-one the-life they-shake of-no-one
domum evertant, faciles et tolerabiles haberi solent.
the-house they-overturn easy and tolerable to-be-held they-are-wont

Sed tu mihi videbare ex communi infamia iuventutis aliquam 29
but you to-me seemed from the-common ill-repute of-youth some
invidiam Caelio velle conflare. Itaque omne illud silentium
odium for-Caelius to-wish to-kindle and-so all that silence
quod est orationi tributum tuae fuit ob eam
which has-been to-the-speech granted your was on-account-of that
causam quod uno reo proposito de multorum vitiis
reason that with-one defendant set-before-us about of-many the-vices
cogitabamus. Facile est accusare luxuriem. Dies iam me
we-were-thinking easy it-is to-accuse luxury the-day now me
deficiat, si quae dici in eam sententiam possunt coner
would-fail if what-things to-be-said to that effect can I-should-try
expromere; de corruptelis, de adulteriis, de protervitate,
to-bring-out about corruptions about adulteries about wantonness
de sumptibus immensa oratio est. Ut tibi reum neminem
about expenses boundless the-speech is though to-you defendant none
sed vitia ista proponas, res tamen ipsa et copiose
but vices those you-may-set-before the-thing still itself both copiously
et graviter accusari potest. Sed vestrae sapientiae, iudices,
and weightily to-be-accused can but of-your wisdom judges
est non abduci ab reo nec, quos aculeos habeat
it-is not to-be-led-away from the-defendant nor what stings has
severitas gravitasque vestra, cum eos accusator erexerit in
severity and-weight your when them the-accuser has-roused against
rem, in vitia, in mores, in tempora, emittere in
the-thing against vices against morals against the-times to-launch against
hominem et in reum, cum is non suo crimine sed
the-man and against the-defendant when he not by-his-own crime but
multorum vitio sit in quoddam odium iniustum vocatus.
of-many by-the-vice is into a-certain hatred unjust called

Cicero asks only that the vices of the age not be laid on Caelius. Two charges stand, of gold and of poison, and one person is behind both: Caelius borrowed gold from Clodia without a witness, then tried to poison her. Everything else is abuse. The whole case is with Clodia, a woman noble and notorious, and if she brings no charge Cicero would not name a matron; since she does, he will answer, restrained only by his feud with her husband, he means her brother.

30 Itaque ego severitati tuae ita ut oportet respondere non
and-so I to-severity your so as it-is-fitting to-reply not
audeo. Erat enim meum deprecari vacationem adulescentiae
dare it-was for mine to-plead the-exemption of-youth
veniamque petere. Non, inquam, audeo; perfugiis nihil utor
and-indulgence to-seek not I-say I-dare the-refuges none I-use
aetatis, concessa omnibus iura dimitto; tantum peto ut,
of-age granted to-all the-rights I-let-go only I-ask that
si qua est invidia communis hoc tempore aeris alieni,
if any is odium common at-this time of-bronze another's
petulantiae, libidinum iuventutis, quam video esse magnam,
of-wantonness of-lusts of-youth which I-see to-be great
tamen ne huic aliena peccata, ne aetatis ac temporum
still that-not to-this-man others' sins nor of-the-age and of-the-times
vitia noceant. Atque ego idem qui haec postulo quin
the-vices may-harm and I the-same who these-things demand that-not
criminibus quae in hunc proprie conferuntur diligentissime
to-the-charges which against this-man specifically are-brought most-diligently
respondeam non recuso.
I-should-reply not I-refuse
Sunt autem duo crimina, auri et veneni; in quibus
there-are however two charges of-gold and of-poison in which
una atque eadem persona versatur. Aurum sumptum a
one and the-same person is-involved gold taken from

Clodia, venenum quaesitum quod Clodiae daretur, ut
Clodia poison sought which to-Clodia should-be-given as
dicitur. Omnia sunt alia non crimina sed maledicta,
is-said all-things are other not charges but abuses
iurgi petulantis magis quam publicae quaestionis. 'Adulter,
of-a-quarrel wanton rather than of-a-public inquiry adulterer
impudicus, sequester' convicium est, non accusatio. Nullum
unchaste agent railing it-is not accusation none
est enim fundamentum horum criminum, nullae sedes;
is for foundation of-these charges no seats
voces sunt contumeliosae temere ab irato accusatore nullo
the-words are insulting rashly by an-angry accuser with-no
auctore emissae. Horum duorum criminum video auctorem,
authority let-fly of-these two charges I-see the-author
video fontem, video certum nomen et caput.
I-see the-source I-see a-certain name and head
Auro opus fuit; sumpsit a Clodia, sumpsit sine teste, 31
of-gold need there-was he-took-it from Clodia he-took-it without a-witness
habuit quamdiu voluit. Maximum video signum cuiusdam
he-had-it as-long-as he-wished the-greatest I-see sign of-a-certain
egregiae familiaritatis. Necare eandem voluit; quaesivit venenum,
exceptional intimacy to-kill the-same he-wished he-sought poison
sollicitavit servos, potionem paravit, locum constituit, clam
he-tampered-with slaves a-draft he-prepared a-place he-fixed secretly
attulit. Magnum rursus odium video cum crudelissimo
he-brought-it great again hatred I-see with a-most-cruel
discidio exstitisse. Res est omnis in hac causa nobis, iudices,
breach to-have-arisen the-business is all in this case for-us judges
cum Clodia, muliere non solum nobili verum etiam nota;
with Clodia a-woman not only noble but also notorious
de qua ego nihil dicam nisi depellendi criminis causa.
about whom I nothing will-say except of-repelling the-charge for-the-sake

32 Sed intellegis pro tua praestanti prudentia,
but you-understand in-accordance-with your outstanding prudence
Cn. Domiti, cum hac sola rem esse nobis. Quae si se
Gnaeus Domitius with this alone the-business to-be for-us she-who if herself
aurum Caelio commodasse non dicit, si venenum ab hoc
gold to-Caelius to-have-lent not says if poison by him
sibi paratum esse non arguit, petulanter facimus, si
for-herself prepared to-have-been not charges wantonly we-act if
matrem familias secus quam matronarum sanctitas postulat
a-mother of-a-family otherwise than of-matrons the-sanctity demands
nominamus. Sin ista muliere remota nec crimen ullum
we-name but-if with-that woman removed neither charge any
nec opes ad oppugnandum M. Caelium illis relinquuntur,
nor resources for attacking Marcus Caelius to-them are-left
quid est aliud quod nos patroni facere debeamus, nisi ut eos
what is other which we advocates to-do ought except that those
qui insectantur repellamus? Quod quidem facerem vehementius,
who pursue we-should-repel which indeed I-would-do more-vehemently
nisi intercederent mihi inimicitiae cum istius mulieris viro —
unless there-stood-between me enmities with of-that woman the-husband
fratrem volui dicere; semper hic erro. Nunc agam modice
brother I-meant to-say always here I-err now I-will-deal moderately
nec longius progrediar quam me mea fides et causa ipsa
nor farther will-I-proceed than me my good-faith and the-case itself
coget: nec enim muliebris umquam inimicitias mihi gerendas
will-compel nor for women's ever enmities by-me to-be-waged
putavi, praesertim cum ea quam omnes semper amicam
I-have-thought especially with her whom all always the-friend
omnium potius quam cuiusquam inimicam putaverunt.
of-all rather than of-anyone the-enemy have-thought

Should Cicero deal with Clodia sternly or gently? Sternly, he raises one of her bearded ancestors, Appius the Blind, who will at least be spared the sight of her: what had she to do with Caelius, a youth and a stranger, so intimate that she lent him gold, so hostile she feared his poison? Had her consular ancestors, her husband Metellus, the Claudian women taught her nothing? Did he build his road for her to parade along it with other women's husbands?

Sed tamen ex ipsa quaeram prius utrum me secum severe et 33
but still of herself I-will-ask first whether me with-her severely and
graviter et prisce agere malit, an remisse et leniter et
gravely and in-the-old-way to-deal she-prefers or loosely and gently and
urbane. Si illo austero more ac modo, aliquis mihi ab inferis
urbanely if in-that austere manner and measure someone for-me from the-dead
excitandus est ex barbatis illis, non hac barbula qua
to-be-raised is from bearded those not with-this little-beard in-which
ista delectatur sed illa horrida quam in statuis antiquis
that-woman delights but that rough which on statues ancient
atque imaginibus videmus, qui obiurget mulierem et qui pro
and masks we-see who should-rebuke the-woman and who for
me loquatur ne mihi ista forte suscenseat. Exsistat igitur ex
me should-speak lest with-me she perhaps be-angry let-arise therefore from
hac ipsa familia aliquis ac potissimum Caecus ille; minimum
this very family someone and especially Caecus that-one the-least
enim dolorem capiet qui istam non videbit. Qui profecto,
for pain he-will-take who her not will-see who surely
si exstiterit, sic aget ac sic loquetur: 'Mulier, quid tibi
if he-shall-have-arisen so will-act and so will-speak woman what to-you
cum Caelio, quid cum homine adulescentulo, quid cum alieno?
with Caelius what with a-man very-young what with a-stranger
Cur aut tam familiaris fuisti ut aurum commodares, aut tam
why either so intimate were-you that gold you-should-lend or so

inimica ut venenum timeres? Non patrem tuum videras, non
hostile that poison you-should-fear not father your had-you-seen not
patruum, non avum, non proavum, non abavum,
uncle not grandfather not great-grandfather not great-great-grandfather
non atavum audieras consules fuisse;
not great-great-great-grandfather had-you-heard consuls to-have-been
34 non denique modo te Q. Metelli matrimonium tenuisse
not finally only you of-Quintus Metellus the-marriage to-have-held
sciebas, clarissimi ac fortissimi viri patriaeque
did-you-know of-the-most-illustrious and bravest man and-of-the-fatherland
amantissimi, qui simul ac pedem limine extulerat, omnis
most-loving who as-soon as his-foot over-the-threshold he-had-carried all
prope civis virtute, gloria, dignitate superabat? Cum ex
almost citizens in-virtue in-glory in-dignity surpassed when from
amplissimo genere in familiam clarissimam nupsisses, cur tibi
a-most-ample family into a-family most-illustrious you-had-married why to-you
Caelius tam coniunctus fuit? Cognatus, adfinis, viri
Caelius so joined was a-kinsman a-relation-by-marriage of-husband
tui familiaris? Nihil eorum. Quid igitur fuit nisi quaedam
your an-intimate none of-these what therefore was-it except a-certain
temeritas ac libido? Nonne te, si nostrae imagines viriles non
rashness and lust surely you if our masks male not
commovebant, ne progenies quidem mea, Q. illa Claudia,
moved not descendant even my Quinta that Claudia
aemulam domesticae laudis in gloria muliebri esse admonebat,
a-rival of-domestic praise in glory womanly to-be advised
non virgo illa Vestalis Claudia quae patrem complexa
not virgin that Vestal Claudia who her-father embracing
triumphantem ab inimico tribuno plebei de curru detrahi
triumphing by a-hostile tribune of-the-plebs from the-chariot to-be-dragged
passa non est? Cur te fraterna vitia potius quam bona
allowed not has why you your-brother's vices rather than the-good-things

paterna et avita et usque a nobis cum in viris
of-your-father and of-your-grandfather and all-the-way from us both in men
tum etiam in feminis repetita moverunt? Ideone ego pacem
and also in women repeated moved for-this-whether I the-peace
Pyrrhi diremi ut tu amorum turpissimorum cotidie foedera
of-Pyrrhus broke-off that you of-loves most-base daily pacts
ferires, ideo aquam adduxi ut ea tu inceste uterere, ideo
should-strike for-this the-water I-brought that it you impurely should-use for-this
viam munivi ut eam tu alienis viris comitata celebrares?'
the-road I-built that it you with-other-women's men escorted should-frequent
Sed quid ego, iudices, ita gravem personam induxi ut verear 35
but why I judges so weighty a-character have-brought-in that I-fear
ne se idem Appius repente convertat et Caelium incipiat
lest himself the-same Appius suddenly should-turn and Caelius should-begin
accusare illa sua gravitate censoria? Sed videro hoc
to-accuse with-that his-own severity censorial but I-shall-see-to this
posterius atque ita, iudices, ut vel severissimis disceptatoribus
later and so judges that even to-the-most-severe arbiters
M. Caeli vitam me probaturum esse confidam. Tu vero,
of-Marcus Caelius the-life myself going-to-prove to-be I-may-trust you indeed
mulier — iam enim ipse tecum nulla persona introducta
woman now for I-myself with-you no character brought-in
loquor — si ea quae facis, quae dicis, quae insimulas,
speak if those-things which you-do which you-say which you-allege
quae moliris, quae arguis, probare cogitas, rationem tantae
which you-contrive which you-charge to-prove you-think the-reason of-so-great
familiaritatis, tantae consuetudinis, tantae coniunctionis reddas
intimacy of-so-great familiarity of-so-great union to-render
atque exponas necesse est. Accusatores quidem libidines, amores,
and set-forth necessary it-is the-accusers indeed lusts loves
adulteria, Baias, actas, convivia, comissationes, cantus,
adulteries Baiae beach-parties banquets revels songs

symphonias, navigia iactant, idemque significant nihil se
concerts boat-trips fling-about and-the-same-men signify nothing themselves
te invita dicere. Quae tu quoniam mente nescio
with-you unwilling to-say which-things you since with-a-mind I-know-not
qua effrenata atque praecipiti in forum deferri iudiciumque
what unbridled and headlong into the-forum to-be-brought and-the-court
voluisti, aut diluas oportet ac falsa esse doceas aut nihil
have-wished either to-wash-away it-behooves-you and false to-be show or nothing
neque crimini tuo neque testimonio credendum esse fateare.
neither for-charge your nor for-testimony to-be-believed to-be confess

VIII · THE LITTLE BROTHER SPEAKS

Gently, then: Cicero lets her youngest brother speak, who as a little boy slept with his elder sister from nighttime fears. Why the uproar, sister? You saw the young neighbor and wanted him bound by your money; he kicks and spurns you, so try elsewhere: your gardens on the Tiber draw all the young swimmers. To Caelius Cicero plays a father, first a harsh one from Caecilius, then a gentle one from comedy, and Caelius' defense is easy against either.

36 Sin autem urbanius me agere mavis, sic agam tecum.
but-if however more-urbanely me to-deal you-prefer thus I-will-deal with-you
Removebo illum senem durum ac paene agrestem; ex his igitur
I-will-remove that old-man harsh and almost rustic from these therefore
sumam aliquem ac potissimum minimum fratrem qui est in
I-will-take someone and especially the-youngest brother who is in
isto genere urbanissimus; qui te amat plurimum, qui propter
that kind most-urbane who you loves most who on-account-of
nescio quam, credo, timiditatem et nocturnos quosdam inanis
I-know-not what I-believe timidity and nightly certain empty

metus tecum semper pusio cum maiore sorore cubitabat. Eum
fears with-you always a-little-boy with his-elder sister used-to-sleep him
putato tecum loqui: 'quid tumultuaris, soror? Quid insanis?
suppose with-you to-speak why are-you-in-an-uproar sister why are-you-mad

Quid clamorem exorsa verbis parvam rem magnam facis?
why a-clamor having-begun with-words a-small thing great do-you-make

Vicinum adulescentulum aspexisti; candor huius te et
a-neighboring very-young-man you-have-looked-at the-fairness of-him you and
proceritas voltus oculique pepulerunt; saepius videre voluisti;
the-tallness the-face and-eyes have-struck more-often to-see-him you-wished
fuisti non numquam in isdem hortis; vis nobilis mulier
you-have-been not never in the-same gardens you-wish a-noble woman
illum filium familias patre parco ac tenaci habere tuis
that son of-a-family with-his-father stingy and tight to-have by-your
copiis devinctum. Non potes; calcitrat, respuit, repellit, non
resources bound not you-can he-kicks he-spits-out he-repels not
putat tua dona esse tanti. Confer te alio. Habes
he-thinks your gifts to-be worth-so-much betake yourself elsewhere you-have
hortos ad Tiberim ac diligenter eo loco paratos quo omnis
gardens by the-Tiber and carefully in-that place prepared whither all
iuventus natandi causa venit; hinc licet condiciones
the-youth of-swimming for-the-sake comes from-here it-is-allowed matches
cotidie legas; cur huic qui te spernit molesta es?'
daily you-may-pick why to-this-one who you spurns troublesome are-you
Redeo nunc ad te, Caeli, vicissim ac mihi auctoritatem 37
I-return now to you Caelius in-turn and for-myself authority
patriam severitatemque suscipio. Sed dubito quem patrem
paternal and-severity I-take-on but I-hesitate which father

potissimum sumam, Caecilianumne aliquem vehementem
especially I-should-take a-Caecilian-whether someone vehement
atque durum:
and harsh

nunc enim demum mi animus ardet,
now for at-last my mind burns
nunc meum cor cumulatur ira
now my heart is-heaped with-anger

aut illum:
or that-one

O infelix, o sceleste!
O unhappy O wicked

Ferrei sunt isti patres:
iron are those fathers

egone quid dicam, quid velim? quae tu omnia
I-whether what should-say what should-wish which-things you all
tuis foedis factis facis ut nequiquam velim,
by-your foul deeds bring-about that in-vain I-wish

vix ferendi. Diceret talis pater: 'Cur te in istam
scarcely to-be-borne would-say such father why yourself into that
vicinitatem meretriciam contulisti? Cur inlecebris cognitis
neighborhood harlot's have-you-betaken why with-the-allurements known
non refugisti?'
not have-you-fled

Cur alienam ullam mulierem nosti? Dide ac dissice;
why another's any woman have-you-known spend and scatter
per me tibi licet. Si egebis, tibi dolebit,
through me to-you it-is-allowed if you-shall-be-in-need to-you it-will-be-painful
non mihi.
not to-me
Mihi sat est qui aetatis quod relicuom est oblectem meae.
to-me enough it-is with-which of-age what remaining is I-may-delight my

Huic tristi ac derecto seni responderet Caelius se nulla 38
to-this gloomy and straight old-man would-answer Caelius himself by-no
cupiditate inductum de via decessisse. Quid signi? Nulli
desire led from the-road to-have-departed what of-sign no
sumptus, nulla iactura, nulla versura. At fuit fama. Quotus
expenses no loss no loan-shift but there-was talk how-many
quisque istam effugere potest, praesertim in tam maledica
each that to-escape can especially in so slanderous
civitate? Vicinum eius mulieris miraris male audisse
a-state the-neighbor of-that woman do-you-wonder ill to-have-heard

cuius frater germanus sermones iniquorum effugere non
whose brother own the-talk of-the-unfriendly to-escape not
potuit? Leni vero et clementi patre cuius modi ille est:
could with-a-gentle indeed and merciful father of-which kind he is

fores ecfregit, restituentur; discidit
the-doors he-has-broken they-will-be-restored he-has-torn
vestem, resarcietur,
the-garment it-will-be-mended

Caeli causa est expeditissima. Quid enim esset in quo se non
Caelius' case is most-easily-cleared what for would-be in which himself not
facile defenderet? Nihil iam in istam mulierem dico; sed, si
easily he-would-defend nothing now against that woman I-say but if
esset aliqua dissimilis istius quae se omnibus pervolgaret,
there-were some-woman unlike her who herself to-all made-common
quae haberet palam decretum semper aliquem, cuius in hortos,
who had openly appointed always someone whose into gardens
domum, Baias iure suo libidines omnium commearent,
house Baiae by-her-own right the-lusts of-all should-resort
quae etiam aleret adulescentis et parsimoniam patrum
who even maintained young-men and the-stinginess of-their-fathers
suis sumptibus sustineret; si vidua libere, proterva
with-her-own expenses supported if as-a-widow freely saucily
petulanter, dives effuse, libidinosa meretricio more viveret,
wantonly rich lavishly lustful in-a-harlot's manner she-lived
adulterum ego putarem si quis hanc paulo liberius salutasset?
an-adulterer I would-think if anyone her a-little more-freely had-greeted

Someone will ask whether this is how Cicero trains the young. A youth who spurns every pleasure for toil and glory has godlike gifts, like Camillus, Fabricius, or Curius, but such virtue is now scarcely found even in books, and even the Greek philosophers have turned to pleasure. So let youth have some indulgence, provided it spares others' homes and returns at last to duty. Many great men sowed such oats, but Caelius shows no luxury, expense, or debt.

Dicet aliquis: 'Haec igitur est tua disciplina? Sic tu instituis 39
will-say someone this therefore is your discipline thus you train
adulescentis? Ob hanc causam tibi hunc puerum parens
young-men on-account-of this reason to-you this boy his-parent
commendavit et tradidit, ut in amore atque in voluptatibus
commended and handed-over that in love and in pleasures
adulescentiam suam conlocaret, et ut hanc tu vitam atque
youth his-own he-should-place and that this you life and
haec studia defenderes?' Ego, si quis, iudices, hoc robore
these pursuits should-defend I if anyone judges with-this strength
animi atque hac indole virtutis ac continentiae fuit ut
of-mind and this character of-virtue and self-control has-been that
respueret omnis voluptates omnemque vitae suae cursum in
he-spurned all pleasures and-every of-life his-own course in
labore corporis atque in animi contentione conficeret, quem
labor of-body and in of-mind exertion completed whom
non quies, non remissio, non aequalium studia, non ludi, non
not rest not relaxation not of-his-equals the-pursuits not games not
convivium delectaret, nihil in vita expetendum putaret nisi
banquet delighted nothing in life to-be-sought thought except
quod esset cum laude et cum dignitate coniunctum, hunc mea
what was with praise and with dignity joined him in-my
sententia divinis quibusdam bonis instructum atque ornatum
opinion with-divine certain gifts furnished and adorned

puto. Ex hoc genere illos fuisse arbitror Camillos, Fabricios,
I-think of this kind those to-have-been I-judge the-Camilli the-Fabricii
Curios, omnisque eos qui haec ex minimis tanta fecerunt.
the-Curii and-all those who these-things from the-smallest so-great made
40 Verum haec genera virtutum non solum in moribus nostris
but these kinds of-virtues not only in the-ways our
sed vix iam in libris reperiuntur. Chartae quoque quae
but scarcely now in books are-found the-papers also which
illam pristinam severitatem continebant obsoleverunt; neque
that former severity contained have-grown-obsolete nor
solum apud nos qui hanc sectam rationemque vitae re
only among us who this school and-plan of-life in-fact
magis quam verbis secuti sumus sed etiam apud Graecos,
more than in-words followed have but also among the-Greeks
doctissimos homines, quibus, cum facere non possent, loqui
most-learned men to-whom though to-do not they-could to-speak
tamen et scribere honeste et magnifice licebat, alia
still and to-write honorably and magnificently it-was-allowed other
quaedam mutatis Graeciae temporibus praecepta exstiterunt.
certain with-changed of-Greece times precepts have-arisen
41 Itaque alii voluptatis causa omnia sapientes facere
and-so some of-pleasure for-the-sake all-things the-wise to-do
dixerunt, neque ab hac orationis turpitudine eruditi homines
have-said nor from this of-speech baseness learned men
refugerunt; alii cum voluptate dignitatem coniungendam
have-shrunk others with pleasure dignity to-be-joined
putaverunt, ut res maxime inter se repugnantis
have-thought so-that things most among themselves conflicting
dicendi facultate coniungerent; illud unum derectum iter
of-speaking by-the-faculty they-might-join that one straight road
ad laudem cum labore qui probaverunt, prope soli iam in
to praise with labor who have-approved almost alone now in

scholis sunt relicti. Multa enim nobis blandimenta natura
the-schools are left many for to-us allurements nature
ipsa genuit quibus sopita virtus coniveret interdum;
itself has-begotten by-which lulled virtue might-close-its-eyes at-times
multas vias adulescentiae lubricas ostendit quibus illa insistere
many roads to-youth slippery it-has-shown on-which it to-stand
aut ingredi sine casu aliquo ac prolapsione vix posset;
or to-walk without fall some and slip scarcely could
multarum rerum iucundissimarum varietatem dedit qua
of-many things most-pleasant a-variety it-has-given by-which
non modo haec aetas sed etiam iam conroborata caperetur.
not only this age but even now strengthened might-be-captured
Quam ob rem si quem forte inveneritis qui 42
which on-account-of thing if anyone perhaps you-shall-have-found who
aspernetur oculis pulchritudinem rerum, non odore ullo,
spurns with-his-eyes the-beauty of-things not by-scent any
non tactu, non sapore capiatur, excludat auribus omnem
not by-touch not by-taste is-captured shuts-out from-his-ears all
suavitatem, huic homini ego fortasse et pauci deos propitios,
sweetness to-this man I perhaps and a-few the-gods favorable
plerique autem iratos putabunt. Ergo haec deserta via et
most however angry will-think therefore this deserted road and
inculta atque interclusa iam frondibus et virgultis relinquatur.
untilled and blocked now with-leaves and brushwood let-be-left
Detur aliqui ludus aetati; sit adulescentia liberior; non
let-be-given some play to-age let-be youth freer not
omnia voluptatibus denegentur; non semper superet vera illa et
all-things to-pleasures be-denied not always let-prevail true that and
derecta ratio; vincat aliquando cupiditas voluptasque rationem,
straight reason let-conquer sometimes desire and-pleasure reason
dum modo illa in hoc genere praescriptio moderatioque
provided only that in this kind the-rule and-moderation

teneatur. Parcat iuventus pudicitiae suae, ne spoliet alienam,
be-held let-spare youth chastity its-own not let-it-despoil another's
ne effundat patrimonium, ne faenore trucidetur, ne incurrat
not let-it-squander patrimony not by-interest let-it-be-butchered not let-it-rush
in alterius domum atque familiam, ne probrum castis, labem
into of-another the-house and family not disgrace on-the-chaste a-stain
integris, infamiam bonis inferat, ne quem vi terreat, ne
on-the-whole infamy on-the-good let-it-bring not anyone by-force let-it-terrify not
intersit insidiis, scelere careat. Postremo cum paruerit
let-it-take-part in-plots from-crime let-it-be-free lastly when it-has-obeyed
voluptatibus, dederit aliquid temporis ad ludum aetatis atque ad
pleasures has-given some of-time to play of-age and to
inanis hasce adulescentiae cupiditates, revocet se aliquando
empty these of-youth desires let-it-call-back itself at-last
ad curam rei domesticae, rei forensis reique
to the-care of-the-thing domestic of-the-thing forensic and-of-the-thing
publicae, ut ea quae ratione antea non perspexerat
public so-that those-things which by-reason before not it-had-seen-through
satietate abiecisse et experiendo contempsisse videatur.
by-satiety to-have-cast-off and by-trying to-have-despised it-may-seem
43 Ac multi quidem et nostra et patrum maiorumque memoria,
and many indeed both in-our and of-our-fathers and-of-ancestors memory
iudices, summi homines et clarissimi cives fuerunt quorum,
judges the-highest men and most-illustrious citizens have-been of-whom
cum adulescentiae cupiditates defervissent, eximiae virtutes
when of-youth the-desires had-cooled-down outstanding virtues
firmata iam aetate exstiterunt. Ex quibus neminem mihi
with-strengthened now age arose of whom no-one to-me
libet nominare; vosmet vobiscum recordamini. Nolo
it-pleases to-name you-yourselves with-yourselves recall I-do-not-wish
enim cuiusquam fortis atque inlustris viri ne minimum
for of-anyone brave and illustrious man not the-least

quidem erratum cum maxima laude coniungere. Quod si
even error with the-greatest praise to-join but if
facere vellem, multi a me summi atque ornatissimi viri
to-do-it I-wished many by me the-highest and most-adorned men
praedicarentur quorum partim nimia libertas in adulescentia,
would-be-proclaimed of-whom partly excessive license in youth
partim profusa luxuries, magnitudo aeris alieni, sumptus,
partly lavish luxury the-magnitude of-bronze another's expenses
libidines nominarentur, quae multis postea virtutibus
lusts would-be-named which-things by-many afterward by-virtues
obtecta adulescentiae qui vellet excusatione defenderet.
covered of-youth who might-wish by-the-excuse might-defend
At vero in M. Caelio — dicam enim iam confidentius 44
but indeed in Marcus Caelius I-will-speak for now more-confidently
de studiis eius honestis, quoniam audeo quaedam fretus
about the-pursuits his honorable since I-dare certain-things relying-on
vestra sapientia libere confiteri — nulla luxuries reperietur,
your wisdom freely to-confess no luxury will-be-found
nulli sumptus, nullum aes alienum, nulla conviviorum ac
no expenses no bronze another's no of-banquets and
lustrorum libido. Quod quidem vitium ventris et gurgitis
of-dens lust which indeed vice of-the-belly and of-the-gullet
non modo non minuit aetas hominibus sed etiam auget.
not only not lessens age in-men but even increases
Amores autem et deliciae quae vocantur, quae firmiore
loves however and delights as-they are-called which with-firmer
animo praeditis diutius molestae non solent esse —
mind to-those-endowed longer troublesome not are-wont to-be
mature enim et celeriter deflorescunt — numquam hunc
early for and quickly they-shed-their-bloom never this-man
occupatum impeditumve tenuerunt.
occupied or-hampered they-have-held

The jurors have heard Caelius speak, and his eloquence is trained by study and labor. Such work cannot live in a mind given to lust, which is why so few pursue it despite its rewards: every pleasure must be crushed. Would a man bound by pleasures have prosecuted a consular so young and fought daily in the forum? But the gossip, and Baiae, speak loudly of one woman whose lust seeks crowds and daylight, and a young man who visited her house was no adulterer.

45 Audistis cum pro se diceret, audistis antea cum
you-have-heard when for himself he-spoke you-have-heard before when
accusaret — defendendi haec causa, non gloriandi loquor —
he-accused of-defending this for-the-sake not of-boasting I-speak
genus orationis, facultatem, copiam sententiarum atque
the-kind of-speech the-facility the-abundance of-thoughts and
verborum, quae vestra prudentia est, perspexistis. Atque in eo
of-words which your prudence is you-have-seen-through and in it
non solum ingenium elucere eius videbatis, quod saepe, etiam
not only the-talent to-shine his you-saw which often even
si industria non alitur, valet tamen ipsum suis viribus,
if by-industry not it-is-nourished is-strong still itself by-its-own strength
sed inerat, nisi me propter benivolentiam forte fallebat,
but there-was-in-it unless me on-account-of goodwill perhaps it-deceived
ratio et bonis artibus instituta et cura et vigiliis elaborata.
method both in-good arts trained and by-care and by-watchings elaborated
Atqui scitote, iudices, eas cupiditates quae obiciuntur Caelio
and-yet know judges those desires which are-charged to-Caelius
atque haec studia de quibus disputo non facile in eodem
and these pursuits about which I-argue not easily in the-same
homine esse posse. Fieri enim non potest ut animus
man to-be to-be-able to-come-about for not can that a-mind
libidini deditus, amore, desiderio, cupiditate, saepe nimia
to-lust devoted by-love by-longing by-desire often by-too-great

copia, inopia etiam non numquam impeditus hoc quicquid
abundance by-want even not never hampered this whatever
est quod nos facimus in dicendo, quoquo modo facimus,
it-is which we do in speaking in-whatever way we-do-it
non modo agendo verum etiam cogitando possit sustinere.
not only by-doing but even by-thinking could to-sustain
An vos aliam causam esse ullam putatis cur in tantis 46
or you other cause to-be any do-you-think why in so-great
praemiis eloquentiae, tanta voluptate dicendi, tanta laude,
rewards of-eloquence so-great pleasure of-speaking so-great praise
tanta gratia, tanto honore, tam sint pauci semperque
so-great favor so-great honor so are few and-always
fuerint qui in hoc labore versentur? Obterendae sunt omnes
have-been who in this labor engage to-be-trampled are all
voluptates, relinquenda studia delectationis, ludus, iocus,
pleasures to-be-abandoned the-pursuits of-delight play jest
convivium, sermo paene est familiarium deserendus. Qua
banquet conversation almost is of-friends to-be-deserted by-which
re in hoc genere labor offendit homines a studioque
thing in this kind the-labor offends men from and-pursuit
deterret, non quo aut ingenia deficiant aut doctrina puerilis.
deters not because either talents are-lacking or training boyish
An hic, si sese isti vitae dedidisset, consularem hominem 47
or this-man if himself to-that life had-given a-consular man
admodum adulescens in iudicium vocavisset? hic, si
quite young into court would-have-summoned this-man if
laborem fugeret, si obstrictus voluptatibus teneretur, hac in
labor he-fled if bound by-pleasures he-were-held this in
acie cotidie versaretur, appeteret inimicitias, in iudicium
battle-line daily would-he-move would-he-seek enmities into court
vocaret, subiret periculum capitis, ipse inspectante
would-he-summon would-he-undergo danger of-his-life himself with-watching

populo Romano tot iam mensis aut de salute aut
the-people Roman so-many now months either about safety or
de gloria dimicaret? Nihilne igitur illa vicinitas redolet,
about glory would-he-fight nothing-whether therefore that neighborhood smells-of
nihilne hominum fama, nihil Baiae denique ipsae
nothing-whether of-men the-talk nothing Baiae finally themselves
loquuntur? Illae vero non loquuntur solum verum etiam
say they indeed not speak only but also
personant, huc unius mulieris libidinem esse prolapsam
resound hither of-one woman the-lust to-have slipped
ut ea non modo solitudinem ac tenebras atque haec
that she not only solitude and darkness and these
flagitiorum integumenta non quaerat sed in turpissimis rebus
of-outrages coverings not seeks but in most-base things
frequentissima celebritate et clarissima luce laetetur.
with-the-most-crowded throng and the-clearest light rejoices
48 Verum si quis est qui etiam meretriciis amoribus interdictum
but if anyone is who even harlots' loves forbidden
iuventuti putet, est ille quidem valde severus — negare
to-youth thinks is he indeed very severe to-deny
non possum — sed abhorret non modo ab huius saeculi
not I-can but he-shrinks not only from of-this age
licentia verum etiam a maiorum consuetudine atque
the-license but also from of-the-ancestors the-custom and
concessis. Quando enim hoc non factitatum est, quando
concessions when for this not done-often has-been when
reprehensum, quando non permissum, quando denique fuit
censured when not permitted when finally was-it
ut quod licet non liceret? Hic ego ipsam rem definiam,
that what is-allowed not was-allowed here I the-very thing will-define
mulierem nullam nominabo; tantum in medio relinquam.
a-woman none I-will-name only in the-middle I-will-leave-it

Si quae non nupta mulier domum suam patefecerit 49
if some not married woman house her-own shall-have-thrown-open
omnium cupiditati palamque sese in meretricia vita conlocarit,
of-all to-the-desire and-openly herself in harlot's life shall-have-placed
virorum alienissimorum conviviis uti instituerit, si hoc in
of-men most-alien the-banquets to-use shall-have-begun if this in
urbe, si in hortis, si in Baiarum illa celebritate faciat, si
the-city if in gardens if in of-Baiae that throng she-do if
denique ita sese gerat non incessu solum sed ornatu atque
finally so herself she-conduct not in-gait only but in-dress and
comitatu, non flagrantia oculorum, non libertate sermonum,
retinue not in-the-blazing of-eyes not in-the-freedom of-talk
sed etiam complexu, osculatione, actis, navigatione,
but also in-embrace kissing beach-parties boating
conviviis, ut non solum meretrix sed etiam proterva meretrix
banquets that not only a-harlot but even a-saucy harlot
procaxque videatur: cum hac si qui adulescens forte
and-wanton she-seem with this-woman if any young-man by-chance
fuerit, utrum hic tibi, L. Herenni, adulter an amator,
has-been whether this-man to-you Lucius Herennius an-adulterer or a-lover
expugnare pudicitiam an explere libidinem voluisse videatur?
to-storm chastity or to-satisfy lust to-have-wished would-seem
Obliviscor iam iniurias tuas, Clodia, depono memoriam doloris 50
I-forget now the-wrongs your Clodia I-lay-aside the-memory of-pain
mei; quae abs te crudeliter in meos me absente facta
my which-things by you cruelly against my-own-people me absent done
sunt neglego; ne sint haec in te dicta quae dixi.
have-been I-disregard that-not be these-things against you said which I-have-said
Sed ex te ipsa requiro, quoniam et crimen accusatores abs
but from you yourself I-ask since both the-charge the-accusers from
te et testem eius criminis te ipsam dicunt se habere.
you and the-witness of-that charge you yourself say themselves to-have

Si quae mulier sit eius modi qualem ego paulo ante descripsi,
if any woman be of-that kind such-as I a-little before described
tui dissimilis, vita institutoque meretricio, cum hac
of-you unlike in-life and-in-practice harlot's with this-woman
aliquid adulescentem hominem habuisse rationis num tibi
some-thing a-young man to-have-had of-dealings surely-not to-you
perturpe aut perflagitiosum esse videatur? Ea si tu non es,
very-base or very-scandalous to-be would-it-seem she if you not are
sicut ego malo, quid est quod obiciant Caelio? Sin eam
as I prefer what is-there which they-may-charge to-Caelius but-if her
te volunt esse, quid est cur nos crimen hoc, si tu contemnis,
you they-wish to-be what is-there why we charge this if you despise-it
pertimescamus? Qua re nobis da viam rationemque
should-dread by-which thing to-us give a-way and-method
defensionis. Aut enim pudor tuus defendet nihil a M. Caelio
of-defense either for modesty your will-defend nothing by Marcus Caelius
petulantius esse factum, aut impudentia et huic et
too-wantonly to-have-been done or impudence both to-this-man and
ceteris magnam ad se defendendum facultatem dabit.
to-the-rest great for themselves defending opportunity will-give

Past the shoals, Cicero takes the two charges. Caelius is said to have borrowed gold from Clodia to bribe Lucceius' slaves to kill Dio of Alexandria. Either he told her why, and she knowingly gave gold for murder, or he did not and she did not give it. Caelius' character, his good sense in not trusting strangers' slaves, and the absence of any meeting with them, all refute it, and Lucceius' sworn testimony clears him.

Sed quoniam emersisse iam e vadis et scopulos 51
but since to-have-emerged now from the-shallows and the-rocks
praetervecta videtur esse oratio mea, perfacilis mihi reliquus
sailed-past seems to-have speech my very-easy to-me the-remaining
cursus ostenditur. Duo sunt enim crimina una in muliere
course is-shown two are for charges one in woman
summorum facinorum, auri quod sumptum a Clodia
of-the-greatest crimes of-the-gold which taken from Clodia
dicitur, et veneni quod eiusdem Clodiae necandae causa
is-said and of-the-poison which of-the-same Clodia of-killing for-the-sake
parasse Caelium criminantur. Aurum sumpsit, ut dicitis,
to-have-prepared Caelius they-charge the-gold he-took as you-say
quod L. Luccei servis daret, per quos Alexandrinus
that to-Lucius Lucceius' slaves he-might-give through whom the-Alexandrian
Dio qui tum apud Lucceium habitabat necaretur. Magnum
Dio who then with Lucceius was-living might-be-killed a-great
crimen vel in legatis insidiandis vel in servis ad hospitem
charge either in envoys being-ambushed or in slaves for the-guest
domini necandum sollicitandis, plenum sceleris consilium,
of-their-master killing being-tampered-with full of-crime a-plan
plenum audaciae!
full of-audacity

52 Quo quidem in crimine primum illud requiro, dixeritne
which indeed in charge first that I-ask whether-he-told
Clodiae quam ob rem aurum sumeret, an non
Clodia what on-account-of thing the-gold he-took or not
dixerit. Si non dixit, cur dedit? Si dixit, eodem se
did-he-tell if not he-told why did-she-give if he-told by-the-same herself
conscientiae scelere devinxit. Tune aurum ex armario
of-complicity crime she-bound did-you-whether gold from cupboard
tuo promere ausa es, tune Venerem illam tuam spoliare
your to-bring-out dared have did-you-whether Venus that your to-strip
ornamentis, spoliatricem ceterorum, cum scires quantum
of-ornaments the-stripper of-the-rest when you-knew how-much
ad facinus aurum hoc quaereretur, ad necem legati, ad
for a-crime gold this was-sought for the-murder of-an-envoy for
L. Luccei, sanctissimi hominis atque integerrimi, labem
of-Lucius Lucceius a-most-upright man and most-honest a-stain
sceleris sempiternam? Huic facinori tanto tua mens liberalis
of-crime everlasting for-this crime so-great your mind generous
conscia, tua domus popularis ministra, tua denique hospitalis
privy your house popular the-servant your finally hospitable
illa Venus adiutrix esse non debuit.
that Venus the-helper to-be not ought

53 Vidit hoc Balbus; celatam esse Clodiam dixit, atque ita
saw this Balbus concealed to-have-been Clodia he-said and thus
Caelium ad illam attulisse, se ad ornatum ludorum aurum
Caelius to her to-have-alleged himself for the-equipment of-the-games gold
quaerere. Si tam familiaris erat Clodiae quam tu esse vis
to-seek if so intimate he-was with-Clodia as you to-be wish
cum de libidine eius tam multa dicis, dixit profecto quo
when about lust her so many-things you-say he-told surely for-what
vellet aurum; si tam familiaris non erat, non dedit. Ita
he-wanted the-gold if so intimate not he-was not she-gave-it thus

si verum tibi Caelius dixit, o immoderata mulier, sciens tu
if the-truth to-you Caelius told O immoderate woman knowing you
aurum ad facinus dedisti; si non est ausus dicere, non dedisti.
gold for a-crime gave if not has dared to-tell not you-gave
Quid ego nunc argumentis huic crimini, quae sunt
why I now with-arguments to-this charge which are
innumerabilia, resistam? Possum dicere mores M. Caeli
innumerable should-resist I-can to-say the-character of-Marcus Caelius
longissime a tanti sceleris atrocitate esse disiunctos;
farthest from of-so-great crime the-atrocity to-be separated
minime esse credendum homini tam ingenioso tamque prudenti
least to-be to-be-believed for-a-man so talented and-so prudent
non venisse in mentem rem tanti sceleris ignotis
not to-have-come into mind a-thing of-so-great crime to-unknown
alienisque servis non esse credendam. Possum etiam alia
and-foreign slaves not to-be to-be-entrusted I-can also other-things
et ceterorum patronorum et mea consuetudine ab accusatore
both of-the-other advocates and in-my practice from the-accuser
perquirere, ubi sit congressus cum servis Luccei Caelius,
to-search-out where has met with the-slaves of-Lucceius Caelius
qui ei fuerit aditus; si per se, qua temeritate! Si
what to-him was the-access if through himself with-what rashness if
per alium, per quem? Possum omnis latebras suspicionum
through another through whom I-can all hiding-places of-suspicions
peragrare dicendo; non causa, non locus, non facultas, non
to-traverse in-speaking not motive not place not opportunity not
conscius, non perficiendi, non occultandi malefici spes, non
accomplice not of-accomplishing not of-concealing the-crime hope not
ratio ulla, non vestigium maximi facinoris reperietur.
plan any not trace of-the-greatest crime will-be-found

54 Sed haec quae sunt oratoris propria, quae mihi non
but these-things which are of-an-orator proper which to-me not
propter ingenium meum sed propter hanc exercitationem
on-account-of talent my but on-account-of this practice
usumque dicendi fructum aliquem ferre potuissent, cum a
and-experience of-speaking fruit some to-bear could-have when by
me ipso elaborata proferri viderentur, brevitatis causa
me myself worked-out to-be-brought-forward they-should-seem of-brevity for-the-sake
relinquo omnia. Habeo enim, iudices, quem vos socium
I-leave all-things I-have for judges whom you a-partner
vestrae religionis iurisque iurandi facile esse patiamini,
of-your religion and-of-the-oath sworn readily to-be may-allow
L. Lucceium, sanctissimum hominem et gravissimum
Lucius Lucceius a-most-upright man and a-most-weighty
testem, qui tantum facinus in famam atque in fortunas
witness who so-great a-crime against reputation and against fortunes
suas neque non audisset inlatum a M. Caelio neque
his-own neither not would-have-heard brought by Marcus Caelius nor
neglexisset neque tulisset. An ille vir illa humanitate
would-have-ignored nor would-have-borne or he a-man with-that culture
praeditus, illis studiis, illis artibus atque doctrina illius
endowed with-those pursuits those arts and learning of-that
ipsius periculum quem propter haec ipsa studia diligebat,
very-man the-danger whom on-account-of these very pursuits he-loved
neglegere potuisset et, quod facinus in alienum hominem
to-neglect could-he-have and what crime against a-strange man
intentum severe acciperet, id omisisset curare in
aimed severely he-would-take that he-would-have-omitted to-care-for against
hospitem? quod per ignotos actum si comperisset doleret,
a-guest what by strangers done if he-had-found-out he-would-grieve
id a suis servis temptatum esse neglegeret? quod in
that by his-own slaves attempted to-have-been would-he-ignore what in

agris locisve publicis factum reprehenderet, id in urbe ac
fields or-places public done he-would-censure that in the-city and
domi suae coeptum esse leniter ferret? quod in
at-home his-own begun to-have-been mildly would-he-bear what in
alicuius agrestis periculo non praetermitteret, id homo eruditus
of-some rustic danger not he-would-pass-over that a-man learned
in insidiis doctissimi hominis dissimulandum putaret?
in the-plots of-a-most-learned man to-be-dissembled would-think
Sed cur diutius vos, iudices, teneo? Ipsius iurati 55
but why longer you judges do-I-hold of-the-man-himself sworn
religionem auctoritatemque percipite atque omnia diligenter
the-scruple and-authority take-in and all diligently
testimoni verba cognoscite. Recita. L. LUCCEI
of-the-testimony the-words learn read of-Lucius Lucceius
TESTIMONIUM. Quid exspectatis amplius? an aliquam
the-testimony what do-you-await further or some
vocem putatis ipsam pro se causam et veritatem posse
voice do-you-think itself for itself the-case and the-truth to-be-able
mittere? Haec est innocentiae defensio, haec ipsius causae
to-send-forth this is of-innocence the-defense this of-the-very case
oratio, haec una vox veritatis. In crimine ipso nulla suspicio
the-speech this one voice of-truth in the-charge itself no suspicion
est, in re nihil est argumenti, in negotio quod
is in the-matter nothing is of-proof in the-business which
actum esse dicitur nullum vestigium sermonis, loci,
done to-have-been is-said no trace of-talk of-place
temporis; nemo testis, nemo conscius nominatur, totum
of-time no-one as-witness no-one as-accomplice is-named the-whole
crimen profertur ex inimica, ex infami, ex crudeli,
charge is-brought-forth from a-hostile from an-infamous from a-cruel
ex facinerosa, ex libidinosa domo. Domus autem illa
from a-criminal from a-lustful house the-house however that

quae temptata esse scelere isto nefario dicitur plena
which assailed to-have-been by-crime that wicked is-said full
est integritatis, dignitatis, offici, religionis; ex qua domo
is of-integrity of-dignity of-duty of-scruple from which house
recitatur vobis iure iurando devincta auctoritas, ut res
is-read to-you by-an-oath sworn bound an-authority so-that a-matter
minime dubitanda in contentione ponatur, utrum temeraria,
least to-be-doubted into contention is-set whether a-rash
procax, irata mulier finxisse crimen, an gravis sapiens
saucy angry woman to-have-invented the-charge or a-weighty wise
moderatusque vir religiose testimonium dixisse videatur.
and-temperate man scrupulously testimony to-have-given seems

XII · THE POISON

The poison charge has neither beginning nor end. Why would Caelius poison Clodia? To keep the gold, never asked back? To bury a charge no one had made? And whom would he trust with it but Clodia's own slaves, who in such a house are not slaves but confidants of her pleasures? Where was the poison bought, how prepared, to whom given? They say he tested it on a slave bought for the purpose, a story that recalls Metellus' sudden death.

56 Reliquum est igitur crimen de veneno; cuius ego nec
remaining is therefore the-charge about poison of-which I neither
principium invenire neque evolvere exitum possum. Quae fuit
the-beginning to-find nor to-unroll the-outcome can what was
enim causa quam ob rem isti mulieri venenum dare
for the-reason which on-account-of thing to-that woman poison to-give
vellet Caelius? Ne aurum redderet? Num petivit?
wished Caelius that-not the-gold he-should-repay surely-not did-she-ask-for-it
Ne crimen haereret? Num quis obiecit? num quis
that-not the-charge should-cling surely-not anyone charged-it surely-not anyone

denique fecisset mentionem, si hic nullius nomen
finally would-have-made mention if this-man of-no-one the-name
detulisset? Quin etiam L. Herennium dicere audistis
had-reported nay even Lucius Herennius to-say you-have-heard
verbo se molestum non futurum fuisse Caelio, nisi
in-a-word himself troublesome not going-to-be to-have-been to-Caelius unless
iterum eadem de re suo familiari absoluto nomen
a-second-time the-same about matter with-his-own intimate acquitted the-name
hic detulisset. Credibile est igitur tantum facinus nullam
this-man had-reported credible is-it therefore so-great a-crime no
ob causam esse commissum? et vos non videtis
on-account-of reason to-have-been committed and you not see
fingi sceleris maximi crimen ut alterius sceleris
to-be-invented of-crime the-greatest a-charge so-that of-another crime
suscipiendi fuisse causa videatur?
of-undertaking to-have-been the-cause it-may-seem
Cui denique commisit, quo adiutore usus est, quo socio, 57
to-whom finally did-he-entrust-it what helper used he-has what partner
quo conscio, cui tantum facinus, cui se, cui salutem
what accomplice to-whom so-great a-crime to-whom himself to-whom safety
suam credidit? Servisne mulieris? Sic enim est obiectum. Et
his-own did-he-entrust to-slaves-whether of-the-woman so for it-is charged and
erat tam demens is cui vos ingenium certe tribuitis, etiam
was so mad he to-whom you talent certainly grant even
si cetera inimica oratione detrahitis, ut omnis suas fortunas
if the-rest with-hostile speech you-detract that all his fortunes
alienis servis committeret? At quibus servis? — refert enim
to-another's slaves he-should-commit but to-what slaves it-matters for
magno opere id ipsum — eisne quos intellegebat non
with-great work that itself to-those-whether whom he-understood not
communi condicione servitutis uti sed licentius liberius
the-common condition of-slavery to-enjoy but more-licentiously more-freely

familiariusque cum domina vivere? Quis enim hoc non videt,
and-more-familiarly with their-mistress to-live who for this not sees
iudices, aut quis ignorat, in eius modi domo in qua
judges or who is-ignorant-that in of-such kind a-house in which
mater familias meretricio more vivat, in qua nihil geratur
the-mother of-the-family in-harlot's manner lives in which nothing is-done
quod foras proferendum sit, in qua inusitatae libidines,
which out-of-doors to-be-brought-forth be in which unaccustomed lusts
luxuries, omnia denique inaudita vitia ac flagitia versentur,
luxuries all finally unheard-of vices and outrages are-practiced
hic servos non esse servos, quibus omnia committantur, per
here the-slaves not to-be slaves to-whom all-things are-entrusted through
quos gerantur, qui versentur isdem in voluptatibus, quibus
whom they-are-done who engage the-same in pleasures to-whom
occulta credantur, ad quos aliquantum etiam ex cotidianis
secrets are-entrusted to whom somewhat even from the-daily
sumptibus ac luxurie redundet? Id igitur Caelius non videbat?
expenses and luxury overflows that therefore Caelius not did-see
58 Si enim tam familiaris erat mulieris quam vos voltis,
if for so intimate he-was with-the-woman as you wish
istos quoque servos familiaris dominae esse sciebat. Sin
those also slaves intimate of-their-mistress to-be he-knew but-if
ei tanta consuetudo quanta a vobis inducitur non
to-him so-great familiarity as-great-as by you is-brought-in not
erat, quae cum servis eius potuit familiaritas esse tanta?
there-was what with the-slaves her could intimacy to-be so-great
Ipsius autem veneni quae ratio fingitur? Ubi quaesitum
of-the-very however poison what plan is-invented where sought
est, quem ad modum paratum, quo pacto, cui, quo
was-it in-what to manner prepared in-what way to-whom what
in loco traditum? Habuisse aiunt domi vimque eius esse
in place handed-over to-have-had-it they-say at-home and-the-force its to-have

expertum in servo quodam ad eam rem ipsam parato; cuius
tested on a-slave certain for that thing very procured whose
perceleri interitu esse ab hoc comprobatum venenum.
by-very-swift death to-have-been by him proved the-poison
Pro di immortales! Cur interdum in hominum sceleribus 59
O gods immortal why sometimes in of-men the-crimes
maximis aut conivetis aut praesentis fraudis poenas
greatest either do-you-shut-your-eyes or of-present fraud the-penalties
in diem reservatis? Vidi enim, vidi et illum hausi dolorem
for a-day do-you-reserve I-saw for I-saw and that I-drank pain
vel acerbissimum in vita, cum Q. Metellus abstraheretur
even the-most-bitter in life when Quintus Metellus was-torn
e sinu gremioque patriae, cumque ille vir qui
from the-bosom and-lap of-his-fatherland and-when that man who
se natum huic imperio putavit tertio die post quam
himself born for-this empire thought on-the-third day after than
in curia, quam in rostris, quam in re publica
in the-senate-house than on the-rostra than in the-thing public
floruisset, integerrima aetate, optimo habitu, maximis viribus
he-had-flourished in-most-sound age in-best health with-greatest strength
eriperetur indignissime bonis omnibus atque universae
was-snatched most-undeservedly from-the-good all and from-the-whole
civitati. Quo quidem tempore ille moriens, cum iam ceteris
state at-which indeed time he dying when now the-other
ex partibus oppressa mens esset, extremum sensum ad
in parts overwhelmed the-mind was the-last sense for
memoriam rei publicae reservabat, cum me intuens
the-memory of-the-thing public he-reserved when me looking-at
flentem significabat interruptis ac morientibus vocibus quanta
weeping he-signified with-broken and dying utterances how-great
inpenderet procella mihi, quanta tempestas civitati et
was-hanging-over a-storm over-me how-great a-tempest over-the-state and

cum parietem saepe feriens eum qui cum Q. Catulo
when the-wall often striking that which with Quintus Catulus
fuerat ei communis crebro Catulum, saepe me, saepissime
had-been to-him common often Catulus often me most-often
rem publicam nominabat, ut non tam se mori quam
the-thing public he-named so-that not so-much himself to-die than
spoliari suo praesidio cum patriam tum etiam me doleret.
to-be-robbed of-his protection both the-fatherland and also me he-grieved
60 Quem quidem virum si nulla vis repentini sceleris sustulisset,
which indeed man if no force of-sudden crime had-removed
quonam modo ille furenti fratri suo consularis restitisset
in-what way he to-raging brother his-own as-a-consular would-have-resisted
qui consul incipientem furere atque tonantem sua se
who as-consul him-beginning to-rage and thundering with-his-own himself
manu interfecturum audiente senatu dixerit? Ex hac igitur
hand going-to-kill with-hearing the-senate said from this therefore
domo progressa ista mulier de veneni celeritate dicere
house having-come-forth that woman about of-poison the-speed to-speak
audebit? Nonne ipsam domum metuet ne quam vocem
will-dare surely itself the-house she-will-fear lest some voice
eiciat, non parietes conscios, non noctem illam funestam ac
it-cast-forth not the-walls conscious not night that deadly and
luctuosam perhorrescet? Sed revertor ad crimen; etenim haec
mournful will-she-shudder-at but I-return to the-charge for-indeed these
facta illius clarissimi ac fortissimi viri mentio et vocem
done of-that most-illustrious and bravest man the-mention both voice
meam fletu debilitavit et mentem dolore impedivit.
my with-weeping has-weakened and mind with-grief has-hampered

The poison, they say, was given to Licinius to hand to the slaves at the Senian baths, where Clodia's friends hid to catch him. Why the baths, where men in togas could hardly hide? Why did the friends spring out too soon, so that Licinius escaped with the box? The whole plot is a mime's ending, where someone slips away and the curtain is raised. Clodia's witnesses are worthless, and her household's freeing of the slaves only hid them from torture.

Sed tamen venenum unde fuerit, quem ad modum paratum 61
but still the-poison whence it-was in-what to manner prepared
sit non dicitur. Datum esse aiunt huic P. Licinio,
it-was not is-said given to-have-been they-say to-this Publius Licinius
pudenti adulescenti et bono, Caeli familiari; constitutum
a-modest young-man and good of-Caelius an-intimate arranged
esse cum servis ut venirent ad balneas Senias;
to-have-been with the-slaves that they-should-come to the-baths Senian
eodem Licinium esse venturum atque eis veneni
to-the-same-place Licinius to-be going-to-come and to-them of-poison
pyxidem traditurum. Hic primum illud requiro, quid
the-box going-to-hand-over here first that I-ask what
attinuerit ferri in eum locum constitutum, cur illi
it-mattered to-be-carried into that place arranged why those
servi non ad Caelium domum venerint. Si manebat tanta
slaves not to Caelius' house came if remained so-great
illa consuetudo Caeli, tanta familiaritas cum Clodia, quid
that familiarity of-Caelius so-great intimacy with Clodia what
suspicionis esset si apud Caelium mulieris servus visus
of-suspicion would-there-be if at Caelius' of-the-woman a-slave seen
esset? Sin autem iam suberat simultas, exstincta erat
had-been but-if however now there-lay-beneath a-feud extinguished was

consuetudo, discidium exstiterat, hinc illae lacrimae nimirum
the-familiarity a-breach had-arisen hence those tears doubtless
et haec causa est omnium horum scelerum atque criminum.
and this the-cause is of-all these crimes and charges
62 'Immo' inquit 'cum servi ad dominam rem totam et
nay he-says when the-slaves to their-mistress the-matter whole and
maleficium Caeli detulissent, mulier ingeniosa praecepit his
the-crime of-Caelius had-reported the-woman ingenious instructed them
ut omnia Caelio pollicerentur; sed ut venenum, cum a Licinio
that all-things to-Caelius they-should-promise but that the-poison when by Licinius
traderetur, manifesto comprehendi posset, constitui
it-was-being-handed-over manifestly to-be-seized could to-be-fixed
locum iussit balneas Senias, ut eo mitteret amicos qui
the-place she-ordered the-baths Senian that thither she-might-send friends who
delitiscerent, deinde repente, cum venisset Licinius venenumque
should-lie-hidden then suddenly when had-come Licinius and-the-poison
traderet, prosilirent hominemque comprenderent.' Quae
was-handing-over should-leap-out and-the-man should-seize which
quidem omnia, iudices, perfacilem rationem habent reprendendi.
indeed all-things judges a-very-easy method have of-refuting
Cur enim potissimum balneas publicas constituerat? in quibus
why for especially the-baths public had-she-fixed in which
non invenio quae latebra togatis hominibus esse posset.
not I-find what hiding-place for-togaed men to-be could
Nam si essent in vestibulo balnearum, non laterent;
for if they-were in the-vestibule of-the-baths not they-would-lie-hidden
sin se in intimum conicere vellent, nec satis commode
but-if themselves into the-inmost to-thrust they-wished neither enough conveniently
calceati et vestiti id facere possent et fortasse non
shod and clothed that to-do they-could and perhaps not

reciperentur, nisi forte mulier potens quadrantaria illa
they-would-be-admitted unless perhaps the-woman powerful farthing that
permutatione familiaris facta erat balneatori.
by-exchange intimate made had-been with-the-bath-keeper
Atque equidem vehementer exspectabam quinam isti viri 63
and indeed vehemently I-was-waiting who those men
boni testes huius manifesto deprehensi veneni dicerentur;
the-good witnesses of-this manifestly caught poison would-be-named
nulli enim sunt adhuc nominati. Sed non dubito quin sint
none for have-been so-far named but not I-doubt that they-are
pergraves, qui primum sint talis feminae familiares, deinde
very-weighty who first are of-such a-woman intimates then
eam provinciam susceperint ut in balneas contruderentur,
that charge undertook that into the-baths they-should-be-crammed
quod illa nisi a viris honestissimis ac plenissimis dignitatis,
which she except from men most-honorable and fullest of-dignity
quam velit sit potens, numquam impetravisset. Sed quid
as-much-as she-wishes she-be powerful never would-have-obtained but why
ego de dignitate istorum testium loquor? Virtutem eorum
I about the-dignity of-those witnesses speak the-courage their
diligentiamque cognoscite. 'In balneis delituerunt.' Testis
and-diligence learn in the-baths they-hid witnesses
egregios! 'Dein temere prosiluerunt.' Homines temperantis!
outstanding then rashly they-leaped-out men self-controlled
Sic enim fingitis, cum Licinius venisset, pyxidem teneret in
thus for you-invent when Licinius had-come the-box was-holding in
manu, conaretur tradere, nondum tradidisset, tum repente
hand was-trying to-hand-over not-yet had-handed-over then suddenly
evolasse istos praeclaros testis sine nomine; Licinium
to-have-flown-out those splendid witnesses without name Licinius
autem, cum iam manum ad tradendam pyxidem porrexisset,
however when already his-hand for handing-over the-box he-had-stretched-out

retraxisse atque ex illo repentino hominum impetu se
to-have-drawn-back and from that sudden of-men onset himself
in fugam coniecisse. O magnam vim veritatis, quae contra
into flight to-have-thrown O great the-force of-truth which against
hominum ingenia, calliditatem, sollertiam contraque fictas
of-men the-wits the-cunning the-shrewdness and-against invented
omnium insidias facile se per se ipsa defendat!
of-all the-plots easily itself by itself it-itself defends

64 Velut haec tota fabella veteris et plurimarum fabularum
for-instance this whole little-play of-an-old and of-very-many plays
poetriae quam est sine argumento, quam nullum invenire
poetess how it-is without plot how no to-find
exitum potest! Quid enim? isti tot viri — nam necesse
ending it-can what for those so-many men for necessary
est fuisse non paucos ut et comprehendi Licinius
it-is to-have-been not few so-that both to-be-seized Licinius
facile posset et res multorum oculis esset testatior —
easily could and the-matter of-many by-the-eyes might-be better-attested
cur Licinium de manibus amiserunt? Qui minus enim
why Licinius from their-hands did-they-lose how less for
Licinius comprehendi potuit cum se retraxit ne pyxidem
Licinius to-be-seized could when himself he-drew-back lest the-box
traderet, quam si tradidisset? Erant enim illi positi ut
he-hand-over than if he-had-handed-it-over were for they posted to
comprehenderent Licinium, ut manifesto Licinius teneretur
seize Licinius so-that manifestly Licinius be-held
aut cum retineret venenum aut cum tradidisset. Hoc
either when he-was-keeping the-poison or when he-had-handed-it-over this
fuit totum consilium mulieris, haec istorum provincia qui
was the-whole plan of-the-woman this of-those the-charge who
rogati sunt; quos quidem tu quam ob rem temere
asked were whom indeed you what on-account-of thing rashly

prosiluisse dicas atque ante tempus non reperio. Fuerant ad
to-have-leaped-out you-say and before the-time not I-find they-had-been for
hoc rogati, fuerant ad hanc rem conlocati, ut venenum, ut
this asked they-had-been for this thing posted that the-poison that
insidiae, facinus denique ipsum ut manifesto comprenderetur.
the-plot the-crime finally itself that manifestly might-be-seized
Potueruntne magis tempore prosilire quam cum Licinius 65
could-they-whether more in-time leap-out than when Licinius
venisset, cum in manu teneret veneni pyxidem? Quae cum
had-come when in hand he-was-holding of-poison the-box which when
iam erat tradita servis, si evasissent subito ex balneis
now had-been handed-over to-the-slaves if had-rushed-out suddenly from the-baths
mulieris amici Liciniumque comprehendissent, imploraret
of-the-woman the-friends and-Licinius had-seized he-would-implore
hominum fidem atque a se illam pyxidem traditam
of-men the-protection and by himself that box handed-over
pernegaret. Quem quo modo illi reprehenderent? Vidisse
would-flatly-deny whom in-what way they would-refute to-have-seen
se dicerent? Primum ad se vocarent maximi
themselves would-they-say first upon themselves they-would-call of-the-greatest
facinoris crimen; deinde id se vidisse dicerent quod
crime the-charge then that themselves to-have-seen they-would-say which
quo loco conlocati fuerant non potuissent videre.
from-which place posted they-had-been not they-could to-see
Tempore igitur ipso se ostenderunt, cum Licinius
at-the-time therefore very themselves they-showed when Licinius
venisset, pyxidem expediret, manum porrigeret, venenum
had-come the-box was-producing his-hand was-stretching-out the-poison
traderet. Mimi ergo iam exitus, non fabulae; in quo
was-handing-over of-a-mime therefore now the-ending not of-a-play in which

cum clausula non invenitur, fugit aliquis e manibus, dein
when a-close not is-found escapes someone from the-hands then
scabilla concrepant, aulaeum tollitur.
the-clappers rattle the-curtain is-raised

66 Quaero enim cur Licinium titubantem, haesitantem, cedentem,
I-ask for why Licinius tottering hesitating retreating
fugere conantem mulieraria manus ista de manibus emiserit,
to-flee trying womanish band that from its-hands let-go
cur non comprenderint, cur non ipsius confessione,
why not they-seized-him why not by-his-own confession
multorum oculis, facinoris denique voce tanti sceleris
of-many by-the-eyes of-the-crime finally by-the-voice of-so-great a-crime
crimen expresserint. An timebant ne tot unum, valentes
the-charge they-squeezed-out or did-they-fear lest so-many one strong
imbecillum, alacres perterritum superare non possent?
a-weakling eager a-terrified-one to-overcome not they-could
Nullum argumentum in re, nulla suspicio in causa,
no proof in the-matter no suspicion in the-case
nullus exitus criminis reperietur. Itaque haec causa ab
no outcome of-the-charge will-be-found and-so this case from
argumentis, a coniectura, ab eis signis quibus veritas
arguments from conjecture from those signs by-which truth
inlustrari solet ad testis tota traducta est. Quos
to-be-illuminated is-wont to the-witnesses whole transferred has-been whom
quidem ego, iudices, testis non modo sine ullo timore
indeed I judges the-witnesses not only without any fear
sed etiam cum aliqua spe delectationis exspecto.
but even with some hope of-amusement await

67 Praegestit animus iam videre, primum lautos iuvenes
longs the-mind now to-see first elegant youths
mulieris beatae ac nobilis familiaris, deinde fortis viros
of-a-woman rich and noble intimates then brave men

ab imperatrice in insidiis atque in praesidio balnearum
by a-commander-in-chief in ambush and in the-garrison of-the-baths
conlocatos. Ex quibus requiram quem ad modum latuerint
posted from whom I-shall-ask in-what to manner they-lay-hidden
aut ubi, alveusne ille an equus Troianus fuerit qui tot
or where the-tub-whether that or the-horse Trojan was which so-many
invictos viros muliebre bellum gerentis tulerit ac texerit.
unconquered men a-womanish war waging bore and covered
Illud vero respondere cogam, cur tot viri ac tales hunc
that indeed to-answer I-shall-force why so-many men and such this-man
et unum et tam imbecillum quem videtis non aut stantem
both alone and so weak whom you-see not either standing
comprehenderint aut fugientem consecuti sint; qui se
seized or fleeing overtaken have who themselves
numquam profecto, si in istum locum processerint,
never surely if into that place they-shall-have-advanced
explicabunt. Quam volent in conviviis faceti, dicaces,
will-extricate as-much-as they-will-wish at banquets witty sharp-tongued
non numquam etiam ad vinum diserti sint, alia fori
not never even over wine eloquent let-them-be another of-the-forum
vis est, alia triclini, alia subselliorum ratio, alia
the-force is another of-the-dining-room another of-the-benches the-method another
lectorum; non idem iudicum comissatorumque conspectus;
of-the-couches not the-same of-judges and-of-revelers the-sight
lux denique longe alia est solis, alia lychnorum. Quam
the-light finally far other is of-the-sun other of-the-lamps which
ob rem excutiemus omnis istorum delicias, omnis
on-account-of thing we-shall-shake-out all of-those the-delights all
ineptias, si prodierint. Sed me audiant, navent
fooleries if they-shall-have-come-forward but me let-them-hear let-them-render
aliam operam, aliam ineant gratiam, in aliis se
another service another let-them-enter-on favor in other themselves

rebus ostentent, vigeant apud istam mulierem venustate,
things let-them-show let-them-flourish with that woman in-charm
dominentur sumptibus, haereant, iaceant, deserviant;
let-them-lord-it in-expenses let-them-cling let-them-lie-prostrate let-them-be-slaves
capiti vero innocentis fortunisque parcant.
the-life indeed of-the-innocent and-the-fortunes let-them-spare
68 At sunt servi illi de cognatorum sententia, nobilissimorum
but are slaves those by of-kinsmen the-decision most-noble
et clarissimorum hominum, manu missi. Tandem aliquid
and most-illustrious men by-hand released at-last something
invenimus quod ista mulier de suorum propinquorum,
we-have-found which that woman by of-her relatives
fortissimorum virorum, sententia atque auctoritate fecisse
bravest men the-decision and authority to-have-done
dicatur. Sed scire cupio quid habeat argumenti ista
may-be-said but to-know I-desire what has of-proof that
manumissio; in qua aut crimen est Caelio quaesitum aut
manumission in which either a-charge was for-Caelius sought or
quaestio sublata aut multarum rerum consciis servis cum
the-inquiry removed or of-many things to-privy slaves with
causa praemium persolutum. 'At propinquis' inquit 'placuit.'
reason a-reward paid but to-the-relatives he-says it-pleased
Cur non placeret, cum rem tute ad eos non ab
why not should-it-please since the-matter you-yourself to them not by
aliis tibi adlatam sed a te ipsa compertam deferre diceres?
others to-you brought but by you yourself discovered to-report you-said
69 Hic etiam miramur, si illam commenticiam pyxidem
here even we-wonder if that invented box
obscenissima sit fabula consecuta? Nihil est quod
a-most-obscene should-have tale followed nothing is which
in eius modi mulierem non cadere videatur. Audita et
on of-that kind a-woman not to-fall seems heard and

percelebrata sermonibus res est. Percipitis animis, iudices,
much-spread-about in-talk the-thing is you-perceive in-minds judges
iam dudum quid velim vel potius quid nolim dicere. Quod
now long what I-wish or rather what I-do-not-wish to-say which
etiam si est factum, certe a Caelio quidem non est factum —
even if it-was done certainly by Caelius indeed not was done
quid enim attinebat? — est enim ab aliquo adulescente fortasse
what for did-it-matter it-was for by some young-man perhaps
non tam insulso quam inverecundo. Sin autem est fictum,
not so witless as shameless but-if however it-was invented
non illud quidem modestum sed tamen est non infacetum
not that indeed modest but still is not witless
mendacium; quod profecto numquam hominum sermo atque
a-lie which surely never of-men the-talk and
opinio comprobasset, nisi omnia quae cum turpitudine aliqua
opinion would-have-approved unless all-things which with turpitude some
dicerentur in istam quadrare apte viderentur.
were-said to that-woman to-fit aptly seemed

XIV · CAELIUS' CAREER

The case is closed. A law on violence, passed by Catulus to quench the conspiracy, is now turned to a woman's pleasure. Caelius' youth was given to study and good men; he served in Africa and prosecuted Antonius, and his second prosecution of Bestia shows ardor, not vice.

Dicta est a me causa, iudices, et perorata. Iam intellegitis 70
spoken has-been by me the-case judges and concluded now you-understand
quantum iudicium sustineatis, quanta res sit commissa vobis.
how-great a-judgment you-bear how-great a-matter is entrusted to-you
De vi quaeritis. Quae lex ad imperium, ad maiestatem, ad
about violence you-inquire which law to the-empire to the-majesty to

statum patriae, ad salutem omnium pertinet, quam legem
the-condition of-the-fatherland to the-safety of-all pertains which law
Q. Catulus armata dissensione civium rei publicae
Quintus Catulus with-armed dissension of-citizens of-the-thing public
paene extremis temporibus tulit, quaeque lex sedata illa
almost at-the-last times carried and-which law with-calmed that
flamma consulatus mei fumantis reliquias coniurationis exstinxit,
flame of-consulship my the-smoking remnants of-the-conspiracy extinguished
hac nunc lege Caeli adulescentia non ad rei publicae
by-this now law of-Caelius the-youth not for of-the-thing public
poenas sed ad mulieris libidines et delicias deposcitur.
the-penalties but for of-a-woman the-lusts and delights is-demanded
71 Atque hoc etiam loco M. Camurti et C. Caeserni
and in-this also place of-Marcus Camurtius and of-Gaius Caesernius
damnatio praedicatur. O stultitiam! Stultitiamne dicam an
the-condemnation is-proclaimed O folly folly-whether should-I-say or
impudentiam singularem? Audetisne, cum ab ea muliere
impudence singular do-you-dare-whether when from that woman
veniatis, facere istorum hominum mentionem? audetis
you-come to-make of-those men mention do-you-dare
excitare tanti flagiti memoriam, non exstinctam illam
to-rouse of-so-great outrage the-memory not extinguished it
quidem sed repressam vetustate? Quo enim illi crimine
indeed but suppressed by-age by-what for they charge
peccatoque perierunt? Nempe quod eiusdem mulieris dolorem
and-sin perished surely because of-the-same woman the-pain
et iniuriam Vettiano nefario sunt stupro persecuti. Ergo
and wrong by-the-Vettian wicked they-have debauchery avenged therefore
ut audiretur Vetti nomen in causa, ut illa vetus
so-that might-be-heard of-Vettius the-name in the-case so-that that old
aeraria fabula referretur, idcirco Camurti et Caeserni
bronze tale might-be-recounted therefore of-Camurtius and of-Caesernius

est causa renovata? qui quamquam lege de vi
has-been the-case renewed who although by-the-law about violence
certe non tenebantur, eo maleficio tamen erant implicati
certainly not they-were-held by-that misdeed still they-were entangled
ut ex nullius legis laqueis eximendi viderentur.
so-that from of-no law the-snares to-be-released they-seemed
M. vero Caelius cur in hoc iudicium vocatur? Cui 72
Marcus indeed Caelius why into this court is-he-summoned to-whom
neque proprium quaestionis crimen obicitur nec vero aliquod
neither the-proper of-the-inquiry charge is-brought nor indeed some
eius modi quod sit a lege seiunctum, cum vestra
of-such kind which be from the-law separated with your
severitate coniunctum. Cuius prima aetas disciplinae dedita
severity joined whose first age to-discipline devoted
fuit eisque artibus quibus instruimur ad hunc usum
was and-to-those arts by-which we-are-trained for this practice
forensem, ad capessendam rem publicam, ad honorem,
forensic for taking-up the-thing public for honor
gloriam, dignitatem. Eis autem fuit amicitiis maiorum
glory dignity in-those however he-was friendships of-elders
natu quorum imitari industriam continentiamque maxime
by-birth whose to-imitate industry and-self-control most
vellet, eis studiis aequalium ut eundem quem optimi
he-wished in-those pursuits of-his-equals that the-same which the-best
ac nobilissimi petere cursum laudis videretur.
and noblest to-seek course of-praise he-seemed
Cum autem paulum iam roboris accessisset aetati, in Africam 73
when however a-little now of-strength had-come to-his-age to Africa
profectus est Q. Pompeio pro consule contubernalis,
set-out he-has with-Quintus Pompeius as proconsul a-tent-companion
castissimo homini atque omnis offici diligentissimo; in qua
most-chaste a-man and of-every duty most-diligent in which

provincia cum res erant et possessiones paternae, tum
province both property there-were and possessions paternal and
etiam usus quidam provincialis non sine causa a maioribus
also experience a-certain provincial not without reason by the-ancestors
huic aetati tributus. Decessit illinc Pompei iudicio
to-this age assigned he-departed from-there in-Pompeius' judgment
probatissimus, ut ipsius testimonio cognoscetis. Voluit vetere
most-approved as by-his-own testimony you-will-learn he-wished by-old
instituto et eorum adulescentium exemplo qui post in
custom and of-those young-men by-the-example who afterward in
civitate summi viri et clarissimi cives exstiterunt industriam
the-state the-highest men and most-illustrious citizens arose the-industry
suam a populo Romano ex aliqua inlustri accusatione cognosci.
his-own by the-people Roman from some illustrious accusation to-be-known
74 Vellem alio potius eum cupiditas gloriae detulisset; sed
I-could-wish elsewhere rather him the-desire of-glory had-carried but
abiit huius tempus querelae. Accusavit C. Antonium,
has-gone of-this the-time complaint he-accused Gaius Antonius
conlegam meum, cui misero praeclari in rem publicam
colleague my to-whom wretched of-his-splendid toward the-thing public
benefici memoria nihil profuit, nocuit opinio malefici
service the-memory nothing profited harmed-him the-belief of-a-misdeed
cogitati. Postea nemini umquam concessit aequalium plus
planned afterward to-no-one ever he-yielded of-his-equals more
ut in foro, plus ut in negotiis versaretur causisque
that in the-forum more that in business he-should-be-engaged and-in-the-cases
amicorum, plus ut valeret inter suos gratia. Quae
of-friends more that he-should-be-strong among his-own in-influence which-things
nisi vigilantes homines, nisi sobrii, nisi industrii consequi
unless watchful men unless sober unless industrious to-attain
non possunt, omnia labore et diligentia est consecutus.
not can all-things by-labor and diligence he-has attained

In hoc flexu quasi aetatis — nihil enim occultabo fretus 75
at this turning as-it-were of-age nothing for I-will-hide relying-on
humanitate ac sapientia vestra — fama adulescentis
the-humanity and wisdom your the-reputation of-the-young-man
paululum haesit ad metas notitia nova
a-little stuck at the-turning-posts through-the-acquaintance new
eius mulieris et infelici vicinitate et insolentia
of-that woman and through-unhappy neighborhood and through-unfamiliarity
voluptatum, quae, cum inclusae diutius et prima aetate
with-pleasures which when shut-up longer and in-first age
compressae et constrictae fuerunt, subito se non
repressed and constrained have-been suddenly themselves not
numquam profundunt atque eiciunt universae. Qua ex vita
never pour-forth and cast-out all which from life
vel dicam quo ex sermone — nequaquam enim tantum erat
or I-will-say which from talk by-no-means for so-much it-was
quantum homines loquebantur — verum ex eo quicquid
as-much-as men were-saying but from that whatever
erat emersit totumque se eiecit atque extulit, tantumque
it-was he-emerged and-whole himself cast-out and lifted and-so-far
abest ab illius familiaritatis infamia ut eiusdem
he-is-distant from of-that intimacy the-infamy that of-the-same-woman
nunc ab sese inimicitias odiumque propulset.
now from himself the-enmities and-hatred he-repels
Atque ut iste interpositus sermo deliciarum desidiaeque 76
and that that interposed talk of-delights and-of-idleness
moreretur — fecit me invito me hercule et multum
might-die he-did-it with-me unwilling by Hercules and much
repugnante me, sed tamen fecit — nomen amici mei
resisting me but still he-did-it the-name of-a-friend my
de ambitu detulit; quem absolutum insequitur, revocat;
on bribery he-reported whom acquitted he-pursues summons-again

nemini nostrum obtemperat, est violentior quam vellem.
to-no-one of-us he-listens he-is more-violent than I-would-wish
Sed ego non loquor de sapientia, quae non cadit in
but I not speak about wisdom which not falls into
hanc aetatem; de impetu animi loquor, de cupiditate
this age about the-impulse of-the-mind I-speak about the-desire
vincendi, de ardore mentis ad gloriam; quae studia in his
of-winning about the-ardor of-the-mind for glory which pursuits in these
iam aetatibus nostris contractiora esse debent, in adulescentia
now ages our more-restrained to-be ought in youth
vero tamquam in herbis significant quae virtutis maturitas
indeed as-if in the-blades signify what of-virtue the-ripeness
et quantae fruges industriae sint futurae. Etenim semper
and how-great the-crops of-industry are going-to-be for-indeed always
magno ingenio adulescentes refrenandi potius a gloria
with-great talent young-men to-be-curbed rather from glory
quam incitandi fuerunt; amputanda plura sunt illi aetati,
than to-be-spurred have-been to-be-pruned more-things are to-that age
si quidem efflorescit ingeni laudibus, quam inserenda.
if indeed it-blossoms of-talent with-the-praises than to-be-grafted

If Caelius' fierceness has seemed excessive, age and time will soften it. Cicero pledges that Caelius will stand with the good, bound by his own prosecutions, which no troublemaker or briber could have brought. Let the jurors not, in the city that just acquitted Sextus Clodius, who burned temples and wrecked Cicero's house, sacrifice Caelius to a woman's lust. Let them look at his aged father, who rests on his only son, and preserve him to his family and the state.

Qua re, si cui nimium effervisse videtur huius 77
by-which thing if to-anyone too-much to-have-boiled-over seems of-this-man
vel in suscipiendis vel in gerendis inimicitiis vis, ferocitas,
either in undertaking or in waging enmities the-force the-fierceness
pertinacia, si quem etiam minimorum horum aliquid offendit,
the-stubbornness if anyone even of-the-least of-these anything offends
si purpurae genus, si amicorum catervae, si splendor, si
if of-purple the-kind if of-friends the-troops if the-splendor if
nitor, iam ista deferverint, iam aetas omnia, iam
the-sleekness now those-things will-have-cooled-down now age all-things now
res, iam dies mitigarit.
circumstance now time will-have-softened
Conservate igitur rei publicae, iudices, civem bonarum
preserve therefore for-the-thing public judges a-citizen of-good
artium, bonarum partium, bonorum virorum. Promitto hoc
arts of-good party of-good men I-promise this
vobis et rei publicae spondeo, si modo nos ipsi
to-you and to-the-thing public I-pledge if only we ourselves
rei publicae satis fecimus, numquam hunc a nostris
to-the-thing public enough have-done never this-man from our
rationibus seiunctum fore. Quod cum fretus nostra
policies separated going-to-be which both relying-on our

familiaritate promitto, tum quod durissimis se ipse
intimacy I-promise and because by-the-harshest himself he-himself
legibus iam obligavit.
laws already has-bound

78 Non enim potest qui hominem consularem, cum ab eo rem
not for can he-who a-man consular when by him the-thing
publicam violatam esse diceret, in iudicium vocarit
public violated to-have-been he-said into court has-summoned
ipse esse in re publica civis turbulentus; non potest
himself to-be in the-thing public a-citizen turbulent not can
qui ambitu ne absolutum quidem patiatur esse absolutum
he-who of-bribery not acquitted even allows to-be acquitted
ipse impune umquam esse largitor. Habet a M. Caelio
himself with-impunity ever to-be a-briber has from Marcus Caelius
res publica, iudices, duas accusationes vel obsides periculi
the-thing public judges two accusations either hostages of-danger
vel pignora voluntatis. Qua re oro obtestorque vos, iudices,
or pledges of-goodwill by-which thing I-beg and-beseech you judges
ut qua in civitate paucis his diebus Sex. Clodius absolutus
that which in state in-a-few these days Sextus Clodius acquitted
est, quem vos per biennium aut ministrum seditionis aut
was whom you for two-years either the-servant of-sedition or
ducem vidistis, hominem sine re, sine fide, sine spe,
the-leader have-seen a-man without property without credit without hope
sine sede, sine fortunis, ore, lingua, manu, vita omni
without home without fortunes in-mouth tongue hand life whole
inquinatum, qui aedis sacras, qui censum populi
defiled who the-temples sacred who the-census-records of-the-people
Romani, qui memoriam publicam suis manibus incendit,
Roman who the-memory public with-his-own hands burned
qui Catuli monumentum adflixit, meam domum diruit, mei
who Catulus' monument struck-down my house tore-down of-my

fratris incendit, qui in Palatio atque in urbis oculis servitia
brother's set-fire-to who on the-Palatine and in of-the-city the-eyes slaves
ad caedem et ad inflammandam urbem incitavit: in ea civitate
to slaughter and to burning the-city roused in that state
ne patiamini illum absolutum muliebri gratia, M. Caelium
that-not you-allow him acquitted by-womanly influence Marcus Caelius
libidini muliebri condonatum, ne eadem mulier cum suo
to-lust womanly made-a-gift lest the-same woman with her
coniuge et fratre et turpissimum latronem eripuisse
husband and brother both a-most-base brigand to-have-snatched-away
et honestissimum adulescentem oppressisse videatur.
and a-most-honorable young-man to-have-crushed may-seem
Quod cum huius vobis adulescentiam proposueritis, 79
which when of-this-man before-you the-youth you-shall-have-set
constituitote ante oculos etiam huius miseri senectutem qui
place before the-eyes also of-this wretched-man the-old-age who
hoc unico filio nititur, in huius spe requiescit, huius unius
on-this only son relies in his hope rests of-him alone
casum pertimescit; quem vos supplicem vestrae misericordiae,
the-fall dreads whom you a-suppliant of-your mercy
servum potestatis, abiectum non tam ad pedes quam
a-slave of-your-power cast-down not so-much at the-feet as
ad mores sensusque vestros, vel recordatione parentum
at the-characters and-feelings your either by-the-memory of-parents
vestrorum vel liberorum iucunditate sustentate, ut in alterius
your or of-children by-the-delight sustain that in another's
dolore vel pietati vel indulgentiae vestrae serviatis.
grief either to-dutifulness or to-indulgence your you-may-be-servants
Nolite, iudices, aut hunc iam natura ipsa occidentem velle
do-not judges either this-man now by-nature itself setting wish
maturius exstingui volnere vestro quam suo fato, aut
sooner to-be-extinguished by-wound your than by-his-own fate or

hunc nunc primum florescentem firmata iam stirpe
this-man now first blossoming with-strengthened already the-stock
virtutis tamquam turbine aliquo aut subita tempestate
of-virtue as-if by-a-whirlwind some or by-a-sudden storm
pervertere.
overturn
80 Conservate parenti filium, parentem filio, ne aut
preserve for-the-parent the-son the-parent for-the-son lest either
senectutem iam prope desperatam contempsisse aut
old-age now almost despaired-of to-have-despised or
adulescentiam plenam spei maximae non modo non
youth full of-hope the-greatest not only not
aluisse vos verum etiam perculisse atque adflixisse
to-have-nourished you but even to-have-struck-down and to-have-dashed
videamini. Quem si nobis, si suis, si rei publicae
you-may-seem whom if for-us if for-his-own if for-the-thing public
conservatis, addictum, deditum, obstrictum vobis ac liberis
you-preserve bound devoted pledged to-you and to-children
vestris habebitis omniumque huius nervorum ac laborum
your you-will-have and-of-all of-this-man's sinews and labors
vos potissimum, iudices, fructus uberes diuturnosque capietis.
you most judges the-fruits rich and-lasting will-reap

CICERO

Pro Milone

In Defense of Milo

PRO MILONE

I · A COURT RINGED WITH SOLDIERS

Cicero confesses fear at the strange look of this court: no ring of listeners, soldiers before every temple. Yet Pompey's guards promise protection, not danger, and the crowd of citizens is on Milo's side; only Clodius' rabble, fed on plunder and arson, wants Milo condemned. The jurors, chosen from the best orders, now have their chance to show their goodwill to brave men. Cicero will not plead Milo's services: unless Clodius laid the ambush, Milo asks no pardon, and if he did, only the right to defend his life.

Etsi vereor, iudices, ne turpe sit pro fortissimo viro dicere 1
although I-fear judges lest shameful it-be for a-most-brave man to-speak
incipientem timere minimeque deceat, cum T. Annius
beginning to-be-afraid and-least it-befit since Titus Annius
ipse magis de rei publicae salute quam de sua
himself more about of-the-thing public the-safety than about his-own
perturbetur, me ad eius causam parem animi magnitudinem
is-disturbed me to his case equal of-mind greatness
adferre non posse, tamen haec novi iudici nova forma terret
to-bring not to-be-able still this new court's new form terrifies
oculos qui, quocumque inciderunt, veterem consuetudinem
the-eyes which wherever they-have-fallen the-old custom
fori et pristinum morem iudiciorum requirunt. Non
of-the-forum and the-former manner of-the-courts seek not
enim corona consessus vester cinctus est, ut solebat; non
for with-a-ring the-bench your surrounded is as it-used-to not
usitata frequentia stipati sumus;
with-the-usual crowding hemmed-in we-are

2 non illa praesidia quae pro templis omnibus cernitis, etsi
not those guards which before the-temples all you-see although
contra vim conlocata sunt, non adferunt tamen oratori
against violence placed they-have-been not bring still to-the-orator
terroris aliquid, ut in foro et in iudicio, quamquam
of-terror something so-that in the-forum and in the-court although
praesidiis salutaribus et necessariis saepti sumus, tamen ne
by-guards salutary and necessary hemmed-in we-are still not
non timere quidem sine aliquo timore possimus. Quae si
not to-fear even without some fear we-can which-things if
opposita Miloni putarem, cederem tempori, iudices, nec enim
set-against Milo I-thought I-would-yield to-the-time judges nor for
inter tantam vim armorum existimarem esse orationi locum.
amid so-great force of-arms I-would-judge to-be for-speech room
Sed me recreat et reficit Cn. Pompei, sapientissimi et
but me revives and restores of-Gnaeus Pompey a-most-wise and
iustissimi viri, consilium, qui profecto nec iustitiae suae
most-just man the-counsel who surely neither of-justice his-own
putaret esse, quem reum sententiis iudicum tradidisset,
would-think it-to-be whom as-defendant to-the-votes of-the-judges he-had-handed-over
eundem telis militum dedere, nec sapientiae temeritatem
the-same to-the-weapons of-the-soldiers to-give-up nor of-wisdom the-rashness
concitatae multitudinis auctoritate publica armare.
of-the-roused multitude with-authority public to-arm
3 Quam ob rem illa arma, centuriones, cohortes non
which on-account-of thing those arms centurions cohorts not
periculum nobis, sed praesidium denuntiant, neque solum
danger to-us but protection announce nor only
ut quieto, sed etiam ut magno animo simus hortantur,
that calm but even that great of-mind we-be they-urge
nec auxilium modo defensioni meae verum etiam silentium
nor help only to-defense my but even silence

pollicentur. Reliqua vero multitudo, quae quidem est civium,
they-promise the-rest indeed multitude which indeed is of-citizens
tota nostra est, nec eorum quisquam quos undique intuentis,
whole ours is nor of-them anyone whom from-every-side looking-on
unde aliqua fori pars aspici potest, et huius exitum
whence some of-the-forum part to-be-seen can and of-this the-outcome
iudici exspectantis videtis, non cum virtuti Milonis favet, tum
court awaiting you-see not both the-virtue of-Milo favors and
de se, de liberis suis, de patria, de fortunis hodierno
about himself about children his-own about fatherland about fortunes on-today's
die decertari putat. Unum genus est adversum infestumque
day to-be-contested thinks one class is hostile and-dangerous
nobis eorum quos P. Clodi furor rapinis et incendiis
to-us of-those whom of-Publius Clodius the-madness with-plunders and fires
et omnibus exitiis publicis pavit; qui hesterna etiam contione
and all ruins public fed who at-yesterday's even assembly
incitati sunt ut vobis voce praeirent quid iudicaretis.
roused were that you with-voice they-might-dictate what you-should-judge
Quorum clamor si qui forte fuerit, admonere vos debebit
whose the-clamor if any perhaps shall-have-been to-warn you ought
ut eum civem retineatis qui semper genus illud hominum
that that citizen you-keep who always class that of-men
clamoresque maximos prae vestra salute neglexit.
and-the-clamors greatest compared-with your safety has-neglected
Quam ob rem adeste animis, iudices, et timorem, si 4
which on-account-of thing be-present in-minds judges and fear if
quem habetis, deponite. Nam si umquam de bonis et fortibus
any you-have lay-aside for if ever about good and brave
viris, si umquam de bene meritis civibus potestas vobis
men if ever about well deserving citizens the-power to-you
iudicandi fuit, si denique umquam locus amplissimorum
of-judging has-been if finally ever an-opportunity of-the-most-ample

ordinum delectis viris datus est ut sua studia erga fortis et
orders to-chosen men given was that their-own goodwill toward brave and
bonos civis, quae voltu et verbis saepe significassent, re et
good citizens which by-look and by-words often they-had-signified in-fact and
sententiis declararent, hoc profecto tempore eam potestatem
by-votes they-should-declare at-this surely time that power
omnem vos habetis ut statuatis utrum nos qui semper
whole you have that you-may-decide whether we who always
vestrae auctoritati dediti fuimus semper miseri lugeamus an
to-your authority devoted have-been always wretched should-mourn or
diu vexati a perditissimis civibus aliquando per vos ac
long harassed by most-abandoned citizens at-last through you and
per vestram fidem, virtutem sapientiamque recreemur.
through your faith virtue and-wisdom should-be-restored
5 Quid enim nobis duobus, iudices, laboriosius, quid magis
what for than-us two judges more-laborious what more
sollicitum, magis exercitum dici aut fingi potest, qui
troubled more harassed to-be-said or to-be-imagined can who
spe amplissimorum praemiorum ad rem publicam adducti
by-hope of-the-most-ample rewards to the-thing public led
metu crudelissimorum suppliciorum carere non possumus?
from-fear of-the-cruelest punishments to-be-free not we-can
Equidem ceteras tempestates et procellas in illis dumtaxat
I-for-my-part the-other storms and gales in those at-least
fluctibus contionum semper putavi Miloni esse subeundas, quia
waves of-the-assemblies always I-thought for-Milo to-be to-be-undergone because
semper pro bonis contra improbos senserat, in iudicio vero
always for the-good against the-wicked he-had-felt in court indeed
et in eo consilio in quo ex coniunctis ordinibus amplissimi
and in that council in which from the-joined orders the-most-ample
viri iudicarent numquam existimavi spem ullam esse habituros
men should-judge never I-judged hope any to-be going-to-have

Milonis inimicos ad eius non modo salutem exstinguendam
of-Milo the-enemies for his not only safety extinguishing
sed etiam gloriam per talis viros infringendam.
but also glory through such men breaking
Quamquam in hac causa iudices, T. Anni tribunatu 6
and-yet in this case judges of-Titus Annius the-tribunate
rebusque omnibus pro salute rei publicae gestis ad huius
and-the-things all for the-safety of-the-thing public done for of-this
criminis defensionem non abutemur. Nisi oculis videritis
charge the-defense not we-shall-misuse unless with-eyes you-shall-have-seen
insidias Miloni a Clodio esse factas, nec deprecaturi
a-plot against-Milo by Clodius to-have-been made neither going-to-beg
sumus ut crimen hoc nobis propter multa praeclara in
are-we that the-charge this to-us on-account-of many splendid toward
rem publicam merita condonetis, nec postulaturi ut,
the-thing public services you-should-pardon nor going-to-demand that
quia mors P. Clodi salus vestra fuerit, idcirco eam
because the-death of-Publius Clodius the-safety your has-been therefore it
virtuti Milonis potius quam populi Romani felicitati
to-the-virtue of-Milo rather than of-the-people Roman to-the-good-fortune
adsignetis. Sin illius insidiae clariores hac luce fuerint,
you-should-assign but-if his plot clearer than-this light shall-have-been
tum denique obsecrabo obtestaborque vos, iudices, si cetera
then at-last I-will-beseech and-adjure you judges if the-rest
amisimus, hoc nobis saltem ut relinquatur, vitam ab
we-have-lost this to-us at-least that be-left life from
inimicorum audacia telisque ut impune liceat defendere.
of-enemies the-audacity and-weapons that with-impunity it-be-allowed to-defend

Before the case proper Cicero refutes what enemies have urged in senate and assembly. They say a man who admits a killing may not see the light; yet Horatius, who killed his sister, was acquitted, Africanus called Tiberius Gracchus justly slain, and Orestes was freed by Minerva's vote. The Twelve Tables let a thief be killed at night, or by day if he resists with a weapon, and the law of nature itself allows force to repel force.

7 Sed ante quam ad eam orationem venio quae est propria
but before than to that speech I-come which is proper
vestrae quaestionis videntur ea mihi esse refutanda quae
of-your inquiry seem those-things to-me to-be to-be-refuted which
et in senatu ab inimicis saepe iactata sunt et in contione
both in the-senate by enemies often bandied have-been and in the-assembly
ab improbis et paulo ante ab accusatoribus, ut omni errore
by the-wicked and a-little before by the-accusers so-that with-all error
sublato rem plane quae veniat in iudicium videre possitis.
removed the-matter plainly which comes into judgment to-see you-may-be-able
Negant intueri lucem esse fas ei qui a se hominem
they-deny to-look-on the-light to-be right for-him who by himself a-man
occisum esse fateatur. In qua tandem urbe hoc homines
killed to-have-been confesses in which pray city this men
stultissimi disputant? Nempe in ea quae primum iudicium
most-stupid argue surely in that which first a-trial
de capite vidit M. Horati, fortissimi viri, qui nondum
about life saw of-Marcus Horatius a-most-brave man who not-yet
libera civitate tamen populi Romani comitiis liberatus est,
with-free the-state still of-the-people Roman by-the-assembly freed was
cum sua manu sororem esse interfectam fateretur.
though with-his-own hand his-sister to-have-been killed he-confessed

An est quisquam qui hoc ignoret, cum de homine 8
or is anyone who this is-ignorant-of when about a-man
occiso quaeratur, aut negari solere omnino esse
killed it-is-inquired either to-be-denied to-be-wont at-all to-have-been
factum aut recte et iure factum esse defendi? Nisi
done or rightly and by-right done to-have-been to-be-defended unless
vero existimatis dementem P. Africanum fuisse qui,
indeed you-judge mad Publius Africanus to-have-been who
cum a C. Carbone tribuno plebis seditiose in contione
when by Gaius Carbo tribune of-the-plebs seditiously in the-assembly
interrogaretur quid de Ti. Gracchi morte sentiret,
he-was-asked what about of-Tiberius Gracchus the-death he-thought
responderit iure caesum videri. Neque enim posset aut
answered by-right slain to-seem nor for could either
Ahala ille Servilius aut P. Nasica aut L. Opimius aut
Ahala that Servilius or Publius Nasica or Lucius Opimius or
C. Marius aut me consule senatus non nefarius haberi,
Gaius Marius or with-me consul the-senate not wicked to-be-held
si sceleratos civis interfici nefas esset. Itaque hoc, iudices,
if criminal citizens to-be-killed wrong were and-so this judges
non sine causa etiam fictis fabulis doctissimi homines
not without reason even in-invented plays most-learned men
memoriae prodiderunt, eum qui patris ulciscendi causa
to-memory have-handed-down him who of-his-father of-avenging for-the-sake
matrem necavisset variatis hominum sententiis non solum
his-mother had-killed with-divided of-men the-votes not only
divina sed etiam sapientissimae deae sententia liberatum.
by-the-divine but also by-the-wisest goddess's vote freed
Quod si xii tabulae nocturnum furem quoquo modo, 9
but if the-twelve tables the-nightly thief in-whatever way
diurnum autem, si se telo defenderet, interfici
the-daily however if himself with-a-weapon he-defended to-be-killed

impune voluerunt, quis est qui, quoquo modo quis
with-impunity willed who is-there who in-whatever way anyone
interfectus sit, puniendum putet, cum videat aliquando
killed has-been to-be-punished thinks when he-sees sometimes
gladium nobis ad hominem occidendum ab ipsis porrigi
a-sword to-us for a-man killing by the-very to-be-held-out
legibus? Atqui, si tempus est ullum iure hominis necandi,
laws and-yet if a-time is any by-right of-a-man of-killing
quae multa sunt, certe illud est non modo iustum
which many are certainly that is not only just
verum etiam necessarium, cum vi vis inlata defenditur.
but also necessary when by-force force brought is-repelled
Pudicitiam cum eriperet militi tribunus militaris in
chastity when he-was-snatching from-a-soldier a-tribune military in
exercitu C. Mari, propinquus eius imperatoris, interfectus
the-army of-Gaius Marius a-kinsman of-that commander killed
ab eo est cui vim adferebat; facere enim probus
by him was on-whom violence he-was-bringing to-do for the-upright
adulescens periculose quam perpeti turpiter maluit. Atque
young-man dangerously than to-suffer basely preferred and
hunc ille summus vir scelere solutum periculo liberavit.
this-man that highest man from-crime absolved from-danger freed
10 Insidiatori vero et latroni quae potest inferri iniusta nex?
on-a-plotter indeed and a-brigand what can to-be-inflicted unjust death
Quid comitatus nostri, quid gladii volunt? quos habere certe
what retinues our what swords mean which to-have certainly
non liceret, si uti illis nullo pacto liceret. Est igitur
not it-would-be-allowed if to-use them in-no way it-were-allowed is therefore
haec, iudices, non scripta, sed nata lex, quam non didicimus,
this judges not a-written but a-born law which not we-have-learned
accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa adripuimus,
received read but from nature itself we-have-seized

hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti sed facti, non
drunk pressed-out for which not taught but made not
instituti sed imbuti sumus, ut, si vita nostra in aliquas
trained but imbued we-are that if life our into some
insidias, si in vim et in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum
plots if into violence and into weapons either of-brigands or of-enemies
incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendae salutis.
had-fallen every honorable method would-be of-securing safety
Silent enim leges inter arma nec se exspectari iubent, 11
are-silent for the-laws amid arms nor themselves to-be-awaited do-they-bid
cum ei qui exspectare velit ante iniusta poena luenda
since for-him who to-wait should-wish sooner an-unjust penalty to-be-paid
sit quam iusta repetenda. Etsi persapienter et quodam
be than a-just to-be-exacted although very-wisely and in-a-certain
modo tacite dat ipsa lex potestatem defendendi, quae non
way tacitly gives itself the-law the-power of-defending which not
hominem occidi, sed esse cum telo hominis occidendi
a-man to-be-killed but to-be with a-weapon of-a-man of-killing
causa vetat, ut, cum causa, non telum quaereretur,
for-the-sake forbids so-that since the-motive not the-weapon was-inquired-into
qui sui defendendi causa telo esset usus, non hominis
he-who himself of-defending for-the-sake a-weapon had used not of-a-man
occidendi causa habuisse telum iudicaretur. Quapropter hoc
of-killing for-the-sake to-have-had a-weapon should-be-judged wherefore this
maneat in causa, iudices; non enim dubito quin probaturus
let-remain in the-case judges not for I-doubt that going-to-prove
sim vobis defensionem meam, si id memineritis quod
I-am to-you defense my if that you-shall-have-remembered which
oblivisci non potestis insidiatorem interfici iure posse.
to-forget not you-can a-plotter to-be-killed by-right to-be-able

Milo's enemies say the senate judged the killing against the state, but the senate approved Milo's cause repeatedly, as the half-burnt tribune complained when he blamed Cicero's influence. It never wanted this special court, since laws on murder and violence existed, nor did it so mourn Clodius, whom it had been barred from trying for sacrilege. It condemned the burning of the senate house and the attack on Lepidus' house, as it condemns all violence among citizens; only a bought veto kept the senate's motion, a trial under the old laws, from passing.

12 Sequitur illud quod a Milonis inimicis saepissime dicitur,
follows that which by Milo's enemies most-often is-said
caedem in qua P. Clodius occisus esset senatum iudicasse
the-slaughter in which Publius Clodius killed had-been the-senate to-have-judged
contra rem publicam esse factam. Illam vero senatus non
against the-thing public to-have-been done that indeed the-senate not
sententiis suis solum sed etiam studiis comprobavit. Quotiens
by-votes its-own only but also by-zeal approved how-often
enim est illa causa a nobis acta in senatu, quibus
for has that case by us been-pleaded in the-senate with-what
adsensionibus universi ordinis, quam nec tacitis nec occultis!
assents of-the-whole order how neither silent nor hidden
Quando enim frequentissimo senatu quattuor aut summum
when for with-a-very-crowded senate four or at-most
quinque sunt inventi qui Milonis causam non probarent?
five were found who Milo's case not approved
Declarant huius ambusti tribuni plebis illae intermortuae
declare of-this scorched tribune of-the-plebs those half-dead
contiones quibus cotidie meam potentiam invidiose criminabatur,
assemblies at-which daily my power odiously he-charged
cum diceret senatum non quod sentiret sed quod ego vellem
when he-said the-senate not what it-felt but what I wished

decernere. Quae quidem si potentia est appellanda potius quam
to-decree which indeed if power is to-be-called rather than
propter magna in rem publicam merita mediocris in
on-account-of great toward the-thing public services moderate in
bonis causis auctoritas aut propter hos officiosos labores meos
good causes authority or on-account-of these dutiful labors mine
non nulla apud bonos gratia, appelletur ita sane, dum modo ea
not none with the-good favor be-called so be-it provided only it
nos utamur pro salute bonorum contra amentiam perditorum.
we use for the-safety of-the-good against the-madness of-the-abandoned
Hanc vero quaestionem, etsi non est iniqua, numquam 13
this indeed inquiry although not it-is unfair never
tamen senatus constituendam putavit; erant enim leges,
still the-senate to-be-established thought there-were for laws
erant quaestiones vel de caede vel de vi, nec tantum
there-were courts either about murder or about violence nor so-great
maerorem ac luctum senatui mors P. Clodi adferebat
grief and mourning to-the-senate the-death of-Publius Clodius brought
ut nova quaestio constitueretur. Cuius enim de illo incesto
that a-new inquiry should-be-established of-whom for about that incestuous
stupro iudicium decernendi senatui potestas esset erepta,
debauchery a-trial of-decreeing for-the-senate the-power was snatched-away
de eius interitu quis potest credere senatum iudicium
about his death who can to-believe the-senate a-trial
novum constituendum putasse? Cur igitur incendium
new to-be-established to-have-thought why therefore the-burning
curiae, oppugnationem aedium M. Lepidi, caedem
of-the-senate-house the-assault on-the-house of-Marcus Lepidus the-slaughter
hanc ipsam contra rem publicam senatus factam esse
this very against the-thing public the-senate done to-have-been

decrevit? Quia nulla vis umquam est in libera civitate
decreed because no violence ever has in a-free state
suscepta inter civis non contra rem publicam —
been-undertaken among citizens not against the-thing public
14 non enim est ulla defensio contra vim umquam optanda, sed
not for is any defense against violence ever to-be-wished but
non numquam est necessaria, — nisi vero aut ille dies quo
not never it-is necessary unless indeed either that day on-which
Ti. Gracchus est caesus, aut ille quo Gaius, aut arma
Tiberius Gracchus was slain or that on-which Gaius or the-arms
Saturnini non, etiam si e re publica oppressa sunt,
of-Saturninus not even if for the-thing public crushed they-were
rem publicam tamen volnerarunt. Itaque ego ipse decrevi,
the-thing public still wounded and-so I myself decreed
cum caedem in via Appia factam esse constaret, non
since a-slaughter on the-way Appian done to-have-been it-was-agreed not
eum qui se defendisset contra rem publicam fecisse,
him who himself had-defended against the-thing public to-have-acted
sed, cum inesset in re vis et insidiae, crimen
but since there-was-in in the-matter violence and plotting the-charge
iudicio reservavi, rem notavi. Quod si per furiosum illum
for-the-court I-reserved the-thing I-marked but if through mad that
tr. pl. senatui quod sentiebat perficere licuisset,
tribune of-the-plebs to-the-senate what it-felt to-accomplish it-had-been-allowed
novam quaestionem nullam haberemus. Decernebat enim ut
new inquiry none we-would-have it-was-decreeing for that
veteribus legibus, tantum modo extra ordinem, quaereretur.
by-the-old laws so-much only out-of order it-should-be-inquired
Divisa sententia est postulante nescio quo — nihil enim
divided the-motion was at-the-demand-of I-know-not whom nothing for

necesse est omnium me flagitia proferre — sic reliqua
necessary is of-all me the-outrages to-bring-forth thus the-remaining
auctoritas senatus empta intercessione sublata est.
authority of-the-senate by-a-bought veto removed was

IV · POMPEY'S LAW

Pompey's law ordered an inquiry into the killing on the Appian Way, and an inquiry would be pointless if the fact, admitted, settled the case: so he left room for a defense of right. Drusus, Cato's uncle, was murdered at home, and Africanus in his bed, with no court decreed, nor for Clodius' slave caught waiting to kill Pompey. Clodius' death deserves no more than theirs; the Appian Way, silent when Clodius killed Papirius on it, now stirs tragedies. Pompey chose the best men as jurors, and Domitius to preside.

At enim Cn. Pompeius rogatione sua et de re 15
but for Gnaeus Pompey by-bill his-own both about the-deed
et de causa iudicavit: tulit enim de caede quae
and about the-case has-judged he-carried for about the-slaughter which
in Appia via facta esset, in qua P. Clodius occisus
on the-Appian way done had-been in which Publius Clodius killed
esset. Quid ergo tulit? Nempe ut quaereretur. Quid
had-been what therefore did-he-carry surely that it-should-be-inquired what
porro quaerendum est? Factumne sit? At constat. A quo?
further to-be-inquired is done-whether it-was but it-is-agreed by whom
At paret. Vidit igitur etiam in confessione facti iuris
but it-is-plain he-saw therefore even in confession of-the-deed of-right
tamen defensionem suscipi posse. Quod nisi vidisset,
still a-defense to-be-undertaken to-be-able which unless he-had-seen
posse absolvi eum qui fateretur, cum videret nos fateri,
to-be-able to-be-acquitted him who confessed when he-saw us to-confess

neque quaeri umquam iussisset nec vobis tam
neither to-be-inquired ever would-he-have-ordered nor to-you so
hanc salutarem in iudicando litteram quam illam tristem
this saving in judging letter as that gloomy
dedisset. Mihi vero Cn. Pompeius non modo nihil
would-have-given to-me indeed Gnaeus Pompey not only nothing
gravius contra Milonem iudicasse sed etiam statuisse
heavier against Milo to-have-judged but even to-have-decided
videtur quid vos in iudicando spectare oporteret. Nam qui
seems what you in judging to-look-at ought for he-who
non poenam confessioni, sed defensionem dedit, is causam
not a-penalty to-confession but a-defense gave he the-cause
interitus quaerendam, non interitum putavit.
of-the-death to-be-inquired not the-death thought

16 Iam illud ipse dicet profecto quod sua sponte
now that he-himself will-say surely what of-his-own accord
fecit, Publione Clodio tribuendum putarit an tempori.
he-did to-Publius-whether Clodius to-be-attributed he-thought or to-the-time
Domi suae nobilissimus vir, senatus propugnator atque
at-home his-own a-most-noble man of-the-senate the-champion and
illis quidem temporibus paene patronus, avunculus huius
in-those indeed times almost the-patron the-uncle of-this
iudicis nostri fortissimi viri, M. Catonis, tribunus plebis
juror our bravest man Marcus Cato the-tribune of-the-plebs
M. Drusus occisus est. Nihil de eius morte populus
Marcus Drusus killed was nothing about his death the-people
consultus est, nulla quaestio decreta a senatu est. Quantum
consulted was no inquiry decreed by the-senate was how-great
luctum fuisse in hac urbe a nostris patribus accepimus,
mourning to-have-been in this city from our fathers we-have-received
cum P. Africano domi suae quiescenti illa nocturna vis
when on-Publius Africanus at-home his-own resting that nightly violence

esset inlata? Quis tum non ingemuit, quis non arsit dolore,
had been-brought who then not groaned who not burned with-grief
quem immortalem, si fieri posset, omnes esse cuperent, eius
whom immortal if to-be-done it-could all to-be desired his
ne necessariam quidem exspectatam esse mortem? Num
not the-necessary even awaited to-have-been death surely-not
igitur ulla quaestio de Africani morte lata est? Certe nulla.
therefore any inquiry about of-Africanus the-death carried was certainly none
Quid ita? Quia non alio facinore clari homines, alio 17
why so because not by-one crime famous men by-another
obscuri necantur. Intersit inter vitae dignitatem
obscure are-killed let-there-be-a-difference between of-life the-dignity
summorum atque infimorum; mors quidem inlata per scelus
of-the-highest and of-the-lowest death indeed brought through crime
isdem et poenis teneatur et legibus. Nisi forte magis
by-the-same both penalties let-it-be-held and laws unless perhaps more
erit parricida, si qui consularem patrem quam si qui
will-be a-parricide if anyone a-consular father than if anyone
humilem necarit, aut eo mors atrocior erit
a-humble-one shall-have-killed or for-that-reason the-death more-atrocious will-be
P. Clodi quod is in monumentis maiorum suorum
of-Publius Clodius because he among the-monuments of-ancestors his-own
sit interfectus — hoc enim ab istis saepe dicitur — proinde
was killed this for by those often is-said just
quasi Appius ille Caecus viam munierit, non qua populus
as-if Appius that Caecus the-road built not which the-people
uteretur, sed ubi impune sui posteri latrocinarentur!
might-use but where with-impunity his descendants might-practice-brigandage
Itaque in eadem ista Appia cum ornatissimum equitem 18
and-so on the-same that Appian when a-most-distinguished knight
Romanum P. Clodius M. Papirium occidisset, non fuit
Roman Publius Clodius Marcus Papirius had-killed not was

illud facinus puniendum — homo enim nobilis in suis
that deed to-be-punished a-man for noble among his-own
monumentis equitem Romanum occiderat — nunc eiusdem
monuments a-knight Roman had-killed now of-the-same
Appiae nomen quantas tragoedias excitat! Quae cruentata antea
Appian the-name what tragedies it-rouses which bloodied before
caede honesti atque innocentis viri silebatur, eadem
by-the-slaughter of-an-honorable and innocent man was-silent the-same
nunc crebro usurpatur, postea quam latronis et parricidae
now often is-used after that of-a-brigand and of-a-parricide
sanguine imbuta est. Sed quid ego illa commemoro?
with-the-blood steeped it-has but why I those-things do-I-recall
Comprehensus est in templo Castoris servus P. Clodi,
seized was in the-temple of-Castor a-slave of-Publius Clodius
quem ille ad Cn. Pompeium interficiendum conlocarat. Extorta
whom he for Gnaeus Pompey killing had-posted wrested
est ei confitenti sica de manibus. Caruit foro
was from-him confessing the-dagger from his-hands kept-away from-the-forum
postea Pompeius, caruit senatu, caruit publico; ianua
afterward Pompey kept-away from-the-senate kept-away from-public with-his-door
se ac parietibus, non iure legum iudiciorumque texit.
himself and walls not by-the-right of-laws and-courts he-protected
19 Num quae rogatio lata, num quae nova quaestio decreta
surely-not any bill carried surely-not any new inquiry decreed
est? Atqui si res, si vir, si tempus ullum dignum fuit,
was and-yet if the-matter if the-man if the-time any worthy was
certe haec in illa causa summa omnia fuerunt. Insidiator
certainly these-things in that case highest all were the-plotter
erat in foro conlocatus atque in vestibulo ipso senatus;
was in the-forum posted and in the-vestibule itself of-the-senate
ei viro autem mors parabatur cuius in vita nitebatur
for-that man however death was-being-prepared whose on life rested

salus civitatis; eo porro rei publicae tempore quo,
the-safety of-the-state at-that moreover of-the-thing public time when
si unus ille occidisset, non haec solum civitas sed gentes
if one he had-fallen not this alone state but nations
omnes concidissent. Nisi vero, quia perfecta res non
all would-have-collapsed unless indeed because accomplished the-matter not
est, non fuit punienda, proinde quasi exitus rerum, non
was not it-was to-be-punished just as-if the-outcomes of-things not
hominum consilia legibus vindicentur. Minus dolendum fuit
of-men the-designs by-the-laws are-punished less to-be-grieved it-was
re non perfecta, sed puniendum certe nihilo minus.
with-the-thing not accomplished but to-be-punished certainly by-nothing less
Quotiens ego ipse, iudices, ex P. Clodi telis et ex 20
how-often I myself judges from of-Publius Clodius the-weapons and from
cruentis eius manibus effugi! Ex quibus si me non vel mea
bloody his hands have-escaped from which if me not either my
vel rei publicae fortuna servasset, quis tandem de interitu
or of-the-thing public fortune had-preserved who pray about death
meo quaestionem tulisset? Sed stulti sumus qui Drusum,
my an-inquiry would-have-carried but stupid we-are who Drusus
qui Africanum, Pompeium, nosmet ipsos cum P. Clodio
who Africanus Pompey ourselves ourselves with Publius Clodius
conferre audeamus. Tolerabilia fuerunt illa: P. Clodi
to-compare dare tolerable were those-things of-Publius Clodius
mortem aequo animo ferre nemo potest. Luget senatus, maeret
the-death with-calm mind to-bear no-one can mourns the-senate grieves
equester ordo, tota civitas confecta senio est, squalent
the-equestrian order the-whole state worn-out with-old-age is are-in-squalor
municipia, adflictantur coloniae, agri denique ipsi tam
the-towns are-afflicted the-colonies the-fields finally themselves so
beneficum, tam salutarem, tam mansuetum civem desiderant.
beneficent so salutary so gentle a-citizen miss

21 Non fuit ea causa, iudices, profecto, non fuit cur sibi
not was that the-reason judges surely not it-was why for-himself
censeret Pompeius quaestionem ferendam, sed homo sapiens
should-think Pompey an-inquiry to-be-carried but a-man wise
atque alta et divina quadam mente praeditus multa
and with-a-lofty and divine certain mind endowed many-things
vidit: fuisse illum sibi inimicum, familiarem Milonem; in
saw to-have-been that-one to-himself an-enemy an-intimate Milo in
communi omnium laetitia si etiam ipse gauderet, timuit ne
common of-all rejoicing if even he-himself should-rejoice he-feared lest
videretur infirmior fides reconciliatae gratiae. Multa etiam
should-seem weaker the-good-faith of-reconciled favor many also
alia vidit, sed illud maxime, quamvis atrociter ipse
other-things he-saw but that most however savagely he-himself
tulisset, vos tamen fortiter iudicaturos. Itaque delegit ex
had-borne-it you still bravely going-to-judge and-so he-chose from
florentissimis ordinibus ipsa lumina, neque vero, quod non
the-most-flourishing orders the-very lights nor indeed as not
nulli dictitant, secrevit in iudicibus legendis amicos meos.
none keep-saying did-he-separate in jurors choosing the-friends my
Neque enim hoc cogitavit vir iustissimus, neque in bonis viris
nor for this thought man the-most-just nor in good men
legendis id adsequi potuisset, etiam si cupisset. Non enim
choosing that to-achieve he-could-have even if he-had-desired-it not for
mea gratia familiaritatibus continetur, quae late patere non
my influence in-intimacies is-contained which widely to-extend not
possunt, propterea quod consuetudines victus non possunt
can on-that-account because the-habits of-living not can
esse cum multis; sed, si quid possumus, ex eo possumus
to-be with many but if anything we-can from that we-can
quod res publica nos coniunxit cum bonis. Ex quibus ille
that the-thing public us has-joined with the-good from whom he

cum optimos viros legeret idque maxime ad fidem suam
when the-best men he-was-choosing and-that most to good-faith his-own
pertinere arbitraretur, non potuit legere non studiosos mei.
to-pertain he-thought not could to-choose not well-disposed to-me
Quod vero te, L. Domiti, huic quaestioni praeesse 22
that indeed you Lucius Domitius over-this inquiry to-preside
maxime voluit, nihil quaesivit aliud nisi iustitiam, gravitatem,
most he-wished nothing he-sought other except justice weight
humanitatem, fidem. Tulit ut consularem necesse esset:
humanity good-faith he-carried-it that a-consular necessary it-should-be
credo, quod principum munus esse ducebat resistere et
I-believe because of-the-leading-men the-duty to-be he-considered to-resist both
levitati multitudinis et perditorum temeritati. Ex consularibus
the-fickleness of-the-multitude and of-the-abandoned the-rashness from the-consulars
te creavit potissimum: dederas enim quam contemneres
you he-appointed especially you-had-given for how you-despised
popularis insanias iam ab adulescentia documenta maxima.
the-popular madnesses already from youth proofs the-greatest

V · THE ENCOUNTER ON THE APPIAN WAY

The only question is which man ambushed the other. Clodius said openly that Milo must die, and knowing Milo must go to Lanuvium, left Rome the day before. Milo, in a carriage with his wife, met him on horseback with armed slaves before his estate, and Milo's slaves, believing their master dead, killed Clodius.

Quam ob rem, iudices, ut aliquando ad causam 23
which on-account-of thing judges that at-last to the-case
crimenque veniamus, si neque omnis confessio facti
and-charge we-may-come if neither every confession of-the-deed
est inusitata, neque de causa nostra quicquam aliter
is unusual nor about case our anything otherwise

ac nos vellemus a senatu iudicatum est, et lator
than we wished by the-senate judged has-been and the-proposer
ipse legis, cum esset controversia nulla facti, iuris
himself of-the-law though there-was dispute none of-the-deed of-right
tamen disceptationem esse voluit, et ei lecti iudices, isque
still a-debate to-be wished and for-it chosen judges and-he
praepositus est quaestioni qui haec iuste sapienterque
set-over has-been the-inquiry who these-things justly and-wisely
disceptet, reliquum est, iudices, ut nihil iam quaerere aliud
may-decide remaining it-is judges that nothing now to-inquire else
debeatis nisi uter utri insidias fecerit. Quod quo facilius
you-ought except which for-which a-plot made which that more-easily
argumentis perspicere possitis, rem gestam vobis dum
by-arguments to-see-through you-may-be-able the-thing done to-you while
breviter expono, quaeso, diligenter attendite.
briefly I-set-forth I-pray diligently attend

24 P. Clodius, cum statuisset omni scelere in praetura
Publius Clodius when he-had-decided by-every crime in his-praetorship
vexare rem publicam videretque ita tracta esse
to-harass the-thing public and-saw so dragged-out to-have-been
comitia anno superiore ut non multos mensis praeturam
the-elections in-the-year previous that not many months the-praetorship
gerere posset, qui non honoris gradum spectaret, ut ceteri,
to-hold he-could who not of-office the-step looked-at as the-rest
sed et L. Paulum conlegam effugere vellet, singulari virtute
but both Lucius Paulus his-colleague to-escape wished of-singular virtue
civem, et annum integrum ad dilacerandam rem publicam
a-citizen and a-year whole for tearing-apart the-thing public
quaereret, subito reliquit annum suum seseque in proximum
sought suddenly left year his-own and-himself into the-next
transtulit, non, ut fit, religione aliqua, sed ut haberet,
transferred not as happens from-scruple some but that he-might-have

quod ipse dicebat, ad praeturam gerendam, hoc est ad
as he-himself said for the-praetorship holding that is for
evertendam rem publicam, plenum annum atque integrum.
overturning the-thing public a-full year and whole
Occurrebat ei mancam ac debilem praeturam futuram 25
it-occurred to-him maimed and crippled the-praetorship going-to-be
suam consule Milone; eum porro summo consensu
his-own with-consul Milo him further with-the-highest consent
populi Romani consulem fieri videbat. Contulit se
of-the-people Roman consul to-be-made he-saw he-betook himself
ad eius competitores, sed ita totam ut petitionem ipse
to his rivals but so whole that the-canvass himself
solus etiam invitis illis gubernaret, tota ut comitia
alone even with-unwilling them he-steered whole that the-elections
suis, ut dictitabat, umeris sustineret. Convocabat tribus,
on-his-own as he-kept-saying shoulders he-bore he-convened the-tribes
se interponebat, Collinam novam dilectu perditissimorum
himself he-interposed the-Colline new by-a-levy of-most-abandoned
civium conscribebat. Quanto ille plura miscebat, tanto
citizens he-enrolled by-how-much he more-things stirred-up by-so-much
hic magis in dies convalescebat. Ubi vidit homo ad omne
this-man more by days grew-strong when saw the-man for every
facinus paratissimus fortissimum virum, inimicissimum suum,
crime most-ready the-bravest man most-hostile to-himself
certissimum consulem, idque intellexit non solum sermonibus,
the-most-certain consul and-that he-understood not only by-talk
sed etiam suffragiis populi Romani saepe esse declaratum,
but also by-votes of-the-people Roman often to-have-been declared
palam agere coepit et aperte dicere occidendum Milonem.
openly to-act he-began and openly to-say must-be-killed Milo

26 Servos agrestis et barbaros, quibus silvas publicas
slaves rustic and barbarous with-whom the-woods public
depopulatus erat Etruriamque vexarat, ex Appennino
plundered had and-Etruria harassed from the-Apennines
deduxerat, quos videbatis. Res erat minime obscura.
he-had-brought-down whom you-saw the-thing was least obscure
Etenim dictitabat palam consulatum Miloni eripi non
for-indeed he-kept-saying openly the-consulship from-Milo to-be-snatched not
posse, vitam posse. Significavit hoc saepe in senatu, dixit
to-be-able life to-be-able he-signified this often in the-senate he-said-it
in contione; quin etiam M. Favonio, fortissimo viro,
in the-assembly nay even to-Marcus Favonius a-most-brave man
quaerenti ex eo qua spe fureret Milone vivo, respondit
asking of him with-what hope he-raged with-Milo living he-answered
triduo illum aut summum quadriduo esse periturum; quam
in-three-days him or at-most in-four-days to-be going-to-perish which
vocem eius ad hunc M. Catonem statim Favonius detulit.
saying his to this Marcus Cato at-once Favonius reported
27 Interim cum sciret Clodius — neque enim erat id
meanwhile when knew Clodius nor for was it
difficile scire a Lanuvinis — iter sollemne, legitimum,
difficult to-know from the-Lanuvians a-journey solemn lawful
necessarium ante diem xiii Kalendas Februarias Miloni
necessary before the-day thirteenth the-Kalends of-February for-Milo
esse Lanuvium ad flaminem prodendum, quod erat dictator
to-be to-Lanuvium for a-flamen naming because he-was dictator
Lanuvi Milo, Roma subito ipse profectus pridie
of-Lanuvium Milo from-Rome suddenly himself set-out on-the-day-before
est ut ante suum fundum, quod re intellectum
has that before his-own estate as by-the-event understood
est, Miloni insidias conlocaret; atque ita profectus est ut
has-been for-Milo a-plot he-might-lay and so set-out has that

contionem turbulentam in qua eius furor desideratus est,
an-assembly turbulent at which his madness missed was
quae illo ipso die habita est, relinqueret, quam, nisi obire
which on-that very day held was he-should-leave which unless to-meet
facinoris locum tempusque voluisset, numquam reliquisset.
of-the-crime the-place and-time he-had-wished never he-would-have-left
Milo autem cum in senatu fuisset eo die quoad senatus 28
Milo however when in the-senate he-had-been on-that day until the-senate
est dimissus, domum venit, calceos et vestimenta mutavit,
was dismissed home came his-shoes and clothes changed
paulisper, dum se uxor, ut fit, comparat, commoratus
a-little-while while himself his-wife as happens gets-ready delayed
est, dein profectus id temporis cum iam Clodius, si
he-has then set-out at-that of-time when now Clodius if
quidem eo die Romam venturus erat, redire potuisset.
indeed on-that day to-Rome going-to-come he-was to-return could-have
Obviam fit ei Clodius, expeditus, in equo, nulla raeda,
in-the-way becomes to-him Clodius unencumbered on horse no carriage
nullis impedimentis, nullis Graecis comitibus, ut solebat,
no baggage no Greek companions as he-was-wont
sine uxore, quod numquam fere: cum hic insidiator,
without his-wife which never almost while this-man the-plotter
qui iter illud ad caedem faciendam apparasset, cum uxore
who journey that for slaughter making had-prepared with his-wife
veheretur in raeda, paenulatus, magno et impedito et
was-riding in a-carriage cloaked with-a-great and cumbrous and
muliebri ac delicato ancillarum puerorumque comitatu.
womanish and delicate of-maids and-boys retinue
Fit obviam Clodio ante fundum eius hora fere undecima 29
becomes in-the-way to-Clodius before estate his at-the-hour about eleventh
aut non multo secus. Statim complures cum telis in hunc
or not much otherwise at-once several with weapons against this-man

faciunt de loco superiore impetum; adversi raedarium
make from a-place higher an-attack from-the-front the-coachman
occidunt. Cum autem hic de raeda reiecta paenula
they-kill when however this-man from the-carriage with-thrown-back cloak
desiluisset seque acri animo defenderet, illi qui erant
had-leaped-down and-himself with-keen spirit was-defending those who were
cum Clodio gladiis eductis, partim recurrere ad raedam
with Clodius with-swords drawn partly to-run-back to the-carriage
ut a tergo Milonem adorirentur, partim, quod hunc
that from behind Milo they-might-attack partly because him
iam interfectum putarent, caedere incipiunt eius servos qui
already killed they-thought to-slaughter begin his slaves who
post erant; ex quibus qui animo fideli in dominum
behind were of whom those-who in-spirit faithful toward their-master
et praesenti fuerunt, partim occisi sunt, partim, cum ad
and present were partly killed were partly when at
raedam pugnari viderent, domino succurrere prohiberentur,
the-carriage to-be-fought they-saw their-master to-help were-prevented
Milonem occisum et ex ipso Clodio audirent et re
Milo killed and from himself Clodius they-heard and in-the-thing
vera putarent, fecerunt id servi Milonis — dicam enim
true thought did that the-slaves of-Milo I-will-say for
aperte non derivandi criminis causa, sed ut factum est —
openly not of-diverting the-charge for-the-sake but as done it-was
nec imperante nec sciente nec praesente domino, quod
neither with-ordering nor knowing nor present their-master what
suos quisque servos in tali re facere voluisset.
his-own each slaves in such a-thing to-do would-have-wished

An ambusher was overcome, force by force. If self-defense is unlawful Cicero has nothing to say, but nature gives it to all, and the senate condemned the ambush and Pompey's law asked only who laid it. If Milo laid it, let him not go unpunished; if Clodius, let Milo be cleared. Who gained by the death? Clodius stood to gain from Milo's death, a praetorship under consuls who would wink at his madness, while Milo lost by it, and the hatred was all on Clodius' side.

Haec sicuti exposui ita gesta sunt, iudices: insidiator 30
these-things as I-have-set-out so done were judges the-plotter
superatus est, vi victa vis vel potius oppressa virtute
overcome was by-force conquered force or rather crushed by-courage
audacia est. Nihil dico quid res publica consecuta sit, nihil
audacity was nothing I-say what the-thing public gained has nothing
quid vos, nihil quid omnes boni: nihil sane id prosit
what you nothing what all the-good nothing indeed let-that profit
Miloni, qui hoc fato natus est ut ne se quidem servare
Milo who by-this fate born was that not himself even to-save
potuerit quin una rem publicam vosque servaret. Si id
he-could but-that together the-thing public and-you he-should-save if that
iure fieri non potuit, nihil habeo quod defendam. Sin hoc
by-right to-be-done not could nothing have-I which I-may-defend but-if this
et ratio doctis et necessitas barbaris et mos gentibus
both reason to-the-learned and necessity to-barbarians and custom to-nations
et feris natura ipsa praescripsit ut omnem semper vim
and to-beasts nature itself has-prescribed that all always violence
quacumque ope possent a corpore, a capite, a vita sua
by-whatever means they-could from body from head from life their-own
propulsarent, non potestis hoc facinus improbum iudicare quin
they-should-repel not you-can this deed wicked to-judge but-that

simul iudicetis omnibus qui in latrones inciderint
at-the-same-time you-judge for-all who among brigands shall-have-fallen
aut illorum telis aut vestris sententiis esse pereundum.
either by-their weapons or by-your votes to-be must-be-perished
31 Quod si ita putasset, certe optabilius Miloni fuit dare
but if so he-had-thought certainly more-desirable for-Milo it-was to-give
iugulum P. Clodio, non semel ab illo neque tum
his-throat to-Publius Clodius not once by him nor then
primum petitum, quam iugulari a vobis, quia se
for-the-first-time attacked than to-be-butchered by you because himself
non iugulandum illi tradidisset. Sin hoc nemo vestrum
not to-be-butchered to-him he-had-surrendered but-if this no-one of-you
ita sentit, illud iam in iudicium venit, non occisusne sit,
so thinks that now into judgment comes not killed-whether he-was
quod fatemur, sed iure an iniuria, quod multis in causis
which we-confess but by-right or by-wrong which many in cases
saepe quaesitum est. Insidias factas esse constat, et id
often asked has-been a-plot made to-have-been is-agreed and that
est quod senatus contra rem publicam factum iudicavit; ab
is what the-senate against the-thing public done judged by
utro factae sint incertum est. De hoc igitur latum
which-of-the-two made it-was uncertain is about this therefore carried
est ut quaereretur. Ita et senatus rem, non hominem
it-was that it-should-be-inquired thus both the-senate the-deed not the-man
notavit et Pompeius de iure, non de facto quaestionem
marked and Pompey about the-right not about the-fact an-inquiry
tulit. Num quid igitur aliud in iudicium venit nisi uter
carried surely-not anything therefore else into judgment comes except which
utri insidias fecerit? Profecto nihil: si hic illi, ut ne
for-which a-plot made surely nothing if this-man for-that-man that not
sit impune; si ille huic, tum nos scelere solvamur.
he-be with-impunity if that-man for-this-man then we from-crime may-be-absolved

Quonam igitur pacto probari potest insidias Miloni 32
in-what therefore way to-be-proved can a-plot against-Milo
fecisse Clodium? Satis est in illa quidem tam audaci, tam
to-have-made Clodius enough it-is in that indeed so audacious so
nefaria belua docere, magnam ei causam, magnam spem
wicked a-beast to-show a-great to-him reason a-great hope
in Milonis morte propositam, magnas utilitates fuisse.
in Milo's death set-before great advantages to-have-been
Itaque illud Cassianum cui bono fuerit in his personis
and-so that Cassian for-whom for-good it-was in these persons
valeat, etsi boni nullo emolumento impelluntur in
let-it-prevail although the-good by-no profit are-driven into
fraudem, improbi saepe parvo. Atqui Milone interfecto
fraud the-wicked often by-a-small and-yet with-Milo killed
Clodius haec adsequebatur, non modo ut praetor esset
Clodius these-things was-attaining not only that praetor he-should-be
non eo consule quo sceleris facere nihil posset
not with-him as-consul under-whom of-crime to-do nothing he-could
sed etiam ut eis consulibus praetor esset quibus
but also that with-those as-consuls praetor he-should-be with-whom
si non adiuvantibus, at coniventibus certe speraret se
if not helping at-least shutting-their-eyes certainly he-hoped himself
posse eludere in illis suis cogitatis furoribus: cuius illi
to-be-able to-elude in those his-own planned furies whose they
conatus, ut ipse ratiocinabatur, nec cuperent reprimere,
attempts as he-himself reasoned neither would-wish to-repress
si possent, cum tantum beneficium ei se debere
if they-could since so-great a-kindness to-him themselves to-owe
arbitrarentur, et, si vellent, fortasse vix possent frangere
they-thought and if they-wished perhaps scarcely could to-break
hominis sceleratissimi conroboratam iam vetustate audaciam.
of-the-man most-criminal strengthened already by-age audacity

33 An vero, iudices, vos soli ignoratis, vos hospites in hac urbe
or indeed judges you alone are-ignorant you as-strangers in this city
versamini, vestrae peregrinantur aures neque in hoc pervagato
move your travel-abroad ears nor in this widespread
civitatis sermone versantur, quas ille leges, si leges nominandae
of-the-state talk move what he laws if laws to-be-named
sunt ac non faces urbis, pestes rei publicae, fuerit
they-are and not torches of-the-city the-plagues of-the-thing public was
impositurus nobis omnibus atque inusturus? Exhibe, exhibe,
going-to-impose on-us all and going-to-brand show show
quaeso, Sexte Clodi, librarium illud legum vestrarum quod te
I-pray Sextus Clodius the-book that of-laws your which you
aiunt eripuisse e domo et ex mediis armis turbaque
they-say to-have-snatched from the-house and from the-midst-of arms and-the-crowd
nocturna tamquam Palladium sustulisse, ut praeclarum
nightly as-if the-Palladium to-have-carried-off so-that a-splendid
videlicet munus atque instrumentum tribunatus ad aliquem,
forsooth gift and instrument of-the-tribunate to someone
si nactus esses, qui tuo arbitrio tribunatum gereret, deferre
if found you-had who at-your will the-tribunate should-hold to-convey
posses. Et aspexit me illis quidem oculis quibus
you-might-be-able and he-looked-at me with-those indeed eyes with-which
tum solebat cum omnibus omnia minabatur. Movet me
then he-used-to when to-all all-things he-threatened moves me
quippe lumen curiae! Quid? tu me tibi iratum,
forsooth the-light of-the-senate-house what you me with-you angry
Sexte, putas, cuius tu inimicissimum multo crudelius
Sextus do-you-think whose you most-hostile-enemy much more-cruelly
etiam punitus es, quam erat humanitatis meae postulare?
even punished you-have than was of-humanity my to-demand
Tu P. Clodi cruentum cadaver eiecisti domo, tu in
you of-Publius Clodius the-bloody corpse threw-out from-the-house you into

publicum abiecisti, tu spoliatum imaginibus, exsequiis, pompa,
public cast-it you stripped of-masks of-obsequies of-procession
laudatione, infelicissimis lignis semiustilatum nocturnis canibus
of-eulogy on-most-unlucky wood half-burned for-nightly dogs
dilaniandum reliquisti. Qua re, etsi nefarie fecisti, tamen,
to-be-torn-apart left-it by-which thing although wickedly you-acted still
quoniam in meo inimico crudelitatem exprompsisti tuam,
since on my enemy cruelty you-displayed your
laudare non possum, irasci certe non debeo.
to-praise not I-can to-be-angry certainly not I-ought
Audistis, iudices, quantum Clodi interfuerit occidi 34
you-have-heard judges how-much for-Clodius it-mattered to-be-killed
Milonem: convertite animos nunc vicissim ad Milonem.
Milo turn your-minds now in-turn to Milo
Quid Milonis intererat interfici Clodium? quid erat cur
what for-Milo did-it-matter to-be-killed Clodius what was-there why
Milo non dicam admitteret, sed optaret? 'Obstabat in
Milo not I-will-say should-commit-it but should-wish-it stood-in-the-way in
spe consulatus Miloni Clodius.' At eo repugnante
the-hope of-the-consulship for-Milo Clodius but with-him opposing
fiebat, immo vero eo fiebat magis, nec
he-was-being-made nay indeed with-him he-was-being-made the-more nor
me suffragatore meliore utebatur quam Clodio. Valebat apud
me as-supporter better he-used than Clodius prevailed with
vos, iudices, Milonis erga me remque publicam meritorum
you judges of-Milo toward me and-the-thing public of-the-services
memoria, valebant preces et lacrimae nostrae, quibus ego
the-memory prevailed the-prayers and tears our by-which I
tum vos mirifice moveri sentiebam, sed plus multo valebat
then you wonderfully to-be-moved perceived but more much prevailed
periculorum impendentium timor. Quis enim erat civium
of-dangers impending the-fear who for was of-the-citizens

qui sibi solutam P. Clodi praeturam sine maximo
who to-himself unbridled of-Publius Clodius the-praetorship without the-greatest
rerum novarum metu proponeret? Solutam autem fore
of-things new fear could-set-before unbridled however going-to-be
videbatis, nisi esset is consul qui eam auderet possetque
you-saw unless were he consul who it would-dare and-could
constringere. Eum Milonem unum esse cum sentiret universus
to-bind him Milo alone to-be since felt the-whole
populus Romanus, quis dubitaret suffragio suo se metu,
people Roman who would-doubt by-vote his-own himself from-fear
periculo rem publicam liberare? At nunc, Clodio remoto,
from-danger the-thing public to-free but now with-Clodius removed
usitatis iam rebus enitendum est Miloni ut tueatur
by-ordinary now means to-be-striven is by-Milo that he-may-maintain
dignitatem suam; singularis illa et huic uni concessa
dignity his-own singular that and to-this-man alone granted
gloria quae cotidie augebatur frangendis furoribus Clodianis
glory which daily was-increased by-breaking the-furies Clodian
iam Clodi morte cecidit. Vos adepti estis ne quem
now by-Clodius' death has-fallen you attained have that-not any
civem metueretis; hic exercitationem virtutis, suffragationem
citizen you-might-fear this-man the-exercise of-virtue the-support
consulatus, fontem perennem gloriae suae perdidit. Itaque
of-his-consulship the-fountain perennial of-glory his-own has-lost and-so
Milonis consulatus qui vivo Clodio labefactari non poterat
Milo's consulship which with-living Clodius to-be-shaken not could
mortuo denique temptari coeptus est. Non modo igitur
with-him-dead at-last to-be-attempted begun it-has not only therefore
nihil prodest sed obest etiam Clodi mors Miloni.
nothing profits but harms even Clodius' death Milo

‘At valuit odium, fecit iratus, fecit inimicus, fuit ultor 35
but prevailed hatred he-did-it angry he-did-it hostile he-was the-avenger
iniuriae, punitor doloris sui.’ Quid? Si haec non dico
of-wrong the-punisher of-pain his-own what if these-things not I-say
maiora fuerunt in Clodio quam in Milone, sed in illo maxima,
greater were in Clodius than in Milo but in him greatest
nulla in hoc, quid voltis amplius? Quid enim odisset
none in this-man what do-you-wish more why for should-hate
Clodium Milo, segetem ac materiam suae gloriae, praeter
Clodius Milo the-crop and material of-his-own glory beyond
hoc civile odium quo omnis improbos odimus? Illi
this civil hatred with-which all the-wicked we-hate for-him
erat ut odisset primum defensorem salutis meae, deinde
there-was why he-should-hate first the-defender of-safety my then
vexatorem furoris, domitorem armorum suorum, postremo
the-harasser of-(his)-madness the-tamer of-arms his-own lastly
etiam accusatorem suum; reus enim Milonis lege
also the-accuser his-own a-defendant for of-Milo under-the-law
Plotia fuit Clodius quoad vixit. Quo tandem animo hoc
Plotian was Clodius as-long-as he-lived with-what pray mind this
tyrannum illum tulisse creditis? Quantum odium illius
tyrant that to-have-borne do-you-believe how-great the-hatred of-him
et in homine iniusto quam etiam iustum fuisse?
and in a-man unjust how even just to-have-been

Clodius' own character convicts him: he drove Cicero out by arms, nearly killed Hortensius, killed Vibienus, plotted against Pompey, and stained the Appian Way with Papirius' blood. Milo used force only to keep Clodius from holding the city when he could not be brought to trial, and passed up many chances to kill him: defending his house, at Cicero's recall, in the forum, at the elections. Would he then choose a day that would cost him the consulship?

36 Reliquum est ut iam illum natura ipsius consuetudoque
remaining it-is that now him the-nature of-himself and-habit
defendat, hunc autem haec eadem coarguant. 'Nihil per vim
should-defend this-man however these same should-convict nothing through violence
umquam Clodius, omnia per vim Milo.' Quid? ego, iudices,
ever Clodius everything through violence Milo what I judges
cum maerentibus vobis urbe cessi, iudiciumne timui, non
when with-mourning you from-the-city withdrew a-trial-whether did-I-fear not
servos, non arma, non vim? Quae fuisset igitur iusta causa
slaves not arms not violence what would-have-been therefore a-just cause
restituendi mei, nisi fuisset iniusta eiciendi? Diem mihi,
of-restoring me unless there-had-been an-unjust of-ejecting a-day for-me
credo, dixerat, multam inrogarat, actionem perduellionis
I-suppose he-had-named a-fine he-had-proposed an-action of-treason
intenderat, et mihi videlicet in causa aut mala aut mea, non
he-had-brought and to-me forsooth in a-case either bad or mine not
et praeclarissima et vestra, iudicium timendum fuit. Servorum
both most-splendid and yours a-trial to-be-feared was of-slaves
et egentium civium et facinorosorum armis meos civis,
and of-needy citizens and of-criminals to-the-arms my citizens
meis consiliis periculisque servatos, pro me obici nolui.
by-my counsels and-dangers preserved for me to-be-exposed I-did-not-wish

Vidi enim, vidi hunc ipsum Q. Hortensium, lumen 37
I-saw for I-saw this very Quintus Hortensius the-light
et ornamentum rei publicae, paene interfici servorum
and ornament of-the-thing public almost to-be-killed of-slaves
manu, cum mihi adesset; qua in turba C. Vibienus
by-the-hand when me he-was-supporting which in crowd Gaius Vibienus
senator, vir optimus, cum hoc cum esset una, ita
a-senator a-man excellent with this-man when he-was together so
est mulcatus ut vitam amiserit. Itaque quando illius postea
was beaten that life he-lost and-so when his afterward
sica illa quam a Catilina acceperat conquievit? Haec
dagger that which from Catiline he-had-received has-rested this
intenta nobis est, huic ego vos obici pro me non
aimed at-us has-been to-this I you to-be-exposed for me not
sum passus, haec insidiata Pompeio est, haec viam Appiam,
I-have allowed this laid-ambush for-Pompey has this the-way Appian
monumentum sui nominis, nece Papiri cruentavit,
the-monument of-his-own name with-the-murder of-Papirius has-bloodied
haec eadem longo intervallo conversa rursus est in me;
this same after-a-long interval turned again has against me
nuper quidem, ut scitis, me ad regiam paene confecit.
lately indeed as you-know me at the-Regia almost finished-off
Quid simile Milonis? Cuius vis omnis haec semper fuit, 38
what similar of-Milo whose force all this always was
ne P. Clodius, cum in iudicium detrahi non posset,
that-not Publius Clodius since into court to-be-dragged not could
vi oppressam civitatem teneret. Quem si interficere
by-force crushed the-state should-hold whom if to-kill
voluisset, quantae quotiens occasiones, quam praeclarae
he-had-wished how-great how-often opportunities how splendid
fuerunt! Potuitne, cum domum ac deos penatis suos
were could-be-whether when his-house and gods household his-own

illo oppugnante defenderet, iure se ulcisci, potuitne
with-him attacking he-defended by-right himself to-avenge could-he-whether
civi egregio et viro fortissimo, P. Sestio, conlega
with-a-citizen outstanding and man bravest Publius Sestius colleague
suo, volnerato, potuitne Q. Fabricio, viro optimo,
his-own wounded could-he-whether with-Quintus Fabricius a-man excellent
cum de reditu meo legem ferret, pulso, crudelissima
when about the-return my a-law he-was-carrying driven-off with-a-most-cruel
in foro caede facta, potuitne L. Caecili, iustissimi
in the-forum slaughter made could-he-whether with-Lucius' Caecilius' most-just
fortissimique praetoris, oppugnata domo, potuitne illo die
and-bravest praetor's attacked the-house could-he-whether on-that day
quo est lata lex de me, cum totius Italiae concursus,
on-which was carried the-law about me when of-all Italy the-concourse
quem mea salus concitarat, facti illius gloriam libens
which my safety had-roused of-the-deed that the-glory gladly
agnovisset, ut, etiam si id Milo fecisset, cuncta
would-have-acknowledged so-that even if that Milo had-done the-whole
civitas eam laudem pro sua vindicaret?
state that praise as its-own would-claim

39 At quod erat tempus? Clarissimus et fortissimus vir
but what was a-time the-most-illustrious and bravest man
consul, inimicus Clodio, P. Lentulus, ultor sceleris illius,
consul hostile to-Clodius Publius Lentulus the-avenger of-crime his
propugnator senatus, defensor vestrae voluntatis, patronus
the-champion of-the-senate the-defender of-your will the-patron
publici consensus, restitutor salutis meae; septem praetores, octo
of-public consensus the-restorer of-safety my seven praetors eight
tribuni plebei illius adversarii, defensores mei; Cn. Pompeius,
tribunes of-the-plebs his adversaries defenders of-me Gnaeus Pompey
auctor et dux mei reditus, illius hostis, cuius sententiam
the-author and leader of-my return his enemy whose opinion

senatus omnis de salute mea gravissimam et ornatissimam
the-senate whole about safety my most-weighty and most-distinguished
secutus est, qui populum Romanum est cohortatus; qui cum
followed has who the-people Roman has exhorted who when
decretum de me Capuae fecisset, ipse cunctae Italiae cupienti
a-decree about me at-Capua he-had-made himself to-all Italy desiring
et eius fidem imploranti signum dedit ut ad me restituendum
and his good-faith imploring the-signal gave that for me restoring
Romam concurreret; omnium denique in illum odia
to-Rome it-should-flock of-all finally against him the-hatreds
civium ardebant desiderio mei, quem qui tum interemisset,
of-citizens burned with-longing for-me whom he-who then had-killed
non de impunitate eius, sed de praemiis cogitaretur.
not about impunity his but about rewards it-would-be-thought
Tum se Milo continuit et P. Clodium in iudicium bis, 40
then himself Milo restrained and Publius Clodius into court twice
ad vim numquam vocavit. Quid? Privato Milone et reo
to violence never summoned what with-private Milo and defendant
ad populum accusante P. Clodio, cum in Cn. Pompeium
before the-people with-accusing Publius Clodius when upon Gnaeus Pompey
pro Milone dicentem impetus factus est, quae tum non modo
for Milo speaking an-attack made was what then not only
occasio sed etiam causa illius opprimendi fuit? Nuper vero cum
opportunity but also cause him of-crushing was lately indeed when
M. Antonius summam spem salutis bonis omnibus attulisset
Mark Antony the-highest hope of-safety to-the-good all had-brought
gravissimamque adulescens nobilissimus rei publicae partem
and-the-weightiest young-man most-noble of-the-thing public part
fortissime suscepisset, atque illam beluam, iudici laqueos
most-bravely had-taken-up and that beast of-the-court the-snares
declinantem, iam inretitam teneret, qui locus, quod tempus
avoiding already entangled was-holding what place what time

illud, di immortales, fuit! Cum se ille fugiens in scalarum
that gods immortal was when himself he fleeing in of-the-stairs
tenebras abdidisset, magnum Miloni fuit conficere illam pestem
the-darkness had-hidden a-great-thing for-Milo it-was to-finish-off that plague
nulla sua invidia, M. vero Antoni maxima gloria?
with-no his-own odium of-Mark indeed Antony with-the-greatest glory
41 Quid? Comitiis in campo quotiens potestas fuit! Cum
what at-the-elections in the-Field how-often the-power was when
ille in saepta inrupisset, gladios destringendos, lapides
he into the-enclosures had-burst swords to-be-drawn stones
iaciendos curasset, dein subito voltu Milonis perterritus
to-be-thrown had-seen-to then suddenly by-the-face of-Milo terrified
fugeret ad Tiberim, vos et omnes boni vota faceretis
was-fleeing to the-Tiber you and all the-good vows were-making
ut Miloni uti virtute sua liberet. Quem igitur cum
that Milo to-use courage his-own might-please whom therefore with
omnium gratia noluit, hunc voluit cum aliquorum
of-all the-gratitude he-did-not-wish this-man he-wished with of-some
querela, quem iure, quem loco, quem tempore, quem
the-complaint whom by-right whom in-place whom at-time whom
impune non est ausus, hunc iniuria, iniquo loco, alieno
with-impunity not has dared this-man by-wrong in-unfair place in-another's
tempore, periculo capitis non dubitavit occidere?
time at-the-risk of-his-life not he-hesitated to-kill
42 Praesertim, iudices, cum honoris amplissimi contentio et
especially judges when of-office most-ample the-contest and
dies comitiorum subesset, quo quidem tempore — scio
the-day of-the-elections was-near at-which indeed time I-know
enim quam timida sit ambitio quantaque et quam sollicita
for how timid is ambition and-how-great and how anxious
sit cupiditas consulatus — omnia non modo quae reprehendi
is the-desire of-the-consulship all-things not only which to-be-censured

palam sed etiam quae obscure cogitari possunt timemus,
openly but even which obscurely to-be-thought can we-fear
rumorem, fabulam falsam, fictam, levem perhorrescimus, ora
a-rumor a-tale false fabricated light we-shudder-at the-faces
omnium atque oculos intuemur. Nihil est enim tam molle,
of-all and eyes we-watch nothing is for so soft
tam tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexibile quam voluntas erga
so tender so either fragile or flexible as the-goodwill toward
nos sensusque civium, qui non modo improbitati irascuntur
us and-the-feelings of-citizens who not only at-the-wickedness are-angry
candidatorum sed etiam in recte factis saepe fastidiunt.
of-candidates but even in rightly done-things often are-fastidious
Hunc igitur diem campi speratum atque exoptatum sibi 43
this therefore day of-the-Field hoped-for and longed-for to-himself
proponens Milo, cruentis manibus scelus et facinus prae
setting-before Milo with-bloody hands crime and deed before
se ferens et confitens ad illa augusta centuriarum auspicia
himself bearing and confessing to those august of-the-centuries auspices
veniebat? Quam hoc non credibile est in hoc, quam idem
was-coming how this not credible is in this-man how the-same
in Clodio non dubitandum, qui se ipse interfecto Milone
in Clodius not to-be-doubted who himself he-himself with-killed Milo
regnaturum putaret! Quid? Quod caput est audaciae, iudices,
going-to-reign thought what that-which the-head is of-audacity judges
quis ignorat maximam inlecebram esse peccandi impunitatis
who is-ignorant-that the-greatest allurement to-be of-sinning of-impunity
spem? In utro igitur haec fuit? in Milone qui etiam nunc
the-hope in which-of-the-two therefore this was in Milo who even now
reus est facti aut praeclari aut certe necessarii, an in
a-defendant is for-a-deed either splendid or certainly necessary or in

Clodio qui ita iudicia poenamque contempserat ut eum nihil
Clodius who so courts and-penalty had-despised that him nothing
delectaret quod aut per naturam fas esset aut per leges liceret?
delighted which either by nature right was or by laws was-allowed

VIII · WHO KNEW THE DAY?

Favonius heard Clodius say that Milo would die within three days, and on the third day it happened. Clodius could easily learn that Milo must go to Lanuvium that day to install the priest, and so he left Rome on the day of a riotous assembly he would never have missed. Milo could not know Clodius' return, which was sudden and pretended to follow the news of Cyrus' death. Clodius would have left his villa for no reason but the ambush.

44 Sed quid ego argumentor, quid plura disputo? Te, Q. Petili,
but why I argue why more-things do-I-dispute you Quintus Petilius
appello, optimum et fortissimum civem; te, M. Cato,
I-call-on a-most-excellent and bravest citizen you Marcus Cato
testor, quos mihi divina quaedam sors dedit iudices. Vos
I-call-to-witness whom to-me a-divine certain lot has-given as-judges you
ex M. Favonio audistis Clodium sibi dixisse, et audistis
from Marcus Favonius have-heard Clodius to-himself to-have-said and you-heard
vivo Clodio, periturum Milonem triduo. Post diem
with-living Clodius going-to-perish Milo in-three-days after the-day
tertium gesta res est quam dixerat. Cum ille non dubitarit
third done the-deed was than he-had-said since he not hesitated
aperire quid cogitaret, vos potestis dubitare quid fecerit?
to-disclose what he-planned you can to-doubt what he-did
45 Quem ad modum igitur eum dies non fefellit? Dixi equidem
in-what to manner therefore him the-day not deceived I-said indeed
modo. Dictatoris Lanuvini stata sacrificia nosse negoti
just-now of-the-dictator of-Lanuvium the-fixed sacrifices to-know of-trouble

nihil erat. Vidit necesse esse Miloni proficisci Lanuvium
nothing was he-saw necessary to-be for-Milo to-set-out to-Lanuvium
illo ipso quo est profectus die: itaque antevertit. At
on-that very on-which he-has set-out day and-so he-forestalled-him but
quo die? Quo, ut ante dixi, fuit insanissima contio ab
on-what day on-which as before I-said was a-most-insane assembly by
ipsius mercennario tribuno plebis concitata: quem diem ille,
his-own hired tribune of-the-plebs roused which day he
quam contionem, quos clamores, nisi ad cogitatum facinus
which assembly what clamors unless to a-planned crime
approperaret, numquam reliquisset. Ergo illi ne causa
he-were-hastening never would-have-left therefore for-him not a-reason
quidem itineris, etiam causa manendi; Miloni manendi
even of-the-journey even a-reason of-staying for-Milo of-staying
nulla facultas, exeundi non causa solum sed etiam necessitas
no opportunity of-going-out not a-reason only but also a-necessity
fuit. Quid si, ut ille scivit Milonem fore eo die
there-was what if as he knew Milo going-to-be on-that day
in via, sic Clodium Milo ne suspicari quidem potuit?
on the-road so Clodius Milo not to-suspect even could
Primum quaero qui id scire potuerit? Quod vos idem 46
first I-ask how that to-know he-could which you the-same
in Clodio quaerere non potestis. Ut enim neminem alium
in Clodius to-ask not can though for no-one other
nisi T. Patinam, familiarissimum suum, rogasset, scire
except Titus Patina most-intimate his-own he-had-asked to-know
potuit illo ipso die Lanuvi a dictatore Milone prodi
he-could on-that very day at-Lanuvium by the-dictator Milo to-be-named
flaminem necesse esse. Sed erant permulti alii ex quibus
the-flamen necessary to-be but there-were very-many others from whom
id facillime scire posset: omnes scilicet Lanuvini. Milo de
that most-easily to-know he-could all forsooth the-Lanuvians Milo about

Clodi reditu unde quaesivit? Quaesierit sane — videte
Clodius' return from-whom did-he-ask suppose-he-asked by-all-means see
quid vobis largiar — servum etiam, ut Q. Arrius, amicus
what to-you I-grant a-slave even as Quintus Arrius friend
meus, dixit, corruperit. Legite testimonia testium vestrorum.
my said suppose-he-bribed read the-testimonies of-witnesses your
Dixit C. Causinius Schola, Interamnanus, familiarissimus et
said Gaius Causinius Schola of-Interamna most-intimate and
idem comes Clodi, P. Clodium illo die in Albano
the-same companion of-Clodius Publius Clodius on-that day at the-Alban-estate
mansurum fuisse, sed subito ei esse nuntiatum Cyrum
going-to-stay to-have-been but suddenly to-him to-have-been announced Cyrus
architectum esse mortuum, itaque repente Romam constituisse
the-architect to-have died and-so suddenly to-Rome to-have-decided
proficisci. Dixit hoc item comes P. Clodi, C. Clodius.
to-set-out said this likewise the-companion of-Publius Clodius Gaius Clodius
47 Videte, iudices, quantae res his testimoniis sint confectae.
see judges how-great things by-these testimonies have-been accomplished
Primum certe liberatur Milo non eo consilio profectus
first certainly is-freed Milo not with-that design set-out
esse ut insidiaretur in via Clodio: quippe, si ille obvius
to-have-been that he-might-ambush on the-road Clodius since if he meeting
ei futurus omnino non erat. Deinde — non enim video cur
him going-to-be at-all not was then not for I-see why
non meum quoque agam negotium — scitis, iudices,
not my-own also I-should-plead business you-know judges
fuisse qui in hac rogatione suadenda diceret Milonis
there-to-have-been one-who in this bill recommending said by-Milo's
manu caedem esse factam, consilio vero maioris
hand the-slaughter to-have-been done by-the-design however of-someone
alicuius. Me videlicet latronem ac sicarium abiecti homines
greater me forsooth as-brigand and assassin cast-down men

et perditi describebant. Iacent suis testibus qui
and abandoned described they-lie-prostrate by-their-own witnesses who
Clodium negant eo die Romam, nisi de Cyro audisset,
Clodius deny on-that day to-Rome unless about Cyrus he-had-heard
fuisse rediturum. Respiravi, liberatus sum; non vereor ne,
to-have-been going-to-return I-breathed-again freed I-am not I-fear lest
quod ne suspicari quidem potuerim, videar id cogitasse.
what not to-suspect even I-could I-may-seem that to-have-planned
Nunc persequar cetera; nam occurrit illud: 'Igitur ne 48
now I-will-pursue the-rest for occurs that therefore not
Clodius quidem de insidiis cogitavit, quoniam fuit in
Clodius even about a-plot thought since he-was at
Albano mansurus.' Si quidem exiturus ad caedem e
the-Alban-estate going-to-stay if indeed going-to-go-out for slaughter from
villa non fuisset. Video enim illum qui dicatur de
the-villa not he-had-been I-see for him who is-said about
Cyri morte nuntiasse non id nuntiasse, sed Milonem
Cyrus' death to-have-announced not that to-have-announced but Milo
appropinquare. Nam quid de Cyro nuntiaret quem Clodius
to-be-approaching for what about Cyrus would-he-announce whom Clodius
Roma proficiscens reliquerat morientem? Testamentum simul
from-Rome setting-out had-left dying the-will together
obsignavi, una fui; testamentum autem palam fecerat et
I-sealed together I-was the-will however openly he-had-made and
illum heredem et me scripserat. Quem pridie hora
him heir and me he-had-written whom on-the-day-before at-the-hour
tertia animam efflantem reliquisset, eum mortuum postridie
third his-soul breathing-out he-had-left him dead on-the-day-after
hora decima denique ei nuntiabatur?
at-the-hour tenth at-last to-him was-it-announced

49 Age, sit ita factum: quae causa fuit cur Romam
come let-it-be so done what reason was-there why to-Rome
properaret, cur in noctem se coniceret? Quid adferebat
he-should-hasten why into the-night himself should-throw what brought
festinationis quod heres erat? Primum nihil erat cur
of-haste that heir he-was first nothing there-was why
properato opus esset; deinde si quid esset, quid tandem
with-haste need there-should-be then if anything there-were what pray
erat quod ea nocte consequi posset, amitteret autem, si
was-there which on-that night to-gain he-could he-would-lose however if
postridie Romam mane venisset? Atqui ut illi nocturnus
on-the-next-day to-Rome early he-had-come and-yet as for-him a-nightly
ad urbem adventus vitandus potius quam expetendus fuit,
to the-city arrival to-be-avoided rather than to-be-sought was
sic Miloni, cum insidiator esset, si illum ad urbem noctu
so for-Milo since a-plotter he-was if him to the-city by-night
accessurum sciebat, subsidendum atque exspectandum fuit.
going-to-approach he-knew must-be-lain-in-wait and to-be-waited it-was
50 Noctu occidisset: insidioso et pleno latronum in loco
by-night he-would-have-killed-him a-treacherous and full of-brigands in place
occidisset. Nemo ei neganti non credidisset quem
he-would-have-killed-him no-one him denying not would-have-believed whom
esse omnes salvum etiam confitentem volunt. Sustinuisset
to-be all safe even confessing wish would-have-borne
crimen primum ipse ille latronum occultator et receptor locus,
the-charge first itself that of-brigands the-hider and harborer the-place
tum neque muta solitudo indicasset neque caeca nox
then neither dumb solitude would-have-informed nor blind night
ostendisset Milonem; deinde multi ab illo violati, spoliati,
would-have-shown Milo then many by him outraged stripped

bonis expulsi, multi haec etiam timentes in suspicionem
of-goods expelled many these-things even fearing into suspicion
caderent, tota denique rea citaretur Etruria.
would-fall the-whole finally as-defendant would-be-summoned Etruria
Atque illo die certe Aricia rediens devertit Clodius ad 51
and on-that day certainly from-Aricia returning turned-aside Clodius to
se in Albanum. Quod ut sciret Milo illum Ariciae
his-own into the-Alban-estate which though he-knew Milo him at-Aricia
fuisse, suspicari tamen debuit eum, etiam si Romam illo die
to-have-been to-suspect still he-ought him even if to-Rome on-that day
reverti vellet, ad villam suam quae viam tangeret deversurum.
to-return he-wished to the-villa his-own which the-road touched going-to-turn-aside
Cur nec ante occurrit ne ille in villa resideret, nec
why neither before did-he-meet-him lest he in the-villa should-stay nor
eo in loco subsedit quo ille noctu venturus esset?
that in place lay-in-wait to-which he by-night going-to-come was

IX · THE PLACE SPEAKS

Everything agrees: Clodius' life was useful to Milo, Milo's death longed for by Clodius; Milo's journey was known and necessary, Clodius' return unknown. The place, before Clodius' estate, suited the ambusher. Picture it: one man in a traveling cloak in a carriage beside his wife, the other on horseback, armed, without his usual train of Greeks. The traveler won because Milo never went unguarded and Clodius forgot his rear.

Video adhuc constare, iudices, omnia: Miloni etiam utile 52
I-see so-far to-be-agreed judges all-things for-Milo even useful
fuisse Clodium vivere, illi ad ea quae concupierat
to-have-been Clodius to-live for-him toward those-things which he-had-craved
optatissimum interitum Milonis; odium fuisse illius
most-desired the-death of-Milo the-hatred to-have-been of-him

in hunc acerbissimum, nullum huius in illum;
against this-man most-bitter none of-this-man against him
consuetudinem illius perpetuam in vi inferenda, huius
the-habit of-him constant in violence bringing of-this-man
tantum in repellenda; mortem ab illo Miloni denuntiatam
only in repelling death by him for-Milo announced
et praedicatam palam, nihil umquam auditum ex Milone;
and proclaimed openly nothing ever heard from Milo
profectionis huius diem illi notum, reditum illius huic
of-the-departure of-this-man the-day to-him known the-return of-him to-this-man
ignotum fuisse; huius iter necessarium, illius etiam
unknown to-have-been of-this-man the-journey necessary of-him even
potius alienum; hunc prae se tulisse se illo die
rather out-of-place this-man before himself to-have-borne himself on-that day
exiturum, illum eo die se dissimulasse rediturum; hunc
going-to-go-out him on-that day himself to-have-concealed going-to-return this-man
nullius rei mutasse consilium, illum causam mutandi
of-no thing to-have-changed the-plan him a-reason of-changing
consili finxisse; huic, si insidiaretur, noctem prope
the-plan to-have-invented for-this-man if he-were-plotting night near
urbem exspectandam, illi, etiam si hunc non timeret,
the-city to-be-waited-for for-him even if this-man not be-feared
tamen accessum ad urbem nocturnum fuisse metuendum.
still the-approach to the-city nightly to-have-been to-be-feared
53 Videamus nunc id quod caput est, locus ad insidias ille ipse
let-us-see now that which the-head is the-place for a-plot that very
ubi congressi sunt utri tandem fuerit aptior. Id
where met they-have for-which-of-the-two pray it-was more-fit that
vero, iudices, etiam dubitandum et diutius cogitandum est?
indeed judges even to-be-doubted and longer to-be-considered is
Ante fundum Clodi quo in fundo propter insanas illas
before the-estate of-Clodius which in estate on-account-of insane those

substructiones facile hominum mille versabatur valentium,
substructures easily of-men a-thousand were-busy strong
edito adversarii atque excelso loco superiorem se fore
on-the-elevated of-his-adversary and lofty place superior himself going-to-be
putabat Milo, et ob eam rem eum locum ad pugnam
thought Milo and on-account-of that thing that place for fighting
potissimum elegerat, an in eo loco est potius exspectatus
especially had-chosen or in that place was rather awaited
ab eo qui ipsius loci spe facere impetum cogitarat?
by him who itself of-the-place in-hope to-make an-attack had-planned
Res loquitur ipsa, iudices, quae semper valet plurimum.
the-thing speaks itself judges which always prevails most
Si haec non gesta audiretis, sed picta videretis, tamen 54
if these-things not done you-heard but painted you-saw still
appareret uter esset insidiator, uter nihil mali cogitaret,
it-would-appear which-of-the-two was the-plotter which nothing of-evil planned
cum alter veheretur in raeda paenulatus, una sederet uxor.
when the-one was-riding in a-carriage cloaked together sat his-wife
Quid horum non impeditissimum? Vestitus an vehiculum an
what of-these not most-encumbering the-dress or the-vehicle or
comes? quid minus promptum ad pugnam, cum paenula
the-companion what less ready for fighting when in-a-cloak
inretitus, raeda impeditus, uxore paene constrictus esset? —
entangled by-a-carriage hampered by-a-wife almost bound he-was
Videte nunc illum, primum egredientem e villa, subito: cur?
see now him first going-out from the-villa suddenly why
Vesperi: quid necesse est? tarde: qui convenit, praesertim
in-the-evening what necessary is-it late how does-it-fit especially
id temporis? 'Devertit in villam Pompei.' Pompeium ut
at-that of-time he-turned-aside into the-villa of-Pompey Pompey that
videret? Sciebat in Alsiensi esse; villam ut perspiceret?
he-might-see he-knew-him in the-Alsian-estate to-be the-villa that he-might-inspect

miliens in ea fuerat. Quid ergo erat? mora et
a-thousand-times in it he-had-been what therefore was-it delay and
tergiversatio: dum hic veniret, locum relinquere noluit.
shuffling while this-man should-come the-place to-leave he-did-not-wish
55 Age nunc iter expediti latronis cum Milonis
come now the-journey of-the-unencumbered brigand with Milo's
impedimentis comparate. Semper ille antea cum uxore, tum
encumbrances compare always he before with his-wife then
sine ea; numquam nisi in raeda, tum in equo; comites
without her never except in a-carriage then on horse companions
Graeculi, quocumque ibat, etiam cum in castra Etrusca
Greeklings wherever he-went even when to the-camp Etruscan
properabat, tum nugarum in comitatu nihil. Milo qui
he-was-hastening then of-trifles in the-retinue nothing Milo who
numquam, tum casu pueros symphoniacos uxoris ducebat
never then by-chance boys musical of-his-wife was-taking
et ancillarum greges; ille qui semper secum scorta, semper
and of-maids herds he who always with-him harlots always
exoletos, semper lupas duceret, tum neminem, nisi ut virum
catamites always she-wolves took then no-one except so-that a-man
a viro lectum esse diceres. Cur igitur victus est? Quia
by a-man chosen to-have-been you-would-say why therefore conquered was-he because
non semper viator a latrone, non numquam etiam latro
not always the-traveler by the-brigand not never also the-brigand
a viatore occiditur; quia, quamquam paratus in imparatos
by the-traveler is-killed because although prepared against the-unprepared
Clodius, ipse Clodius tamen mulier inciderat in viros.
Clodius himself Clodius still a-woman had-fallen among men
56 Nec vero sic erat umquam non paratus Milo contra illum
nor indeed so was ever not prepared Milo against him
ut non satis fere esset paratus. Semper ipse et quantum
that not enough nearly he-was prepared always he-himself both how-much

interesset P. Clodii se interire et quanto illi odio
it-mattered to-Publius Clodius himself to-perish and with-how-great to-him hatred
esset et quantum ille auderet cogitabat. Quam ob rem
he-was and how-much he dared considered which on-account-of thing
vitam suam quam maximis praemiis propositam et paene
life his-own as with-the-greatest rewards set-up and almost
addictam sciebat numquam in periculum sine praesidio et
sold he-knew never into danger without protection and
sine custodia proiciebat. Adde casus, adde incertos exitus
without guard he-threw add chances add uncertain outcomes
pugnarum Martemque communem, qui saepe spoliantem
of-fights and-Mars common who often the-despoiler
iam et exsultantem evertit et perculit ab abiecto;
already and the-exulting has-overturned and struck-down by the-cast-down-one
adde inscitiam pransi, poti, oscitantis ducis qui, cum a
add the-ignorance of-a-lunched of-a-drunk of-a-yawning leader who when from
tergo hostem interclusum reliquisset, nihil de eius extremis
behind the-enemy cut-off he-had-left nothing about his last
comitibus cogitavit, in quos incensos ira vitamque
companions thought on whom inflamed with-anger and-the-life
domini desperantis cum incidisset, haesit in eis poenis
of-their-master despairing-of when he-had-fallen he-stuck in those penalties
quas ab eo servi fideles pro domini vita expetiverunt.
which from him the-slaves faithful for of-their-master the-life exacted

Why did Milo free his slaves? Not to keep them from torture, since he admits the killing and only its justice is in question, which no rack can settle. Cato said they deserved freedom and every reward for saving their master's life. The slaves examined against Milo were Clodius' own, demanded and produced by Appius, kept a hundred days by the accuser, and asked questions whose answer meant either the cross or freedom.

57 Cur igitur eos manu misit? Metuebat scilicet ne
why therefore them by-hand did-he-free he-feared forsooth lest
indicaretur, ne dolorem perferre non possent, ne tormentis
he-be-informed-on lest the-pain to-bear not they-could lest by-tortures
cogerentur occisum esse a servis Milonis in Appia
they-be-forced killed to-have-been by the-slaves of-Milo on the-Appian
via P. Clodium confiteri. Quid opus est terrore? quid
way Publius Clodius to-confess what need is-there of-terror what
quaeris? Occideritne? Occidit. Iure an iniuria? Nihil ad
do-you-ask did-he-kill-him he-killed-him by-right or by-wrong nothing for
tortorem: facti enim in eculeo quaestio est, iuris in
the-torturer of-the-fact for on the-rack the-inquiry is of-the-right in
iudicio. Quod igitur in causa quaerendum est, id agamus
the-court what therefore in the-case to-be-inquired is that let-us-treat
hic; quod tormentis inveniri vis, id fatemur. Manu vero
here what by-tortures to-be-found you-wish that we-confess by-hand indeed
cur miserit, si id potius quaeris quam cur parum amplis
why he-freed-them if that rather you-ask than why too-little with-ample
adfecerit praemiis, nescis inimici factum reprehendere.
he-honored-them rewards you-know-not of-an-enemy the-deed to-censure

58 Dixit enim hic idem qui semper omnia constanter et
said for this-man the-same who always all-things steadfastly and
fortiter, M. Cato, et dixit in turbulenta contione, quae
bravely Marcus Cato and he-said at a-turbulent assembly which

tamen huius auctoritate placata est, non libertate solum sed
still by-his authority calmed was not of-freedom only but
etiam omnibus praemiis dignissimos fuisse qui domini
also of-all rewards most-worthy to-have-been those-who of-their-master
caput defendissent. Quod enim praemium satis magnum est
the-life had-defended what for reward enough great is
tam benevolis, tam bonis, tam fidelibus servis, propter quos
for-so well-disposed so good so faithful slaves on-account-of whom
vivit? Etsi id quidem non tanti est quam quod propter
he-lives although that indeed not worth-so-much is as that on-account-of
eosdem non sanguine et volneribus suis crudelissimi inimici
the-same not with-the-blood and wounds his-own of-a-most-cruel enemy
mentem oculosque satiavit. Quos nisi manu misisset, tormentis
the-mind and-eyes he-sated whom unless by-hand he-had-freed to-tortures
etiam dedendi fuerunt conservatores domini, ultores
even to-be-surrendered they-were the-preservers of-their-master the-avengers
sceleris, defensores necis. Hic vero nihil habet in his malis
of-crime the-defenders from-murder this-man indeed nothing has in these evils
quod minus moleste ferat quam, etiam si quid ipsi
which less with-annoyance he-may-bear than even if anything to-himself
accidat, esse tamen illis meritum praemium persolutum.
happen to-be still to-them the-deserved reward paid
Sed quaestiones urgent Milonem, quae sunt habitae nunc 59
but the-inquiries press Milo which were held now
in atrio Libertatis. Quibusnam de servis? 'Rogas? De
in the-hall of-Liberty which-pray about slaves you-ask about
P. Clodi.' Quis eos postulavit? 'Appius.' Quis produxit?
of-Publius Clodius who them demanded Appius who produced-them
'Appius.' Unde? 'Ab Appio.' Di boni! Quid potest agi
Appius from-where from Appius gods good what can to-be-done
severius? Proxime deos Clodius accessit, propius quam tum
more-severely nearest to-the-gods Clodius has-come nearer than then

cum ad ipsos penetrarat, cuius de morte tamquam
when to them-themselves he-had-penetrated whose about death as-if
de caerimoniis violatis quaeritur. Sed tamen maiores nostri
about rites violated it-is-inquired but still the-ancestors our
in dominum quaeri noluerunt, non quia non posset
against a-master to-be-inquired did-not-wish not because not it-could
verum inveniri, sed quia videbatur indignum et dominis
the-truth to-be-found but because it-seemed shameful and to-masters
morte ipsa tristius: in reum de servo accusatoris
than-death itself sadder against a-defendant about a-slave of-the-accuser
cum quaeritur, verum inveniri potest?
when it-is-inquired the-truth to-be-found can

60 Age vero, quae erat aut qualis quaestio? 'Heus tu, Rufio,'
come indeed what was or of-what-sort the-inquiry hey you Rufio
verbi causa, 'cave sis mentiare: Clodius insidias fecit
of-a-word for-the-sake beware please you-lie Clodius a-plot made
Miloni?' 'Fecit;' certa crux. 'Nullas fecit:' sperata libertas.
against-Milo he-made-it certain the-cross none he-made hoped-for freedom
Quid hac quaestione certius? Subito adrepti in quaestionem
what than-this inquiry more-certain suddenly seized for the-inquiry
tamen separantur ceteri et in arcas coniciuntur ne quis
still are-separated the-rest and into chests are-thrown lest anyone
cum eis conloqui possit: hi centum dies penes accusatorem
with them to-converse be-able these a-hundred days with the-accuser
cum fuissent ab eo ipso accusatore producti sunt. Quid
when they-had-been by him the-very accuser produced were what
hac quaestione dici potest integrius, quid incorruptius?
than-this inquiry to-be-said can more-upright what more-uncorrupt

Remember how swiftly Milo returned, entering the forum while the senate house burned, with what spirit and face, and how he put himself in the hands of the people, the senate, the guards, and Pompey himself. A clear conscience fears nothing. His enemies said he would not return, and many talked of a Catiline who would break out and make war on his country. Yet the sacrificer's tale, the reported attack on Caesar's house, and the senator who said Milo carried a weapon, all proved false.

Quod si nondum satis cernitis, cum res ipsa tot 61
but if not-yet enough you-see though the-matter itself with-so-many
tam claris argumentis signisque luceat, pura mente
so clear proofs and-signs shines with-a-pure mind
atque integra Milonem, nullo scelere imbutum, nullo metu
and whole Milo with-no crime stained by-no fear
perterritum, nulla conscientia exanimatum Romam revertisse,
terrified by-no consciousness made-lifeless to-Rome to-have-returned
recordamini, per deos immortalis, quae fuerit celeritas
recall by the-gods immortal what was the-speed
reditus eius, qui ingressus in forum ardente curia,
of-the-return his who entered into the-forum with-burning the-senate-house
quae magnitudo animi, qui voltus, quae oratio. Neque vero
what greatness of-mind what face what speech nor indeed
se populo solum sed etiam senatui commisit, neque
himself to-the-people only but also to-the-senate be-entrusted nor
senatui modo sed etiam publicis praesidiis et armis, neque
to-the-senate only but also to-the-public guards and arms nor
his tantum verum etiam eius potestati cui senatus totam
to-these only but also to-his power to-whom the-senate the-whole
rem publicam, omnem Italiae pubem, cuncta populi Romani
thing public all of-Italy the-manhood all of-the-people Roman
arma commiserat: cui numquam se hic profecto
arms had-entrusted to-whom never himself this-man surely

tradidisset, nisi causae suae confideret, praesertim omnia
would-have-handed-over unless in-cause his-own he-trusted especially all-things
audienti, magna metuenti, multa suspicanti, non nulla
hearing great-things fearing many-things suspecting not none
credenti. Magna vis est conscientiae, iudices, et magna in
believing great the-force is of-conscience judges and great in
utramque partem, ut neque timeant qui nihil commiserint
either direction so-that neither fear who nothing have-committed
et poenam semper ante oculos versari putent qui peccarint.
and the-penalty always before the-eyes to-hover think who have-sinned

62 Neque vero sine ratione certa causa Milonis semper a senatu
nor indeed without reason certain the-case of-Milo always by the-senate
probata est; videbant sapientissimi homines facti rationem,
approved was they-saw the-wisest men of-the-deed the-reason
praesentiam animi, defensionis constantiam. An vero obliti
the-presence of-mind of-the-defense the-constancy or indeed forgotten
estis, iudices, recenti illo nuntio necis Clodianae non modo
have-you judges with-recent that news of-the-murder Clodian not only
inimicorum Milonis sermones et opiniones sed non nullorum
of-the-enemies of-Milo the-talk and opinions but not of-none
etiam imperitorum? Negabant eum Romam esse rediturum.
even of-the-ignorant they-said-that-not he to-Rome to-be going-to-return

63 Sive enim illud animo irato ac percito fecisset ut
whether for that with-mind angry and roused he-had-done so-that
incensus odio trucidaret inimicum, arbitrabantur eum
inflamed with-hatred he-butchered his-enemy they-judged him
tanti mortem P. Clodi putasse ut aequo
worth-so-much the-death of-Publius Clodius to-have-thought that with-calm
animo patria careret, cum sanguine inimici
mind his-fatherland he-would-be-without when with-the-blood of-his-enemy
explesset odium suum; sive etiam illius morte patriam
he-had-sated hatred his-own or even by-his death the-fatherland

liberare voluisset, non dubitaturum fortem virum quin,
to-free he-had-wished not going-to-hesitate a-brave man but-that
cum suo periculo salutem populo Romano attulisset,
when with-his-own danger safety to-the-people Roman he-had-brought
cederet aequo animo legibus, secum auferret gloriam
he-should-yield with-calm mind to-the-laws with-himself should-carry-off glory
sempiternam, vobis haec fruenda relinqueret quae
everlasting to-you these-things to-be-enjoyed should-leave which
ipse servasset. Multi etiam Catilinam atque illa portenta
he-himself had-preserved many even Catiline and those monsters
loquebantur: 'Erumpet, occupabit aliquem locum, bellum
spoke-of he-will-break-out he-will-seize some place war
patriae faciet.' Miseros interdum civis optime de
on-his-fatherland he-will-make wretched at-times citizens most-excellently of
re publica meritos, in quibus homines non modo res
the-thing public deserving in whose-case men not only deeds
praeclarissimas obliviscuntur sed etiam nefarias suspicantur!
most-splendid forget but even wicked-ones suspect
Ergo illa falsa fuerunt quae certe vera exstitissent, si Milo 64
therefore those-things false were which certainly true would-have-proved if Milo
admisisset aliquid quod non posset honeste vereque defendere.
had-committed something which not he-could honorably and-truly to-defend
Quid? quae postea sunt in eum congesta, quae quamvis
what the-things-which afterward have-been upon him heaped which however
etiam mediocrium delictorum conscientiam perculissent, ut
even of-moderate offenses the-consciousness would-have-struck-down how
sustinuit, di immortales! Sustinuit? immo vero ut contempsit
he-bore-them gods immortal he-bore-them nay indeed how he-despised
ac pro nihilo putavit, quae neque maximo animo nocens
and for nothing thought which neither with-the-greatest spirit a-guilty-man
neque innocens nisi fortissimus vir neglegere potuisset!
nor an-innocent-man unless a-most-brave man to-neglect could-have

Scutorum, gladiorum, pilorum, frenorum etiam multitudo
of-shields of-swords of-javelins of-bridles even a-multitude
deprehendi posse indicabatur; nullum in urbe vicum, nullum
to-be-caught to-be-able was-informed no in the-city street no
angiportum esse dicebant in quo non Miloni conducta esset
alley to-be they-said in which not for-Milo hired had-been
domus; arma in villam Ocriculanam devecta Tiberi, domus
a-house arms to the-villa Ocriculan carried-down by-the-Tiber a-house
in clivo Capitolino scutis referta, plena omnia malleolorum
on the-slope Capitoline with-shields stuffed full all of-fire-darts
ad urbis incendia comparatorum: haec non delata solum,
for of-the-city the-burning prepared these-things not reported only
sed paene credita, nec ante repudiata sunt quam quaesita.
but almost believed nor before rejected were than investigated
65 Laudabam equidem incredibilem diligentiam Cn. Pompei,
I-praised indeed the-incredible diligence of-Gnaeus Pompey
sed dicam, ut sentio, iudices. Nimis multa audire coguntur
but I-will-say as I-feel judges too many-things to-hear are-forced
neque aliter facere possunt ei quibus commissa tota
nor otherwise to-do can those to-whom entrusted the-whole
res publica est. Quin etiam fuit audiendus popa
thing public is nay even was to-be-heard the-victim-slayer
Licinius nescio qui de circo maximo, servos Milonis
Licinius I-know-not who from the-circus Maximus that-the-slaves of-Milo
apud se ebrios factos sibi confessos se de
at his-place drunk made to-himself to-have-confessed themselves about
interficiendo Cn. Pompeio coniurasse, dein postea se
killing Gnaeus Pompey to-have-conspired then afterward himself
gladio percussum esse ab uno de illis ne indicaret.
with-a-sword struck to-have-been by one of them lest he-should-inform
Pompeio nuntiatur in hortos; arcessor in primis; de
to-Pompey it-is-announced into the-gardens I-am-summoned among the-first by

amicorum sententia rem defert ad senatum. Non poteram
of-friends the-advice the-matter he-reports to the-senate not I-could
in illius mei patriaeque custodis tanta suspicione non
in of-that my and-of-the-fatherland guardian so-great suspicion not
metu exanimari, sed mirabar tamen credi popae,
with-fear be-made-lifeless but I-wondered still to-be-believed the-victim-slayer
confessionem servorum audiri, volnus in latere quod
the-confession of-slaves to-be-heard a-wound in the-side which
acu punctum videretur pro ictu gladiatoris probari.
with-a-needle pricked it-seemed for the-blow of-a-gladiator to-be-accepted
Verum, ut intellego, cavebat magis Pompeius quam timebat, 66
but as I-understand was-on-guard more Pompey than he-feared
non ea solum quae timenda erant, sed omnia, ne vos
not those-things only which to-be-feared were but all-things lest you
aliquid timeretis. Oppugnata domus C. Caesaris, clarissimi
anything should-fear attacked the-house of-Gaius Caesar most-illustrious
ac fortissimi viri, multas noctis horas nuntiabatur: nemo
and bravest man many of-the-night hours it-was-announced no-one
audierat tam celebri loco, nemo senserat; tamen audiebatur.
had-heard in-so frequented a-place no-one had-perceived-it still it-was-heard
Non poteram Cn. Pompeium, praestantissima virtute virum,
not I-could Gnaeus Pompey of-most-outstanding virtue a-man
timidum suspicari; diligentiam pro tota re publica suscepta
timid to-suspect diligence for the-whole thing public undertaken
nimiam nullam putabam. Frequentissimo senatu nuper in
too-great none I-thought in-a-very-crowded senate lately on
Capitolio senator inventus est qui Milonem cum telo esse
the-Capitol a-senator found was who Milo with a-weapon to-be
diceret. Nudavit se in sanctissimo templo, quoniam vita
said he-bared himself in the-most-sacred temple since the-life
talis et civis et viri fidem non faciebat, ut eo
of-such both a-citizen and a-man credit not won so-that with-him

tacente res ipsa loqueretur. Omnia false atque invidiose
silent the-thing itself might-speak all-things falsely and odiously
ficta comperta sunt: tametsi metuitur etiam nunc Milo.
invented found were although is-feared even now Milo

XII · AN APPEAL TO POMPEY

Cicero now fears not the charge but Pompey's suspicions. If the levies and guards are set against Milo, they show Milo's greatness; but they were given Pompey to heal a sick state. Milo would prove that no man held Pompey dearer and that his tribunate followed Pompey's counsel for Cicero's recall. Pompey, armed by the senate's decree, could have acted himself; his guards sit there to protect the jurors' freedom to vote as they think.

67 Non iam hoc Clodianum crimen timemus, sed tuas,
not now this Clodian charge we-fear but your
Cn. Pompei — te enim appello et ea voce ut me
Gnaeus Pompey you for I-address and with-such a-voice that me
exaudire possis — tuas, inquam, suspiciones perhorrescimus.
to-hear you-may-be-able your I-say suspicions we-dread
Si Milonem times, si hunc de tua vita nefarie aut nunc
if Milo you-fear if this-man about your life wickedly either now
cogitare aut molitum aliquando aliquid putas, si Italiae
to-plan or to-have-contrived at-some-time anything you-think if of-Italy
dilectus, ut non nulli conquisitores tui dictitarunt, si haec
the-levy as not none recruiting-officers your have-kept-saying if these
arma, si Capitolinae cohortes, si excubiae, si vigiliae, si
arms if the-Capitoline cohorts if the-sentries if the-watches if
delecta iuventus quae tuum corpus domumque custodit contra
the-chosen youth which your person and-house guards against
Milonis impetum armata est, atque illa omnia in hunc
Milo's attack armed is and those all-things against this

unum constituta, parata, intenta sunt, magna in hoc certe
one arranged prepared aimed are great in this-man certainly
vis et incredibilis animus et non unius viri vires
the-force and incredible the-spirit and not of-one man the-strength
atque opes iudicantur, si quidem in hunc unum et
and resources are-judged if indeed against this one both
praestantissimus dux electus et tota res publica armata est.
the-most-outstanding leader chosen and the-whole thing public armed is
Sed quis non intellegit omnis tibi rei publicae partis 68
but who not understands all to-you of-the-thing public the-parts
aegras et labantis, ut eas his armis sanares et
sick and tottering that them with-these arms you-might-heal and
confirmares, esse commissas? Quod si locus Miloni datus
strengthen to-have-been entrusted but if room to-Milo given
esset, probasset profecto tibi ipsi, neminem umquam
had-been he-would-have-proved surely to-you yourself no ever
hominem homini cariorem fuisse quam te sibi; nullum
man to-a-man dearer to-have-been than you to-himself no
se umquam periculum pro tua dignitate fugisse, cum illa
himself ever danger for your dignity to-have-fled with that
ipsa taeterrima peste se saepissime pro tua gloria contendisse;
very most-foul plague himself most-often for your glory to-have-contended
tribunatum suum ad salutem meam, quae tibi carissima
tribunate his for the-safety my which to-you most-dear
fuisset, consiliis tuis gubernatum; se a te postea defensum
had-been by-counsels your steered himself by you afterward defended
in periculo capitis, adiutum in petitione praeturae; duos
in danger of-his-life helped in the-candidacy for-the-praetorship two
se habere semper amicissimos sperasse, te tuo beneficio,
himself to-have always most-friendly to-have-hoped you by-your kindness
me suo. Quae si non probaret, si tibi ita penitus
me by-his-own which-things if not he-proved if in-you so deeply

inhaesisset ista suspicio ut nullo evelli posset modo,
had-stuck that suspicion that in-no to-be-plucked-out it-could way
si denique Italia a dilectu, urbs ab armis sine Milonis
if finally Italy from the-levy the-city from arms without Milo's
clade numquam esset conquietura, ne ipse haud dubitans
ruin never was going-to-rest surely he-himself not doubting
cessisset patria, is qui ita natus est et ita consuevit; te,
would-have-quit his-fatherland he who so born is and so accustomed you
Magne, tamen ante testaretur, quod nunc etiam facit.
Great-one still before he-would-call-to-witness which now also he-does
69 Vides quam sit varia vitae commutabilisque ratio, quam
you-see how is varied of-life and-changeable the-course how
vaga volubilisque fortuna, quantae infidelitates in amicitiis,
wandering and-fickle fortune how-great faithlessnesses in friendships
quam ad tempus aptae simulationes, quantae in periculis
how to the-occasion fitted pretenses how-great in dangers
fugae proximorum, quantae timiditates. Erit, erit
flights of-the-nearest how-great timidities there-will-be there-will-be
illud profecto tempus et inlucescet ille aliquando dies, cum
that surely a-time and will-dawn that at-some-time day when
tu salvis, ut spero, rebus tuis, sed fortasse in motu
you with-safe as I-hope affairs your but perhaps in a-disturbance
aliquo communium temporum, qui quam crebro accidat
some of-common times which how often it-occurs
experti scire debemus, et amicissimi benevolentiam
having-experienced to-know we-ought both of-the-most-friendly the-goodwill
et gravissimi hominis fidem et unius post homines
and of-the-weightiest man the-faith and of-the-one since men
natos fortissimi viri magnitudinem animi desideres.
were-born bravest man the-greatness of-mind may-miss

Quamquam quis hoc credat, Cn. Pompeium, iuris publici, 70
and-yet who this would-believe Gnaeus Pompey of-right public
moris maiorum, rei denique publicae peritissimum,
of-the-custom of-the-ancestors of-the-thing finally public most-expert
cum senatus ei commiserit ut videret ne quid res
when the-senate to-him has-entrusted that he-should-see lest anything the-thing
publica detrimenti caperet, quo uno versiculo satis armati
public of-harm should-take by-which one little-line enough armed
semper consules fuerunt etiam nullis armis datis, hunc
always the-consuls have-been even with-no arms given this-man
exercitu, hunc dilectu dato, iudicium exspectaturum fuisse
with-an-army this-man with-a-levy given the-trial going-to-await to-have-been
in eius consiliis vindicandis qui vi iudicia ipsa tolleret?
in his plans to-be-punished who by-force trials themselves would-remove
Satis iudicatum est a Pompeio, satis, falso ista conferri
enough judged it-has-been by Pompey enough falsely those-things to-be-heaped
in Milonem, qui legem tulit qua, ut ego sentio, Milonem
upon Milo who a-law carried by-which as I feel Milo
absolvi a vobis oporteret, ut omnes confitentur, liceret.
to-be-acquitted by you it-was-fitting as all confess it-was-allowed
Quod vero in illo loco atque illis publicorum praesidiorum 71
that indeed in that place and by-those of-public guards
copiis circumfusus sedet, satis declarat se non terrorem
forces surrounded he-sits enough declares himself not terror
inferre vobis — quid enim minus illo dignum quam cogere
to-bring on-you what for less of-him worthy than to-force
ut vos eum condemnetis in quem animadvertere ipse et
that you him should-condemn upon whom to-inflict-punishment he-himself both
more maiorum et suo iure possit?—, sed praesidio
by-the-custom of-the-ancestors and by-his-own right could but for-protection

esse, ut intellegatis contra hesternam illam contionem
to-be that you-may-understand against yesterday's that assembly
licere vobis quod sentiatis libere iudicare.
to-be-allowed for-you what you-feel freely to-judge

XIII · THE MAN HE KILLED

Even had he not cleared himself, Milo might boast that he killed not Maelius or Gracchus but Clodius: the adulterer of the Bona Dea's rites, his sister's lover, the man who drove out Cicero with slaves' arms, gave and took kingdoms, burned the temple of the Nymphs with its census records, seized estates and gardens by force, and would, as praetor, have handed the city to slaves. No victory of their age brought Rome such lasting joy as his death.

72 Nec vero me, iudices, Clodianum crimen movet, nec tam
nor indeed me judges the-Clodian charge moves nor so
sum demens tamque vestri sensus ignarus atque expers
am-I mad and-so of-your feeling ignorant and without-share
ut nesciam quid de morte Clodi sentiatis. De qua
that I-should-not-know what about the-death of-Clodius you-feel about which
si iam nollem ita diluere crimen ut dilui,
if now I-did-not-wish so to-wash-away the-charge as I-have-washed-it-away
tamen impune Miloni palam clamare ac mentiri gloriose
still with-impunity for-Milo openly to-shout and to-lie gloriously
liceret: 'Occidi, occidi, non Sp. Maelium qui
it-would-be-allowed I-killed I-killed not Spurius Maelius who
annona levanda iacturisque rei familiaris, quia
by-the-grain-price being-lightened and-the-losses of-property household because
nimis amplecti plebem videbatur, in suspicionem incidit
too to-embrace the-plebs he-seemed into suspicion fell
regni appetendi, non Ti. Gracchum qui conlegae
of-kingship of-seeking not Tiberius Gracchus who of-his-colleague

magistratum per seditionem abrogavit, quorum interfectores
the-office through sedition abrogated whose killers
implerunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloria, sed
filled the-circle of-the-lands of-name their-own with-the-glory but
eum — auderet enim dicere, cum patriam periculo suo
him he-would-dare for to-say since his-fatherland at-danger his-own
liberasset — cuius nefandum adulterium in pulvinaribus
he-had-freed whose unspeakable adultery on the-couches
sanctissimis nobilissimae feminae comprehenderunt;
most-sacred most-noble women caught
eum cuius supplicio senatus sollemnis religiones expiandas 73
him whose by-punishment the-senate the-solemn rites to-be-expiated
saepe censuit; eum quem cum sorore germana nefarium stuprum
often voted him whom with his-sister own wicked debauchery
fecisse L. Lucullus iuratus se quaestionibus habitis
to-have-committed Lucius Lucullus sworn himself with-inquiries held
dixit comperisse; eum qui civem quem senatus, quem populus
said to-have-found him who a-citizen whom the-senate whom the-people
Romanus, quem omnes gentes urbis ac vitae civium
Roman whom all nations of-the-city and of-the-life of-the-citizens
conservatorem iudicarant servorum armis exterminavit; eum qui
the-preserver had-judged by-slaves' arms banished him who
regna dedit, ademit, orbem terrarum quibuscum voluit partitus
kingdoms gave took-away the-circle of-the-lands with-whom he-wished divided
est; eum qui plurimis caedibus in foro factis singulari
has him who with-very-many slaughters in the-forum done of-singular
virtute et gloria civem domum vi et armis compulit;
virtue and glory a-citizen into-his-house by-force and arms drove
eum cui nihil umquam nefas fuit nec in facinore nec in
him to-whom nothing ever wrong was neither in crime nor in

libidine; eum qui aedem Nympharum incendit ut memoriam
lust him who the-temple of-the-Nymphs burned that the-memory
publicam recensionis tabulis publicis impressam exstingueret;
public of-the-census in-tablets public impressed he-might-extinguish
74 eum denique cui iam nulla lex erat, nullum civile
him finally to-whom now no law was no civil
ius, nulli possessionum termini, qui non calumnia litium,
right no of-possessions boundaries who not by-chicanery of-suits
non iniustis vindiciis ac sacramentis alienos fundos, sed
not by-unjust claims and oaths others' estates but
castris, exercitu, signis inferendis petebat; qui non solum
with-camp army standards to-be-advanced sought who not only
Etruscos — eos enim penitus contempserat — sed hunc
the-Etruscans them for utterly he-had-despised but this
P. Varium, fortissimum atque optimum civem, iudicem
Publius Varius bravest and best citizen juror
nostrum, pellere possessionibus armis castrisque conatus est,
our to-drive from-his-possessions with-arms and-camp tried has
qui cum architectis et decempedis villas multorum hortosque
who with architects and measuring-rods the-villas of-many and-gardens
peragrabat, qui Ianiculo et Alpibus spem possessionum
traversed who by-the-Janiculum and the-Alps the-hope of-possessions
terminarat suarum, qui cum ab equite Romano splendido
had-bounded his-own who when from a-knight Roman splendid
et forti, M. Paconio, non impetrasset, ut sibi insulam
and brave Marcus Paconius not he-had-obtained that to-him an-island
in lacu Prilio venderet, repente lintribus in eam insulam
in the-lake Prilian he-should-sell suddenly in-skiffs into that island
materiem, calcem, caementa, harenam convexit dominoque
timber lime rubble sand carried and-with-the-owner

trans ripam inspectante non dubitavit aedificium exstruere in
across the-bank looking-on not hesitated a-building to-erect on
alieno; qui huic T. Furfanio, cui viro, di immortales! —
another's who to-this Titus Furfanius to-what a-man gods immortal
quid enim ego de muliercula Scantia, quid de adulescente 75
what for I about the-little-woman Scantia what about the-young-man
P. Aponio dicam? quorum utrique mortem est minatus,
Publius Aponius should-say of-whom to-both death has threatened
nisi sibi hortorum possessione cessissent—; sed ausum esse
unless to-him of-their-gardens the-possession they-had-yielded but dared to-have
T. Furfanio dicere, si sibi pecuniam quantam posceret
to-Titus Furfanius to-say if to-him money as-much-as he-demanded
non dedisset, mortuum se in domum eius inlaturum,
not he-had-given a-corpse himself into the-house his going-to-bring
qua invidia huic esset tali viro conflagrandum; qui
by-which odium this-man would-be such a-man to-be-consumed who
Appium fratrem, hominem mihi coniunctum fidissima
Appius his-brother a-man to-me joined by-most-faithful
gratia, absentem de possessione fundi deiecit; qui parietem
friendship absent from the-possession of-an-estate ejected who a-wall
sic per vestibulum sororis instituit ducere, sic agere
so through the-vestibule of-his-sister began to-carry so to-lay
fundamenta ut sororem non modo vestibulo privaret
the-foundations that his-sister not only of-the-vestibule he-might-deprive
sed omni aditu et limine.'
but of-all access and threshold
Quamquam haec quidem iam tolerabilia videbantur, 76
and-yet these-things indeed now tolerable seemed
etsi aequabiliter in rem publicam, in privatos, in
although impartially upon the-thing public upon private-men upon
longinquos, in propinquos, in alienos, in suos inruebat,
distant upon near upon strangers upon his-own he-rushed

sed nescio quo modo usu iam obduruerat et percalluerat
but I-know-not in-what way by-use already had-hardened and grown-callous
civitatis incredibilis patientia: quae vero aderant iam et
of-the-state the-incredible patience but-what indeed were-at-hand already and
impendebant, quonam modo ea aut depellere potuissetis aut
impended in-what way them either to-repel could-you-have or
ferre? Imperium ille si nactus esset, omitto socios, exteras
to-bear the-command he if obtained he-had I-omit allies foreign
nationes, reges, tetrarchas; vota enim faceretis ut in eos
nations kings tetrarchs vows for you-would-make that upon them
se potius immitteret quam in vestras possessiones, vestra
himself rather he-should-loose than upon your possessions your
tecta, vestras pecunias: pecunias dico? a liberis, me dius
houses your moneys moneys I-say from children me the-god
fidius, et a coniugibus vestris numquam ille effrenatas
of-faith and from wives your never he unbridled
suas libidines cohibuisset. Fingi haec putatis quae
his-own lusts would-have-restrained to-be-invented these-things you-think which
patent, quae nota sunt omnibus, quae tenentur, servorum
are-plain which known are to-all which are-held of-slaves
exercitus illum in urbe conscripturum fuisse, per quos
armies him in the-city going-to-enroll to-have-been through whom
totam rem publicam resque privatas omnium possideret?
the-whole thing public and-the-things private of-all he-would-possess
77 Quam ob rem si cruentum gladium tenens clamaret
which on-account-of thing if a-bloody sword holding should-cry
T. Annius: 'Adeste, quaeso, atque audite, cives! P. Clodium
Titus Annius be-present I-pray and hear citizens Publius Clodius
interfeci, eius furores, quos nullis iam legibus, nullis iudiciis
I-have-killed his furies which by-no now laws by-no courts
frenare poteramus, hoc ferro et hac dextera a cervicibus
to-curb we-could with-this steel and this right-hand from the-necks

vestris reppuli, per me ut unum ius aequitas, leges libertas,
your I-have-repelled through me that alone right fairness laws liberty
pudor pudicitia maneret in civitate,' esset vero timendum
modesty chastity should-remain in the-state it-would-be indeed to-be-feared
quonam modo id ferret civitas! Nunc enim quis est qui non
in-what way that would-bear the-state now for who is who not
probet, qui non laudet, qui non unum post hominum memoriam
approves who not praises who not alone since of-men memory
T. Annium plurimum rei publicae profuisse, maxima
Titus Annius most to-the-thing public to-have-profited with-greatest
laetitia populum Romanum, cunctam Italiam, nationes omnis
joy the-people Roman the-whole Italy the-nations all
adfecisse et dicat et sentiat? Non queo vetera illa populi
to-have-affected both should-say and should-feel not I-can the-old those of-the-people
Romani gaudia quanta fuerint iudicare: multas tamen iam
Roman joys how-great they-were to-judge many still now
summorum imperatorum clarissimas victorias aetas nostra vidit,
of-the-highest generals most-illustrious victories age our has-seen
quarum nulla neque tam diuturnam laetitiam attulit nec tantam.
of-which none neither so lasting joy brought nor so-great
Mandate hoc memoriae, iudices. Spero multa vos liberosque 78
commit this to-memory judges I-hope many-things you and-children
vestros in re publica bona esse visuros: in eis singulis ita
your in the-thing public good to-be going-to-see in those single so
semper existimabitis, vivo P. Clodio nihil eorum vos
always you-will-judge with-living Publius Clodius nothing of-them you
visuros fuisse. In spem maximam et, quem ad modum
going-to-see to-have-been into hope the-greatest and in-what to manner
confido, verissimam sumus adducti, hunc ipsum annum, hoc
I-trust truest we-have been-led this very year with-this
summo viro consule, compressa hominum licentia, cupiditatibus
highest man as-consul with-restrained of-men license with-desires

confractis, legibus et iudiciis constitutis, salutarem civitati
broken with-laws and courts established salutary for-the-state
fore. Num quis igitur est tam demens qui hoc
going-to-be surely-not anyone therefore is so mad who this
P. Clodio vivo contingere potuisse arbitretur? Quid?
with-Publius Clodius living to-befall to-have-been-able would-think what
Ea quae tenetis privata atque vestra dominante homine
those-things which you-hold private and yours with-lording-it a-man
furioso quod ius perpetuae possessionis habere potuissent?
mad what right of-perpetual possession to-have could-they-have
Non timeo, iudices, ne odio mearum inimicitiarum
not I-fear judges lest by-the-hatred of-my enmities
inflammatus libentius haec in illum evomere videar
inflamed more-gladly these-things against him to-vomit I-may-seem
quam verius. Etenim si praecipuum esse debebat, tamen ita
than more-truly for-indeed if special to-be it-ought still so
communis erat omnium ille hostis ut in communi odio paene
common was of-all he the-enemy that in common hatred almost
aequaliter versaretur odium meum. Non potest dici satis, ne
equally moved hatred my not can to-be-said enough not
cogitari quidem, quantum in illo sceleris, quantum exiti fuerit.
to-be-thought even how-much in him of-crime how-much of-ruin there-was

Imagine Milo acquitted on condition that Clodius came back to life: the jurors blanch. Pompey would rather have held this inquiry than raise Clodius, and the court sits to avenge a man whose return no one would wish. The Greeks honor tyrant-slayers as gods; Rome would punish one. The gods themselves brought Clodius' madness on him to his death.

Quin sic attendite, iudices. Fingite animis — liberae sunt enim 79
nay thus attend judges imagine in-your-minds free are for
nostrae cogitationes et quae volunt sic intuentur ut ea
our thoughts and what-things they-wish so behold as those-things
cernimus quae videmus — fingite igitur cogitatione imaginem
we-perceive which we-see imagine therefore in-thought the-image
huius condicionis meae, si possimus efficere Milonem ut
of-this condition my if we-can to-bring-it-about Milo that
absolvatis, sed ita si P. Clodius revixerit — quid
you-acquit but on-condition-that if Publius Clodius should-live-again why
voltu extimuistis? quonam modo ille vos vivus adficeret
in-face have-you-taken-fright in-what way he you alive would-affect
quos mortuus inani cogitatione percussit? Quid? Si ipse
whom dead by-an-empty thought he-has-struck what if himself
Cn. Pompeius, qui ea virtute ac fortuna est ut ea
Gnaeus Pompey who of-such virtue and fortune is that those-things
potuerit semper quae nemo praeter illum, si is, inquam,
he-has-been-able always which no-one except him if he I-say
potuisset aut quaestionem de morte P. Clodi ferre aut
had-been-able either an-inquiry about the-death of-Publius Clodius to-carry or
ipsum ab inferis excitare, utrum putatis potius facturum
himself from the-dead to-raise which do-you-think rather going-to-do
fuisse? Etiam si propter amicitiam vellet illum ab inferis
to-have-been even if on-account-of friendship he-wished him from the-dead

evocare, propter rem publicam non fecisset. Eius
to-call-forth on-account-of the-thing public not he-would-have-done-it of-his
igitur mortis sedetis ultores cuius vitam si putetis per
therefore death you-sit as-avengers whose life if you-thought through
vos restitui posse nolitis, et de eius nece lata
you to-be-restored to-be-able you-would-not-wish and about his murder carried
quaestio est qui si lege eadem reviviscere posset, ista lex
the-inquiry has-been who if by-the-law same to-come-to-life he-could that law
lata numquam esset. Huius ergo interfector si esset,
carried never would-have-been of-this-man therefore the-killer if he-were
in confitendo ab eisne poenam timeret quos liberavisset?
in confessing from those-whether a-penalty would-he-fear whom he-had-freed
80 Graeci homines deorum honores tribuunt eis viris qui
Greek men of-the-gods the-honors grant to-those men who
tyrannos necaverunt — quae ego vidi Athenis, quae in aliis
tyrants have-killed which-things I have-seen at-Athens which in other
urbibus Graeciae! Quas res divinas talibus institutas viris, quos
cities of-Greece what rites divine for-such instituted men what
cantus, quae carmina! Prope ad immortalitatis et religionem et
songs what poems almost to of-immortality both the-worship and
memoriam consecrantur — vos tanti conservatorem populi,
the-memory they-are-consecrated you of-so-great the-preserver a-people
tanti sceleris ultorem non modo honoribus nullis adficietis
of-so-great a-crime the-avenger not only with-honors no will-affect
sed etiam ad supplicium rapi patiemini? Confiteretur,
but even to execution to-be-dragged will-allow he-would-confess
confiteretur, inquam, si fecisset, et magno animo et
he-would-confess I-say if he-had-done-it and with-great spirit and
libenter, se fecisse libertatis omnium causa quod
gladly himself to-have-done-it of-liberty of-all for-the-sake which
esset non confitendum modo sed etiam vere praedicandum.
would-be not to-be-confessed only but even truly to-be-proclaimed

Etenim si id non negat ex quo nihil petit nisi ut 81
for-indeed if that not he-denies from which nothing he-seeks except that
ignoscatur, dubitaret id fateri ex quo etiam praemia
he-be-pardoned would-he-hesitate that to-confess from which even the-rewards
laudis essent petenda? nisi vero gratius putat esse vobis
of-praise would-be to-be-sought unless indeed more-pleasing he-thinks it-to-be to-you
sui se capitis quam vestri defensorem fuisse; cum
of-his-own himself life than of-yours the-defender to-have-been when
praesertim in tali confessione, si grati esse velletis, honores
especially in such a-confession if grateful to-be you-wished honors
adsequeretur amplissimos. Sin factum vobis non probaretur —
he-would-attain the-most-ample but-if the-deed by-you not were-approved
quamquam qui poterat salus sua cuiquam non probari? —
although how could the-safety his-own to-anyone not to-be-approved
sed tamen si minus fortissimi viri virtus civibus grata
but still if less of-a-most-brave man the-virtue to-the-citizens grateful
cecidisset, magno animo constantique cederet ex
had-turned-out with-great spirit and-steadfast he-would-withdraw from
ingrata civitate. Nam quid esset ingratius quam laetari
an-ungrateful state for what would-be more-ungrateful than to-rejoice
ceteros, lugere eum solum propter quem ceteri laetarentur?
the-rest to-mourn him alone on-account-of whom the-rest rejoiced
Quamquam hoc animo semper fuimus omnes in patriae 82
and-yet of-this mind always we-have-been all in the-fatherland's
proditoribus opprimendis ut, quoniam futura esset nostra
betrayers crushing that since going-to-be was our
gloria, periculum quoque et invidiam nostram putaremus.
glory the-danger also and the-odium ours we-should-think
Nam quae mihi tribuenda ipsi laus esset, cum tantum in
for what to-me to-be-granted myself praise would-be when so-much in
consulatu meo pro vobis ac liberis vestris ausus essem, si
consulship my for you and children your dared I-had if

id quod conabar sine maximis dimicationibus meis me
that which I-was-attempting without the-greatest struggles my myself
esse ausurum arbitrarer? Quae mulier interficere sceleratum
to-be going-to-dare I-thought what woman to-kill a-criminal
ac perniciosum civem non auderet, si periculum non timeret?
and pernicious citizen not would-dare if the-danger not she-feared
Proposita invidia, morte, poena qui nihilo segnius
with-set-before odium death penalty he-who by-nothing more-sluggishly
rem publicam defendit, is vir vere putandus est. Populi
the-thing public defends he a-man truly to-be-thought is of-a-people
grati est praemiis adficere bene meritos de re publica
grateful it-is with-rewards to-affect the-well deserving of the-thing public
civis, viri fortis ne suppliciis quidem moveri ut
citizens of-a-man brave not by-punishments even to-be-moved so-that
fortiter fecisse paeniteat.
bravely to-have-done-it it-repent

83 Quam ob rem uteretur eadem confessione T. Annius
which on-account-of thing would-use the-same confession Titus Annius
qua Ahala, qua Nasica, qua Opimius, qua Marius, qua
as Ahala as Nasica as Opimius as Marius as
nosmet ipsi, et, si grata res publica esset, laetaretur;
we ourselves and if grateful the-thing public were he-would-rejoice
si ingrata, tamen in gravi fortuna conscientia sua niteretur.
if ungrateful still in heavy fortune on-consciousness his-own he-would-rely
Sed huius benefici gratiam, iudices, Fortuna populi Romani
but of-this kindness the-gratitude judges the-Fortune of-the-people Roman
et vestra felicitas et di immortales sibi deberi
and your good-luck and the-gods immortal to-themselves to-be-owed
putant. Nec vero quisquam aliter arbitrari potest, nisi
think nor indeed anyone otherwise to-judge can except
qui nullam vim esse ducit numenque divinum, quem
one-who no force to-be thinks and-divinity divine whom

neque imperi nostri magnitudo nec sol ille nec caeli
neither of-empire our the-greatness nor sun that nor of-the-sky
signorumque motus nec vicissitudines rerum atque ordines
and-of-the-signs the-motion nor the-vicissitudes of-things and orders
movent neque, id quod maximum est, maiorum nostrorum
move nor that which the-greatest is of-ancestors our
sapientia, qui sacra, qui caerimonias, qui auspicia et ipsi
the-wisdom who the-rites who the-ceremonies who the-auspices both themselves
sanctissime coluerunt et nobis suis posteris prodiderunt.
most-sacredly cultivated and to-us their descendants handed-down
Est, est illa vis profecto, neque in his corporibus atque in 84
there-is there-is that force surely nor in these bodies and in
hac imbecillitate nostra inest quiddam quod vigeat et sentiat,
this weakness our there-is something which is-strong and feels
non inest in hoc tanto naturae tamque praeclaro motu. Nisi
not is-in in this so-great of-nature and-so splendid motion unless
forte idcirco non putant quia non apparet nec cernitur,
perhaps therefore not they-think because not it-appears nor is-seen
proinde quasi nostram ipsam mentem qua sapimus, qua
just as-if our very mind by-which we-are-wise by-which
providemus, qua haec ipsa agimus ac dicimus, videre ac
we-foresee by-which these very-things we-do and say to-see and
plane qualis aut ubi sit sentire possimus. Ea vis igitur ipsa
plainly what-sort or where it-is to-perceive we-could that force therefore itself
quae saepe incredibilis huic urbi felicitates atque opes attulit
which often incredible to-this city good-fortunes and resources has-brought
illam perniciem exstinxit ac sustulit, cui primum mentem
that plague extinguished and removed to-whom first a-mind
iniecit ut vi inritare ferroque lacessere fortissimum
it-put that by-violence to-provoke and-with-steel to-challenge a-most-brave

virum auderet vincereturque ab eo quem si vicisset
man he-should-dare and-be-conquered by him whom if he-had-conquered
habiturus esset impunitatem et licentiam sempiternam.
going-to-have he-was impunity and license everlasting
85 Non est humano consilio, ne mediocri quidem, iudices,
not is by-human counsel not by-moderate even judges
deorum immortalium cura res illa perfecta. Regiones me
of-the-gods immortal care thing that accomplished the-regions by
hercule ipsae quae illam beluam cadere viderunt, commosse
Hercules themselves which that beast to-fall saw to-have-stirred
se videntur et ius in illo suum retinuisse. Vos enim
themselves seem and the-right over him their-own to-have-retained you for
iam, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque
now Alban mounds and groves you I-say I-implore and
testor, vosque, Albanorum obrutae arae, sacrorum populi
call-to-witness and-you of-the-Albans overwhelmed altars of-the-rites of-the-people
Romani sociae et aequales, quas ille praeceps amentia
Roman partners and equals which he headlong in-madness
caesis prostratisque sanctissimis lucis substructionum
with-cut-down and-laid-low most-sacred groves of-substructures
insanis molibus oppresserat; vestrae tum religiones viguerunt,
with-insane masses had-crushed your then rites flourished
vestra vis valuit, quam ille omni scelere polluerat; tuque
your force prevailed which he with-every crime had-polluted and-you
ex tuo edito monte Latiari, sancte Iuppiter, cuius ille lacus,
from your lofty mount Latiaris holy Jupiter whose he lakes
nemora finisque saepe omni nefario stupro et scelere
groves and-bounds often with-every wicked debauchery and crime
macularat, aliquando ad eum puniendum oculos aperuisti:
had-stained at-last for him punishing (your)-eyes you-opened

vobis illae, vobis vestro in conspectu serae, sed iustae tamen
to-you those to-you your in sight late but just still
et debitae poenae solutae sunt.
and owed penalties paid have-been

XV · THE GODS' VENGEANCE

It was no accident that Clodius took his death wound before the shrine of the Good Goddess he had defiled, or that his followers burned him without images, rites, or eulogy, smeared with blood and mud, in the senate house. Rome's fortune had seemed cruel to let him trample the state so long: sacrilege, bribery, Cicero's exile, his house burned, war on Pompey. Had he become praetor, with consuls of his choosing, he would have ruled all.

Nisi forte hoc etiam casu factum esse dicemus ut ante 86
unless perhaps this also by-chance done to-have-been we-shall-say that before
ipsum sacrarium Bonae deae, quod est in fundo T. Serti
the-very shrine of-the-Good Goddess which is on the-estate of-Titus Sertius
Galli, in primis honesti et ornati adulescentis, ante
Gallus among the-first honorable and distinguished young-man before
ipsam, inquam, Bonam deam, cum proelium commisisset,
the-very I-say Good Goddess when battle he-had-joined
primum illud volnus acciperet quo taeterrimam mortem
first that wound he-should-receive by-which the-foulest death
obiret, ut non absolutus iudicio illo nefario videretur,
he-should-meet so-that not acquitted by-trial that wicked he-might-seem
sed ad hanc insignem poenam reservatus. Nec vero non
but for this signal penalty reserved nor indeed not
eadem ira deorum hanc eius satellitibus iniecit amentiam
the-same anger of-the-gods this his on-attendants cast madness
ut sine imaginibus, sine cantu atque ludis, sine exsequiis,
that without masks without song and games without obsequies

sine lamentis, sine laudationibus, sine funere, oblitus cruore
without laments without eulogies without funeral smeared with-gore
et luto, spoliatus illius supremi diei celebritate cui cedere
and mud stripped of-that last day of-the-crowd to-which to-yield
inimici etiam solent ambureretur abiectus. Non fuisse
enemies even are-wont he-should-be-half-burned cast-out not to-have-been
credo fas clarissimorum virorum formas illi taeterrimo
I-believe right of-most-illustrious men the-likenesses to-that most-foul
parricidae aliquid decoris adferre, neque ullo in loco potius
parricide any of-honor to-bring nor any in place rather
mortem eius lacerari quam in quo esset vita damnata.
the-death his to-be-mangled than in which had-been his-life condemned
87 Dura, me dius fidius, mihi iam fortuna populi Romani
harsh me the-god of-faith to-me now the-fortune of-the-people Roman
et crudelis videbatur, quae tot annos illum in hanc rem
and cruel seemed which so-many years him upon this thing
publicam insultare pateretur. Polluerat stupro sanctissimas
public to-insult allowed he-had-polluted with-debauchery most-sacred
religiones, senatus gravissima decreta perfregerat, pecunia
rites of-the-senate the-weightiest decrees he-had-broken with-money
se a iudicibus palam redemerat, vexarat in tribunatu
himself from the-judges openly he-had-bought-off he-had-harassed in his-tribunate
senatum, omnium ordinum consensu pro salute rei
the-senate of-all orders by-the-consensus for the-safety of-the-thing
publicae gesta rescinderat, me patria expulerat, bona
public the-acts he-had-rescinded me from-the-fatherland he-had-expelled my-goods
diripuerat, domum incenderat, liberos, coniugem meam vexarat,
had-plundered my-house had-burned the-children wife my had-harassed
Cn. Pompeio nefarium bellum indixerat, magistratuum
on-Gnaeus Pompey a-wicked war he-had-declared of-magistrates
privatorumque caedis effecerat, domum mei fratris incenderat,
and-of-private-men slaughters had-made the-house of-my brother had-burned

vastarat Etruriam, multos sedibus ac fortunis eiecerat;
had-laid-waste Etruria many from-homes and fortunes had-cast-out
instabat, urgebat; capere eius amentiam civitas, Italia, provinciae,
he-pressed he-urged to-hold his madness the-state Italy the-provinces
regna non poterant; incidebantur iam domi leges quae nos
the-kingdoms not could were-being-engraved already at-home laws which us
servis nostris addicerent; nihil erat cuiusquam, quod quidem
to-slaves our would-assign nothing was of-anyone which indeed
ille adamasset, quod non hoc anno suum fore putaret.
he had-fallen-in-love-with which not in-this year his-own going-to-be he-thought
Obstabat eius cogitationibus nemo praeter Milonem. Illum 88
stood-in-the-way his plans no-one except Milo that-man
ipsum qui poterat obstare novo reditu in gratiam
himself who could to-stand-in-the-way by-a-new return into favor
sibi devinctum arbitrabatur; Caesaris potentiam suam esse
to-himself bound he-thought of-Caesar the-power his-own to-be
dicebat; bonorum animos in meo casu contempserat: Milo
he-said of-the-good the-minds in my misfortune he-had-despised Milo
unus urgebat. Hic di immortales, ut supra dixi, mentem
alone pressed here the-gods immortal as above I-said a-mind
illi perdito ac furioso dederunt ut huic faceret
to-that abandoned and mad gave that for-this-man he-should-lay
insidias. Aliter perire pestis illa non potuit; numquam illum
a-plot otherwise to-perish plague that not could never him
res publica suo iure esset ulta. Senatus, credo,
the-thing public by-its-own right would-have avenged the-senate I-suppose
praetorem eum circumscripsisset. Ne cum solebat quidem
the-praetor him would-have-restricted not when he-was-wont even
id facere, in privato eodem hoc aliquid profecerat.
that to-do in a-private-man the-same this anything he-had-accomplished

89 An consules in praetore coercendo fortes fuissent? Primum
or the-consuls in the-praetor restraining brave would-have-been first
Milone occiso habuisset suos consules; deinde quis in
with-Milo killed he-would-have-had his-own consuls then who in
eo praetore consul fortis esset per quem tribunum virtutem
that praetor as-consul brave would-be by whom as-tribune virtue
consularem crudelissime vexatam esse meminisset?
consular most-cruelly harassed to-have-been he-remembered
Oppressisset omnia, possideret, teneret; lege nova,
he-would-have-crushed all-things he-would-possess he-would-hold by-a-law new
quae est inventa apud eum cum reliquis legibus Clodianis,
which was found at him with the-rest laws Clodian
servos nostros libertos suos effecisset; postremo, nisi
slaves our freedmen his-own he-would-have-made lastly unless
eum di immortales in eam mentem impulissent ut
him the-gods immortal into that mind had-driven that
homo effeminatus fortissimum virum conaretur occidere,
a-man effeminate a-most-brave man should-try to-kill
hodie rem publicam nullam haberetis.
today the-thing public none you-would-have

90 An ille praetor, ille vero consul, si modo haec templa
or that-man as-praetor that-man indeed as-consul if only these temples
atque ipsa moenia stare eo vivo tam diu et consulatum
and the-very walls to-stand with-him alive so long and the-consulship
eius exspectare potuissent, ille denique vivus mali nihil
his to-await could-have he finally alive evil nothing
fecisset cui mortuo unus ex suis satellitibus curiam
would-have-done for-whom dead one of his-own attendants the-senate-house
incenderit? Quo quid miserius, quid acerbius, quid
burned than-which what more-wretched what more-bitter what
luctuosius vidimus? templum sanctitatis, amplitudinis, mentis,
more-mournful have-we-seen the-temple of-sanctity of-greatness of-mind

consili publici, caput urbis, aram sociorum, portum omnium
of-counsel public the-head of-the-city the-altar of-the-allies the-harbor of-all
gentium, sedem ab universo populo concessam uni ordini,
nations the-seat by the-whole people granted to-one order
inflammari, exscindi, funestari, neque id fieri a multitudine
to-be-set-ablaze to-be-razed to-be-defiled nor that to-be-done by a-multitude
imperita, quamquam esset miserum id ipsum, sed ab uno?
ignorant although it-would-be wretched that itself but by one
Qui cum tantum ausus sit ustor pro mortuo, quid signifer
who when so-much dared has as-burner for the-dead what as-standard-bearer
pro vivo non esset ausurus? In curiam potissimum
for the-living not would-he-be going-to-dare into the-senate-house especially
abiecit, ut eam mortuus incenderet quam vivus everterat.
he-threw-it that it dead he-might-burn which alive he-had-overturned
Et sunt qui de via Appia querantur, taceant de 91
and there-are those-who about the-way Appian complain they-are-silent about
curia, et qui ab eo spirante forum putent potuisse
the-senate-house and who from him breathing the-forum think to-have-been-able
defendi, cuius non restiterit cadaveri curia? Excitate,
to-be-defended whose not withstood the-corpse the-senate-house raise
excitate ipsum, si potestis, a mortuis: frangetis impetum
raise himself if you-can from the-dead will-you-break the-attack
vivi cuius vix sustinetis furias insepulti? Nisi vero
of-him-alive whose scarcely you-sustain the-furies unburied unless indeed
sustinuistis eos qui cum facibus ad curiam concurrerunt,
you-sustained those who with torches to the-senate-house rushed
cum fascibus ad Castoris, cum gladiis toto foro
with the-fasces to the-temple-of-Castor with swords through-the-whole forum
volitaverunt. Caedi vidistis populum Romanum, contionem
flitted to-be-slain you-saw the-people Roman the-assembly
gladiis disturbari, cum audiretur silentio M. Caelius,
with-swords to-be-broken-up when was-heard in-silence Marcus Caelius

tribunus plebis, vir et in re publica fortissimus,
tribune of-the-plebs a-man both in the-thing public bravest
in suscepta causa firmissimus, et bonorum voluntati,
in an-undertaken case most-steadfast and of-the-good to-the-will
auctoritati senatus deditus, et in hac Milonis sive invidia
to-the-authority of-the-senate devoted and in this of-Milo whether odium
sive fortuna, singulari, divina, incredibili fide.
or fortune of-singular divine incredible faithfulness

XVI · MILO ASKS NO PITY

Cicero begs mercy for a brave man who will not beg it; the crowd at a gladiators' fight spares the brave and hates the suppliant. Milo says daily, let my fellow citizens be safe and happy without me; I will go where a free and well-ordered state receives me. He laments that he who restored Cicero to his country finds no place in it, and that the senate and knights he served fail him now; yet he speaks unmoved, and holds glory the greatest reward of virtue.

92 Sed iam satis multa de causa, extra causam etiam nimis
but now enough many-things about the-case outside the-case even too
fortasse multa. Quid restat nisi ut orem obtesterque vos,
perhaps many-things what remains except that I-beg and-beseech you
iudices, ut eam misericordiam tribuatis fortissimo viro quam
judges that that pity you-grant to-a-most-brave man which
ipse non implorat, ego etiam repugnante hoc et imploro
he-himself not implores I even with-resisting this-man both implore
et exposco? Nolite, si in nostro omnium fletu nullam lacrimam
and demand do-not if in our of-all weeping no tear
aspexistis Milonis, si voltum semper eundem, si vocem, si
you-have-seen of-Milo if the-face always the-same if the-voice if
orationem stabilem ac non mutatam videtis, hoc minus
the-speech steady and not changed you-see on-this-account the-less

ei parcere: haud scio an multo etiam sit adiuvandus
him spare not I-know whether much even he-is to-be-helped
magis. Etenim si in gladiatoriis pugnis et in infimi generis
more for-indeed if in gladiatorial fights and in of-the-lowest kind
hominum condicione atque fortuna timidos et supplices
of-men the-condition and fortune the-timid and suppliant
et ut vivere liceat obsecrantis etiam odisse solemus,
and that to-live it-be-allowed beseeching even to-hate we-are-wont
fortis et animosos et se acriter ipsos morti offerentis
the-brave and spirited and them keenly themselves to-death offering
servari cupimus, eorumque nos magis miseret qui nostram
to-be-saved we-desire and-for-those us more it-pities who our
misericordiam non requirunt quam qui illam efflagitant,
pity not seek than who it demand
quanto hoc magis in fortissimis civibus facere debemus!
how-much this more in the-bravest citizens to-do we-ought
Me quidem, iudices, exanimant et interimunt hae voces 93
me indeed judges unnerve and kill these utterances
Milonis quas audio adsidue et quibus intersum cotidie.
of-Milo which I-hear constantly and at-which I-am-present daily
'Valeant,' inquit 'valeant cives mei; sint incolumes,
farewell he-says farewell citizens my let-them-be unharmed
sint florentes, sint beati; stet haec urbs praeclara
let-them-be flourishing let-them-be happy let-stand this city splendid
mihique patria carissima, quoquo modo erit merita de
and-to-me fatherland most-dear in-whatever way it-shall-have deserved of
me; tranquilla re publica mei cives, quoniam mihi cum
me with-tranquil the-thing public my citizens since to-me with
illis non licet, sine me ipsi, sed propter me tamen
them not it-is-allowed without me themselves but on-account-of me still
perfruantur. Ego cedam atque abibo. Si mihi bona re
let-them-enjoy-it I will-yield and will-depart if to-me with-good the-thing

publica frui non licuerit, at carebo mala,
public to-enjoy not it-shall-have-been-allowed at-least I-shall-be-without a-bad
et quam primum tetigero bene moratam et liberam
and as first I-shall-have-touched well mannered and free
civitatem, in ea conquiescam.'
a-state in it I-shall-rest

94 'O frustra' inquit 'mei suscepti labores, o spes fallaces, o
O in-vain he-says my undertaken labors O hopes deceitful O
cogitationes inanes meae! Ego cum tribunus plebis re
thoughts empty mine I when tribune of-the-plebs with-the-thing
publica oppressa me senatui dedissem quem exstinctum
public crushed myself to-the-senate had-given which extinguished
acceperam, equitibus Romanis quorum vires erant debiles,
I-had-received to-the-knights Roman whose strength was weak
bonis viris qui omnem auctoritatem Clodianis armis
to-the-good men who all authority to-the-Clodian arms
abiecerant, mihi umquam bonorum praesidium defuturum
had-thrown-down to-me ever of-the-good the-protection going-to-be-lacking
putarem? Ego cum te' — mecum enim saepissime loquitur —
would-I-think I when you with-me for very-often he-speaks
'patriae reddidissem, mihi putarem in patria non
to-the-fatherland I-had-restored for-me would-I-think in the-fatherland not
futurum locum? Ubi nunc senatus est quem secuti sumus, ubi
going-to-be a-place where now the-senate is which followed we-have where
equites Romani illi, illi' inquit 'tui? Ubi studia municipiorum,
the-knights Roman those those he-says yours where the-zeal of-the-towns
ubi Italiae voces, ubi denique tua, M. Tulli, quae plurimis
where of-Italy the-voices where finally your Marcus Tullius which to-very-many
fuit auxilio, vox atque defensio? Mihine ea soli qui
has-been for-help the-voice and defense to-me-whether that alone who
pro te totiens morti me obtuli nihil potest opitulari?'
for you so-often to-death myself have-offered nothing can to-help

Nec vero haec, iudices, ut ego nunc, flens, sed hoc eodem 95
nor indeed these-things judges as I now weeping but with-this same
loquitur voltu quo videtis. Negat enim se, negat ingratis
he-speaks face with-which you-see he-denies for himself he-denies for-ungrateful
civibus fecisse quae fecerit, timidis et omnia pericula
citizens to-have-done what he-did for-timid and all dangers
circumspicientibus non negat. Plebem et infimam multitudinem,
looking-around not he-denies the-plebs and the-lowest multitude
quae P. Clodio duce fortunis vestris imminebat, eam
which with-Publius Clodius as-leader over-the-fortunes your hung it
quo tutior esset vestra vita suam se fecisse commemorat,
so-that safer might-be your life his-own himself to-have-made he-recalls
ut non modo virtute flecteret sed etiam tribus suis
so-that not only by-virtue he-might-bend-it but even with-three his-own
patrimoniis deleniret, nec timet ne, cum plebem muneribus
patrimonies might-soothe-it nor does-he-fear lest when the-plebs with-gifts
placarit, vos non conciliarit meritis in rem publicam
he-has-placated you not he-has-won by-services to the-thing public
singularibus. Senatus erga se benevolentiam temporibus his
singular of-the-senate toward himself the-goodwill in-times these
ipsis saepe esse perspectam, vestras vero et vestrorum
very often to-have-been perceived your indeed and of-your
ordinum occursationes, studia, sermones, quemcumque cursum
orders the-greetings zeal talk whatever course
fortuna ceperit, secum se ablaturum esse dicit.
fortune shall-have-taken with-himself himself going-to-carry-away to-be he-says
Meminit etiam vocem sibi praeconis modo defuisse, 96
he-remembers also the-voice for-him of-the-herald only to-have-been-lacking
quam minime desiderarit, populi vero cunctis suffragiis, quod
which least he-has-missed of-the-people indeed by-all votes which
unum cupierit, se consulem declaratum; nunc denique,
one-thing he-has-desired himself consul declared now finally

si haec arma contra se sint futura, sibi facinoris
if these arms against himself be going-to-be for-himself of-a-crime
suspicionem, non facti crimen obstare. Addit haec,
the-suspicion not of-a-deed the-charge to-stand-in-the-way he-adds these-things
quae certe vera sunt, fortis et sapientis viros non tam praemia
which certainly true are brave and wise men not so-much the-rewards
sequi solere recte factorum quam ipsa recte facta; se
to-pursue to-be-wont of-rightly done-things as the-very rightly done-things himself
nihil in vita nisi praeclarissime fecisse, si quidem nihil
nothing in life except most-splendidly to-have-done if indeed nothing
sit praestabilius viro quam periculis patriam liberare.
be more-excellent for-a-man than from-dangers his-fatherland to-free
97 Beatos esse quibus ea res honori fuerit a suis
happy to-be those-for-whom that thing for-honor has-been from their-own
civibus, nec tamen eos miseros qui beneficio civis suos
citizens nor still those wretched who by-kindness citizens their-own
vicerint. Sed tamen ex omnibus praemiis virtutis, si
have-surpassed but still of all rewards of-virtue if
esset habenda ratio praemiorum, amplissimum esse
there-should-be to-be-had an-account of-rewards the-most-ample to-be
praemium gloriam; esse hanc unam quae brevitatem vitae
reward glory to-be this alone which the-brevity of-life
posteritatis memoria consolaretur, quae efficeret ut
of-posterity by-the-memory consoles which brings-it-about that
absentes adessemus, mortui viveremus; hanc denique esse
absent we-are-present dead we-live this finally to-be
cuius gradibus etiam in caelum homines viderentur ascendere.
whose by-steps even into the-sky men seem to-ascend

Milo says the people will always speak of him; his glory travels wherever Rome rules. Cicero cannot bear to lose him, torn away not by enemies but by friends. If the jurors are offended with Cicero, let him pay instead. Shall the man born for his country die anywhere but in it? Happy the land that receives him. Tears stop Cicero, and he bids the jurors vote as they think, as Pompey, who chose them, will most approve.

'De me' inquit 'semper populus Romanus, semper omnes 98
about me he-says always the-people Roman always all
gentes loquentur, nulla umquam obmutescet vetustas. Quin
nations will-speak no ever will-fall-silent age nay
hoc tempore ipso, cum omnes a meis inimicis faces
at-this time itself when all-the by my enemies torches
invidiae meae subiciantur, tamen omni in hominum coetu
of-odium my are-applied still every in of-men gathering
gratiis agendis et gratulationibus habendis et omni sermone
by-thanks being-given and by-congratulations being-held and in-every talk
celebramur. Omitto Etruriae festos et actos et institutos
I-am-celebrated I-omit of-Etruria the-festal both kept and instituted
dies. Centesima lux est haec ab interitu P. Clodi
days the-hundredth light is this from the-death of-Publius Clodius
et, opinor, altera. Qua fines imperi populi Romani
and I-think the-second wherever the-bounds of-the-empire of-the-people Roman
sunt, ea non solum fama iam de illo sed etiam
are there not only the-report already about that but also
laetitia peragravit. Quam ob rem ubi corpus hoc
the-joy has-traveled which on-account-of thing where body this
sit non' inquit 'laboro, quoniam omnibus in terris
may-be not he-says I-care since all in lands

et iam versatur et semper hic habitabit nominis mei
both already moves and always here will-dwell of-name my
gloria.'
the-glory
99 Haec tu mecum saepe his absentibus, sed isdem
these-things you with-me often with-these absent but with-the-same
audientibus haec ego tecum, Milo: 'Te quidem,
listening these-things I with-you Milo you indeed
cum isto animo sis, satis laudare non possum,
since with-that spirit you-are enough to-praise not I-can
sed, quo est ista magis divina virtus, eo
but by-how-much is that more divine virtue by-so-much
maiore a te dolore divellor. Nec vero, si mihi
with-greater from you grief I-am-torn nor indeed if from-me
eriperis, reliqua est illa saltem ad consolandum querela
you-are-snatched remaining is that at-least for consoling complaint
ut eis irasci possim a quibus tantum volnus
that with-those to-be-angry I-may-be-able by whom so-great a-wound
accepero. Non enim inimici mei te mihi eripient,
I-shall-have-received not for enemies my you from-me will-snatch
sed amicissimi, non male aliquando de me meriti, sed
but most-friendly-men not badly at-any-time of me deserving but
semper optime.' Nullum mihi umquam, iudices, tantum
always most-excellently no to-me ever judges so-great
dolorem inuretis — tametsi quis potest esse tantus? —
pain will-you-brand although what can to-be so-great
sed ne hunc quidem ipsum ut obliviscar quanti me
but not this even itself that I-should-forget how-much me
semper feceritis. Quae si vos cepit oblivio aut si
always you-have-made which-things if you has-seized forgetfulness or if
in me aliquid offendistis, cur non id in meo capite
in me something you-have-taken-offense-at why not it on my head

potius luitur quam Milonis? Praeclare enim vixero,
rather is-it-paid than Milo's splendidly for I-shall-have-lived
si quid mihi acciderit prius quam hoc tantum mali
if anything to-me shall-have-happened before than this so-great of-evil
videro.
I-shall-have-seen
Nunc me una consolatio sustentat, quod tibi, T. Anni, 100
now me one consolation sustains that to-you Titus Annius
nullum a me amoris, nullum studi, nullum pietatis
no from me of-love no of-zeal no of-devotion
officium defuit. Ego inimicitias potentium pro te
duty has-been-lacking I the-enmities of-the-powerful for you
appetivi; ego meum saepe corpus et vitam obieci armis
sought I my often body and life exposed to-the-arms
inimicorum tuorum; ego me plurimis pro te supplicem
of-enemies your I myself to-very-many for you as-a-suppliant
abieci; bona, fortunas meas ac liberorum meorum in
cast-down my-goods fortunes my and of-children my into
communionem tuorum temporum contuli; hoc denique
a-sharing of-your times I-contributed on-this finally
ipso die, si qua vis est parata, si qua dimicatio
very day if any violence is prepared if any struggle
capitis futura, deposco. Quid iam restat? quid habeo
of-life going-to-be I-demand-it what now remains what have-I
quod faciam pro tuis in me meritis nisi ut eam
that I-may-do for your toward me services except that that
fortunam quaecumque erit tua ducam meam? Non
fortune whatever shall-be yours I-may-consider mine not
abnuo, non recuso, vosque obsecro, iudices, ut vestra
I-deny not I-refuse and-you I-beseech judges that your
beneficia quae in me contulistis aut in huius
kindnesses which upon me you-have-conferred either in this-man's

salute augeatis aut in eiusdem exitio occasura esse
safety you-may-increase or in the-same-man's ruin going-to-fall to-be
videatis.
you-may-see

101 His lacrimis non commovetur Milo — est quodam
by-these tears not is-moved Milo he-is of-a-certain
incredibili robore animi — exsilium ibi esse putat ubi
incredible strength of-mind exile there to-be he-thinks where
virtuti non sit locus; mortem naturae finem esse, non
for-virtue not there-be room death of-nature the-end to-be not
poenam. Sit hic ea mente qua natus est: quid?
a-penalty let-be this-man in-that mind in-which born he-was what
Vos, iudices, quo tandem eritis animo? Memoriam
you judges with-what pray will-you-be mind the-memory
Milonis retinebitis, ipsum eicietis? Et erit dignior
of-Milo will-you-keep himself will-you-eject and will-there-be a-worthier
locus ullus in terris qui hanc virtutem excipiat quam
place any on earth which this virtue may-receive than
hic qui procreavit? Vos, vos appello, fortissimi viri,
this-one which begot-it you you I-call-on bravest men
qui multum pro re publica sanguinem effudistis; vos,
who much for the-thing public blood have-shed you
inquam, in civis invicti periculo appello, centuriones,
I-say in of-a-citizen unconquered the-danger I-call-on centurions
vosque, milites: vobis non modo inspectantibus sed
and-you soldiers with-you not only looking-on but
etiam armatis et huic iudicio praesidentibus haec
also armed and over-this court presiding this
tanta virtus ex hac urbe expelletur, exterminabitur,
so-great virtue from this city shall-be-expelled shall-be-banished
proicietur?
shall-be-cast-out

O me miserum, o me infelicem! Revocare tu me in 102
O me wretched O me unhappy to-recall you me to
patriam, Milo, potuisti per hos, ego te in patria
the-fatherland Milo could through these I you in the-fatherland
per eosdem retinere non potero? Quid respondebo
through the-same to-keep not shall-be-able what shall-I-answer
liberis meis qui te parentem alterum putant? Quid
to-children my who you a-parent second think what
tibi, Quinte frater, qui nunc abes, consorti mecum
to-you Quintus brother who now are-absent the-sharer with-me
temporum illorum? mene non potuisse Milonis
of-times those me-whether not to-have-been-able Milo's
salutem tueri per eosdem per quos nostram ille
safety to-protect through the-same through whom ours he
servasset? At in qua causa non potuisse? Quae est grata
had-saved but in what cause not to-have-been-able which is welcome
omnibus gentibus. A quibus non potuisse? Ab eis qui
to-all nations by whom not to-have-been-able by those who
maxime P. Clodi morte acquierunt. Quo deprecante?
most Publius Clodius' at-death rested with-whom pleading
Me.
me

Quodnam ego concepi tantum scelus aut quod in me 103
what I conceived so-great a-crime or what against me
tantum facinus admisi, iudices, cum illa indicia communis
so-great a-deed admitted judges when those signs of-common
exiti indagavi, patefeci, protuli, exstinxi? Omnes mihi
destruction I-traced-out disclosed brought-forth extinguished all to-me
meisque redundant ex fonte illo dolores. Quid me
and-to-mine overflow from source that the-pains why me
reducem esse voluistis? an ut inspectante me expellerentur
restored to-be did-you-wish or that with-looking-on me should-be-expelled

ei per quos essem restitutus? Nolite, obsecro vos,
those through whom I-had-been restored do-not I-beseech you
acerbiorem mihi pati reditum esse quam fuerit ille ipse
more-bitter for-me allow the-return to-be than was that very
discessus. Nam qui possum putare me restitutum, si
departure for how can-I to-think myself restored if
distrahor ab his per quos restitutus sum? Utinam di
I-am-torn-away from these through whom restored I-am would-that the-gods
immortales fecissent — pace tua, patria, dixerim: metuo
immortal had-granted by-peace your fatherland let-me-say I-fear
enim ne scelerate dicam in te quod pro Milone dicam
for lest wickedly I-say against you what for Milo I-say
pie — utinam P. Clodius non modo viveret sed etiam
dutifully would-that Publius Clodius not only lived but also
praetor, consul, dictator esset potius quam hoc spectaculum
praetor consul dictator were rather than this spectacle
viderem!
I-should-see

104 O di immortales! Fortem et a vobis, iudices, conservandum
O gods immortal a-brave and by you judges to-be-preserved
virum! 'Minime, minime'; inquit 'immo vero poenas
man least least he-says nay indeed the-penalties
ille debitas luerit: nos subeamus, si ita necesse est,
he owed has-paid let-us undergo if so necessary it-is
non debitas.' Hicine vir patriae natus usquam
not owed this-man-whether a-man for-the-fatherland born anywhere
nisi in patria morietur, aut, si forte, pro patria?
except in the-fatherland will-die or if perhaps for the-fatherland
huius vos animi monumenta retinebitis, corporis
of-this-man you of-the-spirit the-monuments will-keep of-the-body
in Italia nullum sepulcrum esse patiemini? hunc
in Italy no tomb to-be will-allow this-man

sua quisquam sententia ex hac urbe expellet
by-his-own anyone vote from this city will-expel
quem omnes urbes expulsum a vobis ad se
whom all cities expelled by you to themselves
vocabunt?
will-call
O terram illam beatam quae hunc virum exceperit, 105
O land that happy which this man shall-have-received
hanc ingratam si eiecerit, miseram si amiserit!
this ungrateful if it-shall-have-cast-out wretched if it-shall-have-lost
Sed finis sit; neque enim prae lacrimis iam loqui
but end let-there-be nor for for tears now to-speak
possumus, et hic se lacrimis defendi vetat. Vos
we-can and this-man himself by-tears to-be-defended forbids you
oro obtestorque, iudices, ut in sententiis ferendis, quod
I-beg and-beseech judges that in votes casting what
sentietis, id audeatis. Vestram virtutem, iustitiam, fidem,
you-shall-feel that you-may-dare your virtue justice good-faith
mihi credite, is maxime comprobabit qui in iudicibus
to-me believe he most will-approve who in judges
legendis optimum et sapientissimum et fortissimum quemque
choosing best and wisest and bravest each
delegit.
chose

CICERO

Philippica Secunda

The Second Philippic

PHILIPPICA SECUNDA

I · WHY ANTONY ATTACKS

For twenty years every enemy of the state has also declared war on Cicero, and Antony, unprovoked, has attacked him to win the favor of wicked citizens, bolder than Catiline, madder than Clodius. Cicero answers first the charge of broken friendship: he appeared against Antony only for a friend, Antony never studied under him, and Antony did not yield him the augurate, since Pompey and Hortensius nominated him when Antony was bankrupt.

Quonam meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicam ut 1
by-what my fate fathers enrolled to-come-about shall-I-say that
nemo his annis viginti rei publicae fuerit hostis qui
no-one in-these years twenty to-the-thing public has-been an-enemy who
non bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec
not war at-the-same time on-me also has-declared nor
vero necesse est quemquam a me nominari: vobiscum ipsi
indeed necessary is-it anyone by me to-be-named with-yourselves yourselves
recordamini. Mihi poenarum illi plus quam optarem dederunt:
recall to-me penalties they more than I-could-wish have-given
te miror, Antoni, quorum facta imitere, eorum exitus non
you I-wonder-at Antony whose deeds you-imitate their ends not
perhorrescere. Atque hoc in aliis minus mirabar. Nemo enim
to-dread and this in others less I-wondered-at no-one for
illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius: omnes a me rei
of-them an-enemy to-me was voluntary all by me of-the-thing
publicae causa lacessiti. Tu ne verbo quidem violatus, ut
public for-the-sake provoked you not by-a-word even outraged that
audacior quam Catilina, furiosior quam Clodius viderere,
more-audacious than Catiline more-mad than Clodius you-might-seem

ultro me maledictis lacessisti, tuamque a me alienationem
unprovoked me with-abuse have-attacked and-your from me estrangement
commendationem tibi ad impios civis fore putavisti.
a-recommendation for-you to impious citizens going-to-be you-thought
2 Quid putem? Contemptumne me? Non video nec in vita
what am-I-to-think despised-whether me not I-see neither in life
nec in gratia nec in rebus gestis nec in hac mea mediocritate
nor in influence nor in deeds done nor in this my moderation
ingeni quid despicere possit Antonius. An in senatu facillime
of-talent what to-despise could Antony or in the-senate most-easily
de me detrahi posse credidit? qui ordo clarissimis
from me to-be-detracted to-be-able he-believed which order to-most-illustrious
civibus bene gestae rei publicae testimonium multis, mihi
citizens well managed of-the-thing public testimony to-many to-me
uni conservatae dedit. An decertare mecum voluit contentione
alone of-preserved has-given or to-contend with-me he-wished in-a-contest
dicendi? Hoc quidem est beneficium. Quid enim plenius, quid
of-speaking this indeed is a-kindness what for fuller what
uberius quam mihi et pro me et contra Antonium dicere?
richer than for-me both for me and against Antony to-speak
Illud profecto: non existimavit sui similibus probari
that surely not he-thought of-himself to-the-like to-be-approved
posse se esse hostem patriae, nisi mihi esset inimicus.
to-be-able himself to-be an-enemy of-his-fatherland unless to-me he-were hostile
3 Cui prius quam de ceteris rebus respondeo, de amicitia
to-whom before than about the-other matters I-reply about friendship
quam a me violatam esse criminatus est, quod ego
which by me violated to-have-been charged he-has which I
gravissimum crimen iudico, pauca dicam.
the-gravest charge judge a-few-things I-will-say

Contra rem suam me nescio quando venisse questus
against interest his-own me I-know-not when to-have-come complained
est. An ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et
he-has or I not should-come against a-stranger for an-intimate and
necessario, non venirem contra gratiam non virtutis spe,
close-friend not should-I-come against influence not of-virtue by-the-hope
sed aetatis flore conlectam, non venirem contra iniuriam
but of-age by-the-flower gathered not should-I-come against an-injustice
quam iste intercessoris iniquissimi beneficio obtinuit, non iure
which he of-a-vetoer most-unjust by-the-favor obtained not by-right
praetorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto ut te
praetorian but this therefore mentioned by you I-think that yourself
infimo ordini commendares, cum omnes te recordarentur
to-the-lowest order you-might-commend since all you remembered
libertini generum et liberos tuos nepotes Q. Fadi,
of-a-freedman the-son-in-law and the-children your grandchildren of-Quintus Fadius
libertini hominis, fuisse. At enim te in disciplinam meam
a-freedman man to-have-been but for you into discipline my
tradideras — nam ita dixisti — domum meam ventitaras.
you-had-handed-over for so you-said to-the-house my you-had-come-often
Ne tu, si id fecisses, melius famae, melius pudicitiae
truly you if that you-had-done better for-reputation better for-chastity
tuae consuluisses. Sed neque fecisti nec, si cuperes,
your you-would-have-provided but neither you-did-it nor if you-wished
tibi id per C. Curionem facere licuisset.
for-you that by Gaius Curio to-do it-would-have-been-allowed
Auguratus petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O 4
of-the-augurate the-candidacy to-me you to-have-conceded you-said O
incredibilem audaciam, o impudentiam praedicandam! Quo
incredible audacity O impudence to-be-proclaimed at-what
enim tempore me augurem a toto conlegio expetitum
for time me as-augur by the-whole college sought

Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt — nec
Gnaeus Pompey and Quintus Hortensius nominated nor
enim licebat a pluribus nominari — tu nec solvendo eras
for it-was-allowed by more to-be-nominated you neither solvent were
nec te ullo modo nisi eversa re publica incolumem
nor yourself in-any way except with-overturned the-thing public safe
fore putabas. Poteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere
going-to-be thought could-you however at-that time the-augurate to-seek
cum in Italia Curio non esset, aut tum cum es factus unam
when in Italy Curio not was or then when you-were made one
tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? Cuius etiam familiares
tribe without Curio to-carry could-you-have whose even intimates
de vi condemnati sunt, quod tui nimis studiosi fuissent.
of violence condemned were because of-you too eager they-had-been

II · THE FAVOR AT BRUNDISIUM

Antony boasts of a kindness: he did not kill Cicero at Brundisium, whom Caesar had spared. That is a brigand's kindness, and if it were one, Caesar's killers, whom Antony calls illustrious, would deserve no glory. Cicero's complaint in the senate was restrained, though Antony was selling everything at home. Antony read out a private letter of Cicero's, against all decency, and found in it only kindness; Cicero will not answer in kind.

5 At beneficio sum tuo usus. Quo? Quamquam illud ipsum
but by-kindness I-have your used what and-yet that very-thing
quod commemoras semper prae me tuli: malui me
which you-mention always before me I-have-borne I-preferred myself
tibi debere confiteri quam cuiquam minus prudenti non satis
to-you to-owe to-confess than to-anyone less prudent not enough
gratus videri. Sed quo beneficio? quod me Brundisi non
grateful to-seem but what kindness that me at-Brundisium not

occideris? Quem ipse victor qui tibi, ut tute gloriari
you-killed whom himself the-victor who to-you as you-yourself to-boast
solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis principatum, salvum
were-wont had-conferred of brigands his-own the-chieftainship safe
esse voluisset, in Italiam ire iussisset, eum tu occideres?
to-be had-wished into Italy to-go had-ordered him you would-kill
Fac potuisse. Quod est aliud, patres conscripti, beneficium
suppose to-have-been-able what is other fathers enrolled the-kindness
latronum nisi ut commemorare possint eis se dedisse
of-brigands except that to-mention they-can to-those themselves to-have-given
vitam quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium,
life from-whom not they-took-it but if it-were a-kindness
numquam qui illum interfecerunt a quo erant
never those-who him killed by whom they-had-been
conservati, quos tu ipse clarissimos viros soles appellare,
preserved whom you yourself most-illustrious men are-wont to-call
tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium
such-great would-have glory attained what-sort however a-kindness
est quod te abstinueris nefario scelere? Qua in re
is-it that yourself you-kept from-a-wicked crime which in matter
non tam iucundum mihi videri debuit non interfectum me
not so pleasant to-me to-seem ought not killed me
a te quam miserum te id impune facere potuisse.
by you as wretched you that with-impunity to-do to-have-been-able
Sed sit beneficium, quando quidem maius accipi a 6
but let-it-be a-kindness since indeed greater to-be-received from
latrone nullum potuit: in quo potes me dicere ingratum? An
a-brigand none could in what can-you me to-call ungrateful or
de interitu rei publicae queri non debui, ne in
about the-destruction of-the-thing public to-complain not ought-I lest toward
te ingratus viderer? At in illa querela misera quidem et
you ungrateful I-should-seem but in that complaint wretched indeed and

luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu in quo me senatus
mournful but for-me in-accordance-with this rank in which me the-senate
populusque Romanus conlocavit necessaria, quid est dictum a
and-people Roman has-placed necessary what was said by
me cum contumelia, quid non moderate, quid non amice?
me with insult what not moderately what not in-friendly-fashion
Quod quidem cuius temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio
which indeed of-what self-control it-was about Mark Antony
querentem abstinere maledicto, praesertim cum tu reliquias
complaining to-refrain from-abuse especially when you the-remnants
rei publicae dissipavisses, cum domi tuae turpissimo
of-the-thing public had-squandered when at-home your by-a-most-base
mercatu omnia essent venalia, cum leges eas quae numquam
traffic all-things were for-sale when the-laws those which never
promulgatae essent et de te et a te latas confiterere, cum
promulgated had-been both about you and by you carried you-confessed when
auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustulisses, cum esses
the-auspices as-augur the-veto as-consul you-had-removed when you-were
foedissime stipatus armatis, cum omnis impuritates impudica
most-foully hemmed with-armed-men when all impurities unchaste
in domo cotidie susciperes vino lustrisque confectus.
in house daily you-were-undertaking with-wine and-with-dens worn-out
7 At ego, tamquam mihi cum M. Crasso contentio esset,
but I as-if for-me with Marcus Crassus the-contest were
quocum multae et magnae fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore
with-whom many and great have-been not with one gladiator
nequissimo, de re publica graviter querens de homine
most-worthless about the-thing public gravely complaining about the-man
nihil dixi. Itaque hodie perficiam ut intellegat
nothing I-said and-so today I-will-bring-it-about that he-may-understand
quantum a me beneficium tum acceperit. At etiam
how-great from me a-kindness then he-received but even

litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit homo
a-letter which me to-himself to-have-sent he-said he-read-out a-man
et humanitatis expers et vitae communis ignarus. Quis
both of-humanity devoid and of-life common ignorant who
enim umquam qui paulum modo bonorum consuetudinem
for ever who a-little only of-the-good the-custom
nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua
knew a-letter to himself from a-friend sent with-offense some
interposita in medium protulit palamque recitavit? Quid
intervening into the-middle brought-forth and-openly read-out what
est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum
is-it other to-remove from life of-life the-fellowship to-remove of-friends
conloquia absentium? Quam multa ioca solent esse in
the-talks absent how many jokes are-wont to-be in
epistulis quae, prolata si sint, inepta videantur, quam
letters which brought-forth if they-be silly would-seem how
multa seria neque tamen ullo modo divolganda!
many serious-things nor still in-any way to-be-divulged
Sit hoc inhumanitatis: stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quid 8
let-be this of-inhumanity the-folly incredible see what
habes quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut Mustelae
have-you which to-me you-may-oppose man eloquent as to-Mustela
tamen Seio et Tironi Numisio videris? Qui cum hoc
still Seius and to-Tiro Numisius you-seem who since at-this
ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in conspectu senatus, ego
very time they-stand with swords in sight of-the-senate I
quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis quo modo
also you eloquent shall-think if you-shall-have-shown in-what way
sis eos inter sicarios defensurus. Sed quid opponas
you-are them among assassins going-to-defend but what would-you-oppose
tandem, si negem me umquam ad te istas litteras
pray if I-should-deny me ever to you that letter

misisse? Quo me teste convincas? An chirographo? in
to-have-sent with-what me witness would-you-convict or by-handwriting in
quo habes scientiam quaestuosam. Qui possis? Sunt enim
which you-have a-knowledge lucrative how could-you it-is for
librari manu. Iam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta
of-a-secretary in-the-hand now I-envy teacher your who you for-so-great
mercede quantam iam proferam nihil sapere doceat.
a-fee as-great-as now I-shall-disclose nothing to-know teaches

9 Quid enim est minus non dico oratoris, sed hominis quam id
what for is less not I-say of-an-orator but of-a-man than that
obicere adversario quod ille si verbo negarit longius
to-charge to-an-adversary which he if by-a-word he-shall-have-denied further
progredi non possit qui obiecerit? At ego non nego, teque
to-advance not could he-who has-charged-it but I not deny and-you
in isto ipso convinco non inhumanitatis solum sed etiam
in that very convict not of-inhumanity only but even
amentiae. Quod enim verbum in istis litteris est non plenum
of-madness what for word in that letter is not full
humanitatis, offici, benevolentiae? Omne autem crimen tuum
of-humanity of-duty of-goodwill all however charge your
est quod de te in his litteris non male existimem, quod
is that about you in this letter not badly I-think that
scribam tamquam ad civem, tamquam ad bonum virum, non
I-write as-if to a-citizen as-if to a-good man not
tamquam ad sceleratum et latronem. At ego tuas litteras,
as-if to a-criminal and brigand but I your letter
etsi iure poteram a te lacessitus, tamen non proferam:
although by-right I-could by you provoked still not I-will-bring-forth
quibus petis ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exsilio
in-which you-ask that to-you through me it-be-allowed a-certain-man from exile
reducere, adiurasque id te invito me non esse facturum;
to-bring-back and-you-swear that you with-unwilling me not to-be going-to-do

idque a me impetras. Quid enim me interponerem audaciae
and-that from me you-obtain why for myself should-I-interpose to-audacity
tuae, quam neque auctoritas huius ordinis neque existimatio
your which neither the-authority of-this order nor the-estimation
populi Romani neque leges ullae possent coercere?
of-the-people Roman nor laws any could to-restrain
Verum tamen quid erat quod me rogares, si erat is 10
but still what was-there that me you-should-ask if was he
de quo rogabas Caesaris lege reductus? Sed videlicet meam
about whom you-asked by-Caesar's law brought-back but evidently my
gratiam voluit esse, in quo ne ipsius quidem ulla esse
favor he-wished to-be in which not of-himself even any to-be
poterat lege lata.
could with-the-law carried
Sed cum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid et
but since by-me fathers enrolled both for myself something and
in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint, alterum peto
against Mark Antony many-things to-be-said are the-one I-ask
a vobis ut me pro me dicentem benigne, alterum ipse
from you that me for myself speaking kindly the-other I-myself
efficiam ut, contra illum cum dicam, attente audiatis.
will-bring-about that against him when I-speak attentively you-may-hear
Simul illud oro: si meam cum in omni vita tum
at-the-same-time that I-beg if my both in all life and
in dicendo moderationem modestiamque cognostis, ne me
in speaking moderation and-modesty you-have-known lest me
hodie, cum isti, ut provocavit, respondero, oblitum
today when to-that-man as he-has-provoked I-shall-have-answered forgotten
esse putetis mei. Non tractabo ut consulem: ne ille
to-have-been you-think of-myself not I-will-treat-him as a-consul not he
quidem me ut consularem. Etsi ille nullo modo consul,
even me as a-consular although he in-no way a-consul

vel quod ita vivit vel quod ita rem publicam gerit vel
either because so he-lives or because so the-thing public he-manages or
quod ita factus est; ego sine ulla controversia consularis.
because so made he-was I without any dispute a-consular

III · CICERO'S CONSULSHIP

Antony attacked Cicero's consulship, which was the senate's in fact. No one but Antony and Clodius ever blamed it, and Clodius' fate awaits him. Servilius, Catulus, the Luculli, Crassus, Hortensius, Cato, and Pompey all approved it, and of the two ex-consuls living, Cotta decreed the thanksgiving and Lucius Caesar, Antony's uncle, spoke against Antony's stepfather. Antony ignores his uncle and consults men whose birthday parties keep him from the senate, and he dares say armed slaves filled the Capitoline slope in Cicero's consulship, when every knight stood there.

11 Ut igitur intellegeretis qualem ipse se consulem
that therefore you-might-understand what-sort he-himself himself a-consul
profiteretur, obiecit mihi consulatum meum. Qui consulatus
professed he-charged to-me consulship my which consulship
verbo meus, patres conscripti, re vester fuit. Quid enim ego
in-word mine fathers enrolled in-fact yours was what for I
constitui, quid gessi, quid egi nisi ex huius ordinis
decided what did-I-conduct what did-I-do except from of-this order
consilio, auctoritate, sententia? Haec tu homo sapiens, non
the-counsel authority vote these-things you a-man wise not
solum eloquens, apud eos quorum consilio sapientiaque gesta
only eloquent before those whose by-counsel and-wisdom done
sunt ausus es vituperare? Quis autem meum consulatum
they-were dared have to-vilify who however my consulship
praeter te et P. Clodium qui vituperaret inventus est?
except you and Publius Clodius who would-vilify found was

Cuius quidem tibi fatum, sicuti C. Curioni, manet,
whose indeed to-you the-fate as for-Gaius Curio awaits
quoniam id domi tuae est quod fuit illorum utrique fatale.
since that at-home your is which was of-them to-both fatal
Non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus. At placuit 12
not pleases Mark Antony consulship my but it-pleased
P. Servilio, ut eum primum nominem ex illius temporis
Publius Servilius that him first I-may-name of that time
consularibus qui proxime est mortuus; placuit Q. Catulo,
of-the-consulars who most-recently has died it-pleased Quintus Catulus
cuius semper in hac re publica vivet auctoritas; placuit
whose always in this thing public will-live the-authority it-pleased
duobus Lucullis, M. Crasso, Q. Hortensio, C. Curioni,
the-two Luculli Marcus Crassus Quintus Hortensius Gaius Curio
C. Pisoni, M'. Glabrioni, M'. Lepido, L. Volcatio,
Gaius Piso Manius Glabrio Manius Lepidus Lucius Volcatius
C. Figulo, D. Silano, L. Murenae, qui tum
Gaius Figulus Decimus Silanus Lucius Murena who then
erant consules designati; placuit idem quod consularibus
were consuls designate it-pleased the-same as the-consulars
M. Catoni, qui cum multa vita excedens providit, tum
Marcus Cato who both many-things life departing foresaw and
quod te consulem non vidit. Maxime vero consulatum meum
that you consul not he-saw most indeed consulship my
Cn. Pompeius probavit qui, ut me primum decedens ex
Gnaeus Pompey approved who as-soon-as me first departing from
Syria vidit, complexus et gratulans meo beneficio patriam
Syria he-saw embracing and congratulating by-my kindness his-fatherland
se visurum esse dixit. Sed quid singulos commemoro?
himself going-to-see to-be said but why individuals do-I-mention
Frequentissimo senatui sic placuit ut esset nemo qui mihi
the-very-crowded senate so it-pleased that there-was no-one who to-me

non ut parenti gratias ageret, qui mihi non vitam suam,
not as to-a-parent thanks gave who to-me not life his-own
fortunas, liberos, rem publicam referret acceptam.
fortunes children the-thing public declared received
13 Sed quoniam illis quos nominavi tot et talibus viris
but since of-those whom I-have-named so-many and such men
res publica orbata est, veniamus ad vivos qui duo de
the-thing public bereaved has-been let-us-come to the-living who two from
consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir summo
of-the-consulars the-number left are Lucius Cotta a-man of-the-highest
ingenio summaque prudentia, rebus eis gestis quas
talent and-the-highest prudence for-the-deeds those done which
tu reprehendis supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis,
you censure a-thanksgiving decreed in-words most-ample
eique illi ipsi quos modo nominavi consulares senatusque
and-to-him those very whom just-now I-named consulars and-the-senate
cunctus adsensus est; qui honos post conditam hanc urbem
whole assented has which honor since the-founding of-this city
habitus est togato ante me nemini.
held has-been for-a-man-in-a-toga before me for-no-one
14 L. Caesar, avunculus tuus, qua oratione, qua constantia,
Lucius Caesar uncle your with-what speech with-what constancy
qua gravitate sententiam dixit in sororis suae virum,
with-what weight his-opinion spoke against of-sister his-own the-husband
vitricum tuum! Hunc tu cum auctorem et praeceptorem
stepfather your him you though as-author and adviser
omnium consiliorum totiusque vitae debuisses habere,
of-all plans and-of-the-whole life you-ought to-have
vitrici te similem quam avunculi maluisti. Huius ego
of-your-stepfather yourself like than of-your-uncle you-preferred his I
alienus consiliis consul usus sum: tu, sororis filius, ecquid
a-stranger counsels as-consul used have you of-his-sister the-son whether-at-all

ad eum umquam de re publica rettulisti? At ad quos
to him ever about the-thing public have-you-referred but to whom
refert? di immortales! Ad eos scilicet quorum nobis etiam
does-he-refer gods immortal to those forsooth whose for-us even
dies natales audiendi sunt. Hodie non descendit Antonius.
the-days natal to-be-heard are today not comes-down Antony
Cur? Dat nataliciam in hortis. Cui? Neminem nominabo: 15
why he-gives a-birthday-feast in the-gardens for-whom no-one I-will-name
putate tum Phormioni alicui, tum Gnathoni, tum etiam Ballioni.
suppose now for-a-Phormio some now for-a-Gnatho now even for-a-Ballio
O foeditatem hominis flagitiosam, o impudentiam, nequitiam,
O foulness of-the-man disgraceful O impudence worthlessness
libidinem non ferendam! Tu cum principem senatorem, civem
lust not to-be-borne you though a-leading senator a-citizen
singularem tam propinquum habeas, ad eum de re
singular so near you-have to him about the-thing
publica nihil referas, referas ad eos qui suam rem nullam
public nothing you-refer you-refer to those who their-own property none
habent, tuam exhauriunt? Tuus videlicet salutaris consulatus,
have yours drain your forsooth salutary consulship
perniciosus meus. Adeone pudorem cum pudicitia perdidisti
pernicious mine so-far-whether shame with chastity have-you-lost
ut hoc in eo templo dicere ausus sis in quo ego senatum
that this in that temple to-say dared you-have in which I the-senate
illum qui quondam florens orbi terrarum praesidebat
that which once flourishing over-the-circle of-the-lands presided
consulebam, tu homines perditissimos cum gladiis conlocavisti?
consulted you men most-abandoned with swords have-placed
At etiam ausus es — quid autem est quod tu non 16
but even dared you-have what however is-there which you not
audeas? — clivum Capitolinum dicere me consule plenum
dare the-slope Capitoline to-say with-me as-consul full

servorum armatorum fuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria
of-slaves armed to-have-been that those-things I-suppose wicked
senatus consulta fierent, vim adferebam senatui. O
of-the-senate decrees might-be-made violence I-was-bringing on-the-senate O
miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt — nihil enim boni
wretch whether those-things to-you known not are nothing for of-good
nosti — sive sunt, qui apud talis viros tam impudenter
you-know or they-are who before such men so impudently
loquare! Quis enim eques Romanus, quis praeter te
you-speak who for knight Roman who except you
adulescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis qui se civem esse
a-young-man noble who of-any order who himself a-citizen to-be
meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo
remembered when the-senate in this temple was on the-slope
Capitolino non fuit, quis nomen non dedit? quamquam nec
Capitoline not was who name not gave and-yet neither
scribae sufficere nec tabulae nomina illorum capere potuerunt.
the-clerks to-suffice nor the-tablets the-names of-them to-hold could

IV · THE CAPITOLINE SLOPE

Antony complains that Cicero refused his stepfather Lentulus burial, and mocks the armed knights on the Capitoline slope while his own Ituraeans surround the senate. He sneers at "let arms yield to the toga," and charges Cicero with Clodius' murder, which Milo did unprompted, and with breaking Pompey from Caesar.

17 Etenim cum homines nefarii de patriae parricidio
for-indeed when men nefarious about of-the-fatherland parricide
confiterentur, consciorum indiciis, sua manu, voce
were-confessing of-accomplices by-the-informations by-their-own hand voice
paene litterarum coacti se urbem inflammare, civis
almost of-letters compelled themselves the-city to-burn the-citizens

trucidare, vastare Italiam, delere rem publicam consensisse,
to-butcher to-lay-waste Italy to-destroy the-thing public to-have-agreed
quis esset qui ad salutem communem defendendam non
who would-be who for safety common to-be-defended not
excitaretur, praesertim cum senatus populusque Romanus
would-be-roused especially when the-senate and-the-people Roman
haberet ducem, qualis si qui nunc esset, tibi idem quod
had a-leader such-as if any now were to-you the-same which
illis accidit contigisset? Ad sepulturam corpus vitrici
to-them happened would-have-befallen to burial the-body of-stepfather
sui negat a me datum. Hoc vero ne P. quidem
his-own he-denies by me given this indeed not Publius even
Clodius dixit umquam: quem, quia iure ei inimicus fui,
Clodius said ever whom because justly to-him an-enemy I-was
doleo a te omnibus vitiis iam esse superatum.
I-grieve by you in-all vices now to-be surpassed
Qui autem tibi venit in mentem redigere in memoriam 18
how however to-you came into mind to-bring-back into memory
nostram te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum?
our that-you at-the-house of-Publius Lentulus to-have-been brought-up
An verebare ne non putaremus natura te potuisse tam
or were-you-afraid lest not we-should-think by-nature you to-have-been-able so
improbum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina? Tam
wicked to-turn-out unless had-been-added also training so
autem eras excors ut tota in oratione tua tecum ipse
however you-were witless that whole in speech your with-you yourself
pugnares, non modo non cohaerentia inter se diceres,
you-fought not only not things-cohering among themselves you-said
sed maxime diiuncta atque contraria, ut non tanta mecum
but most disjoined and contrary so-that not so-great with-me
quanta tibi tecum esset contentio. Vitricum tuum fuisse
as with-you with-yourself was the-contest the-stepfather your to-have-been

in tanto scelere fatebare, poena adfectum querebare. Ita
in so-great a-crime you-confessed with-punishment afflicted you-complained thus
quod proprie meum est laudasti; quod totum est senatus
what properly mine is you-praised what wholly is of-the-senate
reprehendisti. Nam comprehensio sontium mea, animadversio
you-blamed for the-arrest of-the-guilty mine the-punishment
senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intellegit eum quem contra
of-the-senate was the-man eloquent not understands him whom against
dicit laudari a se; eos apud quos dicit vituperari.
he-speaks to-be-praised by himself those before whom he-speaks to-be-vilified
19 Iam illud cuius est, non dico audaciae — cupit enim
now that of-what is not I-say of-audacity he-desires for
se audacem — sed, quod minime volt, stultitiae, qua
himself bold but what least he-wants of-stupidity in-which
vincit omnis, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, cum
he-surpasses all of-the-slope Capitoline mention to-make when
inter subsellia nostra versentur armati, cum in hac cella
among benches our move-about armed-men when in this shrine
Concordiae, di immortales! in qua me consule salutares
of-Concord gods immortal in which with-me consul salutary
sententiae dictae sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus, cum
opinions spoken were by-which to this day we-have-lived with
gladiis homines conlocati stent? Accusa senatum; accusa
swords men stationed stand accuse the-senate accuse
equestrem ordinem qui tum cum senatu copulatus fuit;
the-equestrian order which then with the-senate joined was
accusa omnis ordines, omnis civis, dum confiteare hunc
accuse all orders all citizens provided-that you-confess this
ordinem hoc ipso tempore ab Ituraeis circumsederi. Haec
order at-this very time by Ituraeans to-be-besieged these-things
tu non propter audaciam dicis tam impudenter, sed quia
you not on-account-of audacity say so impudently but because

tantam rerum repugnantiam non vides. Nihil profecto sapis.
so-great of-things contradiction not you-see nothing surely you-know
Quid est enim dementius quam, cum rei publicae
what is for more-insane than when to-the-thing public
perniciosa arma ipse ceperis, obicere alteri salutaria?
destructive arms yourself you-have-taken to-reproach another-with salutary
At etiam quodam loco facetus esse voluisti. Quam id te, di 20
but also in-a-certain place witty to-be you-wished how it you gods
boni, non decebat! In quo est tua culpa non nulla. Aliquid enim
good not became in which is your fault not none some for
salis a mima uxore trahere potuisti. 'Cedant arma togae.'
of-salt from your-actress wife to-draw you-could let-yield arms to-the-toga
Quid? tum nonne cesserunt? At postea tuis armis cessit
what then not did-they-yield but afterward to-your arms yielded
toga. Quaeramus igitur utrum melius fuerit libertati populi
the-toga let-us-ask therefore whether better it-was to-the-liberty of-the-people
Romani sceleratorum arma an libertatem nostram armis tuis
Roman of-the-wicked the-arms or the-liberty our to-arms your
cedere. Nec vero tibi de versibus plura respondebo: tantum
to-yield nor indeed to-you about verses more I-shall-answer only
dicam breviter, te neque illos neque ullas omnino litteras
I-shall-say briefly that-you neither them nor any at-all letters
nosse; me nec rei publicae nec amicis umquam defuisse,
to-know I neither the-thing public nor friends ever to-have-failed
et tamen omni genere monumentorum meorum perfecisse
and still in-every kind of-monuments my to-have-accomplished
operis subsicivis ut meae vigiliae meaeque litterae et
with-hours spare so-that my vigils and-my letters both
iuventuti utilitatis et nomini Romano laudis aliquid adferrent.
to-youth of-use and to-the-name Roman of-praise something might-bring
Sed haec non huius temporis: maiora videamus.
but these-things not of-this time greater-things let-us-see

21 P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse dixisti.
Publius Clodius by-my plan killed to-have-been you-said
Quidnam homines putarent, si tum occisus esset cum
what men would-think if then slain he-had-been when
tu illum in foro inspectante populo Romano gladio
you him in the-forum with-looking-on the-people Roman with-a-sword
insecutus es negotiumque transegisses, nisi se ille
pursued you-have and-the-business you-would-have-finished unless himself he
in scalas tabernae librariae coniecisset eisque oppilatis
onto the-stairs of-a-shop of-a-bookseller had-thrown and-with-them blocked
impetum tuum compressisset? Quod quidem ego favisse
attack your had-checked which indeed I to-have-favored
me tibi fateor, suasisse ne tu quidem dicis. At Miloni
myself you I-confess to-have-urged not you even say but Milo
ne favere quidem potui; prius enim rem transegit quam
not to-favor even I-could before for the-thing he-accomplished than
quisquam eum facturum id suspicaretur. At ego suasi. Scilicet
anyone him going-to-do it suspected but I urged of-course
is animus erat Milonis ut prodesse rei publicae sine
such the-spirit was of-Milo that to-benefit the-thing public without
suasore non posset. At laetatus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta
an-adviser not he-could but rejoiced I-did what therefore in so-great
laetitia cunctae civitatis me unum tristem esse oportebat?
joy of-the-whole state me alone sad to-be it-was-proper
22 Quamquam de morte Clodi fuit quaestio non satis
although about the-death of-Clodius there-was an-inquiry not enough
prudenter illa quidem constituta — quid enim attinebat
wisely that indeed set-up what for was-the-point
nova lege quaeri de eo qui hominem occidisset, cum
by-a-new law to-be-inquired about him who a-man had-killed when
esset legibus quaestio constituta? — quaesitum est tamen.
there-was by-the-laws an-inquiry established inquired-into it-was still

Quod igitur, cum res agebatur, nemo in me dixit,
what therefore when the-thing was-being-done no-one against me said
id tot annis post tu es inventus qui diceres?
that so-many years after you were found who should-say
Quod vero dicere ausus es idque multis verbis, opera 23
what indeed to-say dared you-have and-that with-many words by-work
mea Pompeium a Caesaris amicitia esse diiunctum
my Pompey from of-Caesar friendship to-have-been disjoined
ob eamque causam culpa mea bellum civile esse
on-account-of and-that cause by-fault my the-war civil to-have
natum, in eo non tu quidem tota re sed, quod
been-born in that not you indeed in-the-whole matter but what
maximum est, temporibus errasti. Ego M. Bibulo,
greatest is in-the-times you-erred I with-Marcus Bibulus
praestantissimo civi, consule nihil praetermisi, quantum facere
most-excellent citizen consul nothing I-omitted as-much-as to-do
enitique potui, quin Pompeium a Caesaris coniunctione
and-to-strive I-could but-that Pompey from of-Caesar union
avocarem. In quo Caesar felicior fuit. Ipse enim
I-might-call-away in which Caesar more-fortunate was he-himself for
Pompeium a mea familiaritate diiunxit. Postea vero quam
Pompey from my intimacy disjoined afterward indeed when
se totum Pompeius Caesari tradidit, quid ego illum ab eo
himself wholly Pompey to-Caesar handed-over why I him from him
distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare, suadere impudentis.
to-draw-away should-I-try of-a-fool it-was to-hope to-urge of-a-shameless-man
Duo tamen tempora inciderunt quibus aliquid contra 24
two still times occurred in-which something against
Caesarem Pompeio suaserim. Ea velim reprehendas, si
Caesar to-Pompey I-urged them I-would-like you-to-blame if
potes: unum ne quinquenni imperium Caesari prorogaret,
you-can one not five-years' the-command to-Caesar he-should-extend

alterum ne pateretur ferri ut absentis eius ratio
the-other not he-should-allow to-be-proposed that absent his account
haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has miserias
be-taken of-which if either I-had-persuaded into these miseries
numquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, cum iam opes
never we-would-have-fallen and the-same I when now resources
omnis et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Caesarem
all both his-own and of-the-people Roman Pompey to Caesar
detulisset, seroque ea sentire coepisset quae multo ante
had-transferred and-late those-things to-feel had-begun which much before
provideram, inferrique patriae bellum viderem nefarium,
I-had-foreseen and-to-be-brought on-the-fatherland war I-saw nefarious
pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti,
of-peace concord of-compromise the-promoter to-be not I-ceased
meaque illa vox est nota multis: 'Utinam, Cn. Pompei, cum
and-my that saying is known to-many would-that Gnaeus Pompey with
C. Caesare societatem aut numquam coisses aut numquam
Gaius Caesar alliance either never you-had-joined or never
diremisses! Fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiae tuae.'
you-had-broken-off it-was the-one of-gravity the-other of-prudence your
Haec mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de
these my Mark Antony always both about Pompey and about
re publica consilia fuerunt. Quae si valuissent, res
the-thing public counsels were which if had-prevailed the-thing
publica staret, tu tuis flagitiis, egestate, infamia concidisses.
public would-stand you by-your disgraces by-poverty by-infamy would-have-fallen

Antony says Caesar was killed on Cicero's advice. Cicero would be honored, but no conspirator's name was concealed and his was never heard: the Bruti, Cassius, Domitius, Trebonius, Cimber, and the Cascas needed no adviser. Brutus called Cicero's name as a fellow savior of liberty. If wishing Caesar's death is a crime, all good men are guilty; and the assassins are either murderers or liberators, and Antony's own honors to them say liberators. Antony himself plotted it with Trebonius at Narbo, and no one profited more.

Sed haec vetera, illud vero recens, Caesarem meo 25
but these-things old that indeed recent that-Caesar by-my
consilio interfectum. Iam vereor, patres conscripti, ne, quod
plan was-killed now I-fear fathers enrolled lest what
turpissimum est, praevaricatorem mihi apposuisse videar, qui
most-shameful is a-collusive-accuser for-myself to-have-put-up I-seem who
me non solum meis laudibus ornaret sed etiam oneraret
me not only with-my-own praises would-adorn but also would-burden
alienis. Quis enim meum in ista societate gloriosissimi
with-another's who for my in that alliance of-the-most-glorious
facti nomen audivit? Cuius autem qui in eo numero fuisset
deed name heard whose however who in that number had-been
nomen est occultatum? Occultatum dico? Cuius non
the-name has-been concealed concealed I-say whose not
statim divolgatum? Citius dixerim iactasse se aliquos
at-once spread-abroad sooner I-would-say to-have-boasted themselves some
ut fuisse in ea societate viderentur, cum conscii non
so-that to-have-been in that alliance they-might-seem when accomplices not
fuissent, quam ut quisquam celari vellet qui fuisset.
they-had-been than that anyone to-be-concealed would-wish who had-been

26 Quam veri simile porro est in tot hominibus partim
how true like moreover is in so-many men partly
obscuris, partim adulescentibus neminem occultantibus
obscure partly young-men no-one concealing
meum nomen latere potuisse? Etenim si auctores ad
my name to-lie-hidden to-have-been-able for-indeed if instigators for
liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis actoribus, Brutos
liberating the-fatherland were-wanted for-those doers the-Bruti
ego impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem cotidie
I would-urge-on of-whom each of-Lucius Brutus the-image daily
videret, alter etiam Ahalae? Hi igitur his maioribus
saw the-other also of-Ahala these therefore with-these ancestors
ab alienis potius consilium peterent quam a suis et
from strangers rather counsel would-seek than from their-own and
foris potius quam domo? Quid? C. Cassius in ea familia
out-of-doors rather than at-home what Gaius Cassius in that family
natus quae non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem
born which not only domination but not the-power even
cuiusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit: qui
of-anyone to-bear could me as-instigator I-suppose wanted who
etiam sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad
even without these most-illustrious men this thing in Cilicia at
ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam
the-mouth of-the-river Cydnus would-have-accomplished if he to that bank
quam constituerat, non ad contrariam navis appulisset.
which he-had-fixed not to the-opposite the-ship had-brought-in

27 Cn. Domitium non patris interitus, clarissimi viri, non
Gnaeus Domitius not of-his-father the-death most-illustrious man not
avunculi mors, non spoliatio dignitatis ad recuperandam
of-his-uncle the-death not the-despoiling of-his-rank for recovering
libertatem, sed mea auctoritas excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego
liberty but my authority roused or Gaius Trebonius I

persuasi? Cui ne suadere quidem ausus essem. Quo etiam
persuaded whom not to-urge even dared I-would-have by-which even
maiorem ei res publica gratiam debet qui libertatem
greater to-him the-thing public thanks owes who the-liberty
populi Romani unius amicitiae praeposuit depulsorque
of-the-people Roman of-one-man to-friendship put-before and-the-repeller
dominatus quam particeps esse maluit. An L. Tillius
of-domination than a-sharer to-be preferred or Lucius Tillius
Cimber me est auctorem secutus? Quem ego magis fecisse
Cimber me has as-instigator followed whom I more to-have-done
illam rem sum admiratus quam facturum putavi, admiratus
that thing have wondered than going-to-do I-thought wondered
autem ob eam causam quod immemor beneficiorum,
however on-account-of that cause that unmindful of-benefits
memor patriae fuisset. Quid duos Servilios — Cascas
mindful of-the-fatherland he-had-been what the-two Servilii the-Cascas
dicam an Ahalas? — et hos auctoritate mea censes
shall-I-say or the-Ahalas and these by-the-authority my you-think
excitatos potius quam caritate rei publicae? Longum
roused rather than by-love of-the-thing public long
est persequi ceteros, idque rei publicae praeclarum
it-is to-go-through the-others and-that for-the-thing public splendid
fuisse tam multos, ipsis gloriosum.
to-have-been so many for-themselves glorious
At quem ad modum me coarguerit homo acutus recordamini. 28
but how to manner me he-convicted the-man sharp remember
'Caesare interfecto' inquit 'statim cruentum alte extollens
with-Caesar killed he-says at-once bloody high raising
Brutus pugionem Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit atque ei
Brutus the-dagger Cicero by-name cried-out and him
recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus.' Cur mihi potissimum?
on-recovered liberty has congratulated why me above-all

quia sciebam? Vide ne illa causa fuerit appellandi mei quod,
because I-knew see lest that the-cause was of-naming me that
cum rem gessisset consimilem rebus eis quas ipse
when a-thing he-had-done very-like to-the-things those which I-myself
gesseram, me potissimum testatus est se aemulum
had-done me above-all called-to-witness he-has that-he a-rival
mearum laudum exstitisse.
of-my praises to-have-shown-himself

29 Tu autem, omnium stultissime, non intellegis, si, id
you however of-all most-stupid not you-understand if that
quod me arguis, voluisse interfici Caesarem crimen sit,
which me you-accuse to-have-wanted to-be-killed Caesar a-charge be
etiam laetatum esse morte Caesaris crimen esse? Quid
also rejoiced to-have at-the-death of-Caesar a-charge to-be what
enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? aut
for difference-is between the-adviser of-a-deed and the-approver or
quid refert utrum voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum?
what matters-it whether I-wanted it-to-be-done or I-rejoice it-done
Ecquis est igitur exceptis eis qui illum regnare gaudebant
anyone-at-all is therefore excepting those who him to-reign were-glad
qui illud aut fieri noluerit aut factum improbarit?
who that either to-be-done did-not-want or done disapproved
Omnes ergo in culpa. Etenim omnes boni, quantum in
all therefore in fault for-indeed all the-good as-far-as in
ipsis fuit, Caesarem occiderunt: aliis consilium, aliis
themselves was Caesar killed to-some counsel to-others
animus, aliis occasio defuit; voluntas nemini.
courage to-others opportunity was-lacking will to-no-one

30 Sed stuporem hominis vel dicam pecudis attendite. Sic enim
but the-stupidity of-the-man or shall-I-say of-the-beast attend-to thus for
dixit: ‘Brutus, quem ego honoris causa nomino, cruentum
he-said Brutus whom I of-honor for-the-sake I-name bloody

pugionem tenens Ciceronem exclamavit: ex quo intellegi
the-dagger holding Cicero cried-out from which to-be-understood
debet eum conscium fuisse.' Ergo ego sceleratus appellor a te
it-ought that-he an-accomplice to-have-been therefore I criminal am-called by you
quem tu suspicatum aliquid suspicaris; ille qui stillantem prae
whom you having-suspected something you-suspect he who dripping before
se pugionem tulit, is a te honoris causa nominatur? Esto;
himself the-dagger carried he by you of-honor for-the-sake is-named let-it-be
sit in verbis tuis hic stupor: quanto in rebus sententiisque
let-there-be in words your this stupidity how-much in deeds and-opinions
maior? Constitue hoc, consul, aliquando, Brutorum, C. Cassi,
greater decide this consul at-last of-the-Bruti of-Gaius Cassius
Cn. Domiti, C. Treboni, reliquorum quam velis esse
of-Gnaeus Domitius of-Gaius Trebonius of-the-rest which you-wish to-be
causam; edormi crapulam, inquam, et exhala. An faces
the-case sleep-off the-hangover I-say and breathe-it-out or torches
admovendae sunt quae excitent tantae causae indormientem?
to-be-applied are which may-rouse over-so-great a-case one-sleeping
Numquamne intelleges statuendum tibi esse utrum illi qui
will-you-never understand to-be-decided by-you to-be whether those who
istam rem gesserunt homicidaene sint an vindices libertatis.
that thing did whether-murderers they-are or the-champions of-liberty
Attende enim paulisper cogitationemque sobrii hominis 31
attend for for-a-little and-the-thought of-a-sober man
punctum temporis suscipe. Ego qui sum illorum, ut ipse
for-a-point of-time take-up I who am of-them as I-myself
fateor, familiaris, ut a te arguor, socius, nego quicquam
confess an-intimate as by you I-am-accused an-accomplice I-deny anything
esse medium: confiteor eos, nisi liberatores populi Romani
to-be in-between I-confess them unless liberators of-the-people Roman
conservatoresque rei publicae sint, plus quam sicarios, plus
and-preservers of-the-thing public they-be more than assassins more

quam homicidas, plus etiam quam parricidas esse, si quidem
than murderers more even than parricides to-be if indeed
est atrocius patriae parentem quam suum occidere. Tu
is more-atrocious of-the-fatherland the-parent than one's-own to-kill you
homo sapiens et considerate, quid dicis? Si parricidas, cur
man wise and considerate what you-say if parricides why
honoris causa a te sunt et in hoc ordine et apud populum
of-honor for-the-sake by you have-they and in this order and before the-people
Romanum semper appellati? Cur M. Brutus referente
Roman always been-named why Marcus Brutus with-moving(-it)
te legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plus quam decem dies
you from-the-laws was released if from the-city more than ten days
afuisset? Cur ludi Apollinares incredibili M. Bruti
he-had-been-absent why the-games of-Apollo with-incredible of-Marcus Brutus
honore celebrati? Cur provinciae Bruto, Cassio datae, cur
honor celebrated why provinces to-Brutus to-Cassius given why
quaestores additi, cur legatorum numerus auctus? Atqui haec
quaestors added why of-legates the-number increased and-yet these-things
acta per te. Non igitur homicidas. Sequitur ut liberatores
done by you not therefore murderers it-follows that liberators
tuo iudicio, quando quidem tertium nihil potest esse.
by-your judgment since indeed a-third nothing can to-be
32 Quid est? Num conturbo te? Non enim fortasse satis quae
what is-it surely-not I-confuse you not for perhaps enough what
diiunctius dicuntur intellegis. Sed tamen haec summa est
more-disjointedly are-said you-understand but still this the-sum is
conclusionis meae: quoniam scelere a te liberati sunt,
of-the-conclusion my since from-crime by you freed they-have-been
ab eodem amplissimis praemiis dignissimos iudicatos. Itaque
by the-same of-the-most-ample rewards most-worthy judged and-so
iam retexo orationem meam. Scribam ad illos ut, si qui
now I-unweave speech my I-shall-write to them that if any

forte, quod a te mihi obiectum est, quaerent sitne
perhaps what by you to-me charged has-been shall-ask whether-it-be
verum, ne cui negent. Etenim vereor ne aut celatum me
true not to-anyone they-deny for-indeed I-fear lest either concealed me
illis ipsis non honestum aut invitatum refugisse
from-them themselves not honorable or invited to-have-shrunk-back
mihi sit turpissimum. Quae enim res umquam, pro sancte
for-me be most-shameful what for thing ever by holy
Iuppiter! non modo in hac urbe sed in omnibus terris est
Jupiter not only in this city but in all lands has-been
gesta maior; quae gloriosior, quae commendatior hominum
done greater what more-glorious what more-commended of-men
memoriae sempiternae? In huius me tu consili societatem
to-the-memory everlasting into of-this me you of-counsel the-alliance
tamquam in equum Troianum cum principibus includis?
as-if into the-horse Trojan with the-leaders you-shut
Non recuso; ago etiam gratias, quoquo animo facis. 33
not I-refuse I-give even thanks with-whatever mind you-do-it
Tanta enim res est ut invidiam istam quam tu in
so-great for the-thing is that the-ill-will that which you against
me vis concitare cum laude non comparem. Quid
me you-wish to-stir-up with the-praise not I-would-compare what
enim beatius illis quos tu expulsos a te praedicas
for more-blessed than-those whom you driven-out by you you-proclaim
et relegatos? qui locus est aut tam desertus aut tam
and banished what place is either so deserted or so
inhumanus qui illos, cum accesserint, non adfari atque
inhuman which them when they-have-come not to-address and
appetere videatur? qui homines tam agrestes qui se, cum
to-seek seems what men so rustic who themselves when
eos aspexerint, non maximum cepisse vitae fructum putent?
them they-have-seen not the-greatest to-have-taken of-life the-fruit may-think

quae vero tam immemor posteritas, quae tam ingratae litterae
what indeed so unmindful posterity what so ungrateful letters
reperientur quae eorum gloriam non immortalitatis memoria
will-be-found which their glory not of-immortality with-memory
prosequantur? Tu vero ascribe me talem in numerum.
may-attend you indeed enroll me such into-a number
34 Sed unam rem vereor ne non probes: si enim fuissem,
but one thing I-fear lest not you-approve if for I-had-been
non solum regem sed etiam regnum de re publica
not only the-king but also the-kingship from the-thing public
sustulissem; et, si meus stilus ille fuisset, ut dicitur,
I-would-have-removed and if my pen that had-been as is-said
mihi crede, non solum unum actum sed totam fabulam
to-me believe not only one act but the-whole play
confecissem. Quamquam si interfici Caesarem voluisse
I-would-have-finished although if to-be-killed Caesar to-have-wanted
crimen est, vide, quaeso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit,
a-charge is see I-beg Antony what to-you going-to-be may-be
quem et Narbone hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse
who both at-Narbo this plan with Gaius Trebonius to-have-taken
notissimum est et ob eius consili societatem, cum
most-known is and on-account-of of-that plan the-alliance when
interficeretur Caesar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari.
was-being-killed Caesar then you by Trebonius we-saw to-be-called-aside
Ego autem — vide quam tecum agam non inimice — quod
I however see how with-you I-deal not unfriendly that
bene cogitasti aliquando, laudo; quod non indicasti, gratias
well you-thought once I-praise that not you-informed thanks
ago; quod non fecisti, ignosco.
I-give that not you-did-it I-pardon

Virum res illa quaerebat. Quod si te in iudicium quis 35
a-man thing that was-seeking but if you into court anyone
adducat usurpetque illud Cassianum, 'cui bono
should-bring and-should-apply that-famous Cassian to-whom for-a-benefit
fuerit,' vide, quaeso, ne haereas. Quamquam illud quidem fuit,
it-was see I-beg lest you-get-stuck although that indeed was
ut tu dicebas, omnibus bono qui servire nolebant, tibi
as you used-to-say to-all for-a-benefit who to-be-slaves did-not-want to-you
tamen praecipue qui non modo non servis sed etiam regnas;
still especially who not only not are-a-slave but even reign
qui maximo te aere alieno ad aedem Opis liberavisti;
who from-the-greatest yourself bronze another's at the-temple of-Ops freed
qui per easdem tabulas innumerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti;
who through the-same accounts countless money squandered
ad quem e domo Caesaris tam multa delata sunt;
to whom from the-house of-Caesar so many-things brought were
cuius domi quaestuosissima est falsorum commentariorum et
whose at-home a-most-profitable is of-false notebooks and
chirographorum officina, agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatium,
of-autographs workshop of-lands of-towns of-exemptions
vectigalium flagitiosissimae nundinae.
of-revenues most-scandalous markets

Antony taunts Cicero with Pompey's camp. Had Cicero's counsel of peace prevailed, Antony would be in want and the state free; Cicero mourned because he foresaw the ruin of the commonwealth. Pompey and he disagreed without breaking their friendship, and Pompey praised him after Pharsalus. Antony says no one leaves Cicero legacies; Cicero has received over twenty million sesterces from friends, while Antony was named heir by a stranger he never saw, and he paid his rhetor with two thousand acres of the Leontine plain.

36 Etenim quae res egestati et aeri alieno tuo praeter
for-indeed what thing to-the-poverty and to-the-bronze another's your except
mortem Caesaris subvenire potuisset? Nescio quid conturbatus
the-death of-Caesar to-relieve could-have I-know-not what disturbed
esse videris: num quid subtimes ne ad te hoc crimen
to-be you-seem surely-not something you-half-fear lest to you this charge
pertinere videatur? Libero te metu: nemo credet umquam;
to-pertain may-seem I-free you from-fear no-one will-believe-it ever
non est tuum de re publica bene mereri; habet istius
not is your about the-thing public well to-deserve has of-that
pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros res publica auctores; ego
most-beautiful deed most-illustrious men the-thing public as-authors I
te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse non arguo. Respondi
you only to-rejoice say to-have-done-it not I-accuse I-have-answered
maximis criminibus: nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.
to-the-greatest charges now also the-remaining to-be-answered is
37 Castra mihi Pompei atque illud omne tempus obiecisti. Quo
the-camp to-me of-Pompey and that whole time you-cast-up at-which
quidem tempore si, ut dixi, meum consilium auctoritasque
indeed time if as I-said my counsel and-authority
valuisset, tu hodie egeres, nos liberi essemus; res
had-prevailed you today would-be-in-want we free would-be the-thing

publica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset. Fateor
public not so-many leaders and armies would-have-lost I-confess
enim me, cum ea quae acciderunt providerem futura,
for that-I when those-things which happened I-foresaw going-to-be
tanta in maestitia fuisse quanta ceteri optimi cives, si
so-great in sorrow to-have-been as-great-as the-other best citizens if
idem providissent, fuissent. Dolebam, dolebam, patres
the-same they-had-foreseen would-have-been I-grieved I-grieved fathers
conscripti, rem publicam vestris quondam meisque
enrolled that-the-thing public by-your once and-my
consiliis conservatam brevi tempore esse perituram. Nec vero
counsels preserved in-a-short time to-be going-to-perish nor indeed
eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum ut frangerer animo
was-I so untaught and-ignorant of-things that I-should-be-broken in-spirit
propter vitae cupiditatem, quae me manens conficeret
on-account-of of-life desire which me remaining would-wear-out
angoribus, dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego
with-anguish sent-away from-troubles all would-free those I
praestantissimos viros, lumina rei publicae, vivere volebam,
most-excellent men the-lights of-the-thing public to-live wished
tot consularis, tot praetorios, tot honestissimos
so-many ex-consuls so-many ex-praetors so-many most-honorable
senatores, omnem praeterea florem nobilitatis ac iuventutis, tum
senators all moreover the-flower of-the-nobility and of-the-youth then
optimorum civium exercitus; qui si viverent, quamvis iniqua
of-the-best citizens the-armies which if they-lived however on-unequal
condicione pacis — mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello
condition of-peace to-me for every peace with citizens than-war
civili utilior videbatur — rem publicam hodie teneremus.
civil more-useful seemed the-thing public today we-would-hold

38 Quae sententia si valuisset ac non ei maxime mihi quorum
which opinion if had-prevailed and not those most me whose
ego vitae consulebam spe victoriae elati obstitissent,
I of-the-life was-taking-thought by-hope of-victory elated had-opposed
ut alia omittam, tu certe numquam in hoc ordine
to other-things I-may-omit you surely never in this order
vel potius numquam in hac urbe mansisses. At vero
or rather never in this city would-have-remained but indeed
Cn. Pompei voluntatem a me alienabat oratio mea.
of-Gnaeus Pompey the-goodwill from me was-estranging speech my
An ille quemquam plus dilexit, cum ullo aut sermones
or he anyone more loved with anyone or conversations
aut consilia contulit saepius? Quod quidem erat magnum,
or counsels exchanged more-often which indeed was great
de summa re publica dissentientis in eadem consuetudine
about the-highest thing public men-disagreeing in the-same intimacy
amicitiae permanere. Ego quid ille et contra ille quid
of-friendship to-continue I what he and on-the-other-hand he what
ego sentirem et spectarem videbat. Ego incolumitati civium
I thought and looked-to saw I to-the-safety of-the-citizens
primum, ut postea dignitati possemus, ille praesenti
first so-that afterward to-their-rank we-could(-look) he to-present
dignitati potius consulebat. Quod autem habebat uterque
rank rather looked which however had each
quid sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissensio.
what he-should-follow therefore more-tolerable was our disagreement
39 Quid vero ille singularis vir ac paene divinus de me
what indeed that singular man and almost divine about me
senserit sciunt qui eum de Pharsalia fuga Paphum persecuti
thought they-know who him from Pharsalian flight to-Paphos followed
sunt. Numquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica,
have never by him mention about me unless honorable

nisi plena amicissimi desideri, cum me vidisse plus
unless full of-the-most-friendly longing when me to-have-seen more
fateretur, se speravisse meliora. Et eius viri nomine me
he-confessed himself to-have-hoped better-things and of-that man in-the-name me
insectari audes cuius me amicum, te sectorem esse
to-attack you-dare whose me a-friend you a-buyer-of-confiscated-goods to-be
fateare? Sed omittatur bellum illud in quo tu nimium
you-must-confess but let-be-omitted war that in which you too
felix fuisti. Ne de iocis quidem respondebo quibus me
fortunate were not about jokes even I-shall-answer which me
in castris usum esse dixisti: erant quidem illa castra plena
in the-camp used to-have you-said was indeed that camp full
curae; verum tamen homines, quamvis in turbidis rebus sint,
of-care but still men although in turbulent affairs they-be
tamen, si modo homines sunt, interdum animis relaxantur.
still if only men they-are sometimes in-mind are-relaxed
Quod autem idem maestitiam meam reprehendit, idem 40
that however the-same-man the-sorrow my blames the-same
iocum, magno argumento est me in utroque fuisse
the-jest great proof is that-I in both to-have-been
moderatum.
moderate
Hereditates mihi negasti venire. Utinam hoc tuum verum
inheritances to-me you-denied to-come would-that this your true
crimen esset! Plures amici mei et necessarii viverent. Sed qui
charge were more friends my and kinsmen would-live but how
istuc tibi venit in mentem? Ego enim amplius sestertium
that to-you came into mind I for more-than sesterces
ducentiens acceptum hereditatibus rettuli. Quamquam in hoc
twenty-million received from-inheritances entered although in this
genere fateor feliciorem esse te. Me nemo nisi amicus fecit
kind I-confess more-fortunate to-be you me no-one unless a-friend made

heredem, ut cum illo commodo, si quod erat, animi
heir so-that with that advantage if any there-was of-the-mind
quidam dolor iungeretur; te is quem tu vidisti numquam,
a-certain grief might-be-joined you he whom you saw never
L. Rubrius Casinas fecit heredem.
Lucius Rubrius of-Casinum made heir

41 Et quidem vide quam te amarit is qui albus aterne fuerit
and indeed see how you he-loved he who white or-black whether-he-was
ignoras. Fratris filium praeterit, Q. Fufi, honestissimi
you-do-not-know of-his-brother the-son he-passes-over of-Quintus Fufius a-most-honorable
equitis Romani suique amicissimi, quem palam heredem
knight Roman and-his-own most-friendly whom openly heir
semper factitarat, ne nominat quidem: te, quem numquam
always he-had-made not he-names even you whom never
viderat aut certe numquam salutaverat, fecit heredem. Velim
he-had-seen or surely never had-greeted he-made heir I-would-like
mihi dicas, nisi molestum est, L. Turselius qua facie fuerit,
to-me you-tell unless troublesome it-is Lucius Turselius of-what looks he-was
qua statura, quo municipio, qua tribu. 'Nihil scio' inquies
of-what stature of-what township of-what tribe nothing I-know you-will-say
'nisi quae praedia habuerit.' Igitur fratrem exheredans te faciebat
except what estates he-had therefore his-brother disinheriting you he-made
heredem. In multas praeterea pecunias alienissimorum hominum
heir into many besides moneys of-utter-strangers men
vi eiectis veris heredibus, tamquam heres esset, invasit.
by-force with-thrown-out the-true heirs as-if heir he-were he-burst

42 Quamquam hoc maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te
although this most wondered-at I-have mention you
hereditatum ausum esse facere, cum ipse hereditatem
of-inheritances dared to-have to-make when you-yourself the-inheritance
patris non adisses.
of-your-father not had-entered-upon

Haec ut conligeres, homo amentissime, tot dies in aliena
these-things that you-might-collect man most-mad so-many days in another's
villa declamasti? Quamquam tu quidem, ut tui familiarissimi
villa you-declaimed although you indeed as your most-intimate
dictitant, vini exhalandi, non ingeni acuendi causa
keep-saying of-wine to-be-breathed-off not of-wit to-be-sharpened for-the-sake
declamitas. At vero adhibes ioci causa magistrum suffragio
practice-declaiming but indeed you-employ of-jest for-the-sake a-master by-the-vote
tuo et compotorum tuorum rhetorem, cui concessisti
your and of-drinking-companions your a-rhetor to-whom you-granted
ut in te quae vellet diceret, salsum omnino hominem,
that against you what he-wished he-might-say witty altogether a-man
sed materia facilis in te et in tuos dicta dicere. Vide
but the-material easy against you and against your-own sayings to-say see
autem quid intersit inter te et avum tuum. Ille sensim
however what difference-there-is between you and grandfather your he slowly
dicebat quod causae prodesset; tu cursim dicis aliena.
said what to-the-case would-be-of-use you quickly say irrelevant-things
At quanta merces rhetori data est! Audite, audite, patres 43
but how-great a-fee to-the-rhetor given was hear hear fathers
conscripti, et cognoscite rei publicae volnera. Duo milia
enrolled and learn of-the-thing public the-wounds two thousand
iugerum campi Leontini Sex. Clodio rhetori adsignasti
iugera of-the-plain Leontine to-Sextus Clodius the-rhetor you-assigned
et quidem immunia, ut populi Romani tanta mercede
and indeed tax-free so-that of-the-people Roman at-so-great a-fee
nihil sapere disceres. Num etiam hoc, homo audacissime,
nothing to-know you-might-learn surely-not also this man most-audacious
ex Caesaris commentariis? Sed dicam alio loco et de
from of-Caesar notebooks but I-shall-speak in-another place both about
Leontino agro et de Campano, quos iste agros ereptos
the-Leontine land and about the-Campanian which he lands snatched

rei publicae turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit. Iam
from-the-thing public with-most-shameful possessors defiled now
enim, quoniam criminibus eius satis respondi, de ipso
for since to-the-charges his enough I-have-answered about the-very
emendatore et correctore nostro quaedam dicenda sunt. Nec
emender and corrector our some-things to-be-said are nor
enim omnia effundam, ut, si saepius decertandum sit,
for all-things shall-I-pour-out so-that if more-often to-be-fought-out it-be
ut erit, semper novus veniam: quam facultatem mihi
as it-will-be always new I-may-come which opportunity to-me
multitudo istius vitiorum peccatorumque largitur.
the-multitude of-his vices and-sins grants

VII · ANTONY'S YOUTH

Cicero surveys Antony's life from boyhood: bankrupt as a boy, a common prostitute until Curio took him into a stable marriage; Cicero persuaded the elder Curio to pay his son's debts. Then came his intimacy with Clodius, his journey to Egypt with Gabinius, his return to Caesar in Gaul, and his canvass for the quaestorship.

44 Visne igitur te inspiciamus a puero? Sic opinor; a
do-you-wish therefore you that-we-examine from boyhood thus I-think from
principio ordiamur. Tenesne memoria praetextatum te
the-beginning let-us-begin do-you-hold in-memory in-the-bordered-toga that-you
decoxisse? 'Patris' inquies 'ista culpa est.' Concedo.
to-have-gone-bankrupt of-your-father you-will-say that the-fault is I-grant
Etenim est pietatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciae tuae
for-indeed it-is of-filial-piety full a-defense that still of-audacity your
quod sedisti in quattuordecim ordinibus, cum esset lege
that you-sat in the-fourteen rows when there-was by-the-law
Roscia decoctoribus certus locus constitutus, quamvis quis
Roscian for-bankrupts a-fixed place established however-much anyone

fortunae vitio, non suo decoxisset. Sumpsisti virilem,
of-fortune by-fault not his-own had-gone-bankrupt you-took-up the-man's
quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti. Primo volgare
which at-once a-woman's toga you-made first a-common
scortum; certa flagiti merces nec ea parva; sed cito Curio
harlot fixed of-the-disgrace the-fee nor that small but quickly Curio
intervenit qui te a meretricio quaestu abduxit et, tamquam
intervened who you from the-harlot's trade led-away and as-if
stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo conlocavit.
a-matron's-robe he-had-given in marriage stable and fixed placed
Nemo umquam puer emptus libidinis causa tam fuit in 45
no ever boy bought of-lust for-the-sake so was in
domini potestate quam tu in Curionis. Quotiens te pater
the-master's power as you in Curio's how-often you the-father
eius domu sua eiecit, quotiens custodes posuit ne limen
his from-house his threw-out how-often guards he-posted lest the-threshold
intrares? Cum tu tamen nocte socia, hortante libidine,
you-should-enter when you still by-night companion with-urging lust
cogente mercede, per tegulas demitterere. Quae flagitia
with-compelling the-fee through the-tiles you-were-let-down which disgraces
domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne me de rebus
house that longer to-bear not could do-you-know that-I about things
mihi notissimis dicere? Recordare tempus illud cum pater
to-me best-known to-speak recall time that when the-father
Curio maerens iacebat in lecto; filius se ad pedes meos
Curio grieving was-lying in bed the-son himself at feet my
prosternens, lacrimans, te mihi commendabat; orabat ut
prostrating weeping you to-me commended begged that
se contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagiens peteret,
him against his-own father if sesterces six-million he-should-claim
defenderem; tantum enim se pro te intercessisse dicebat.
I-should-defend so-much for himself for you to-have-gone-surety he-said

Ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod desiderium
he-himself however with-love burning affirmed that the-longing
tui discidi ferre non posset, se in exsilium iturum.
for-you of-separation to-bear not he-could himself into exile going-to-go
46 Quo tempore ego quanta mala florentissimae familiae sedavi
at-which time I how-great evils of-a-most-flourishing family I-calmed
vel potius sustuli! Patri persuasi ut aes alienum fili
or rather removed the-father I-persuaded that the-bronze another's of-his-son
dissolveret; redimeret adulescentem, summa spe et animi
he-should-pay he-should-redeem the-young-man with-highest promise both of-mind
et ingeni praeditum, rei familiaris facultatibus eumque
and of-talent endowed of-the-thing familial with-the-resources and-him
non modo tua familiaritate sed etiam congressione
not only from-your intimacy but also from-meeting
patrio iure et potestate prohiberet. Haec tu cum
by-a-father's right and power he-should-bar these-things you when
per me acta meminisses, nisi illis quos videmus gladiis
through me done you-remembered unless in-those which we-see swords
confideres, maledictis me provocare ausus esses.
you-trusted with-insults me to-provoke dared you-would-have
47 Sed iam stupra et flagitia omittamus: sunt quaedam quae
but now debaucheries and disgraces let-us-omit there-are certain-things which
honeste non possum dicere; tu autem eo liberior quod
honorably not I-can to-say you however by-that freer that
ea in te admisisti quae a verecundo inimico audire
those-things against yourself you-admitted which from a-modest enemy to-hear
non posses. Sed reliquum vitae cursum videte, quem quidem
not you-could but the-remaining of-life course see which indeed
celeriter perstringam. Ad haec enim quae in civili bello,
quickly I-shall-touch-on to these for which in the-civil war
in maximis rei publicae miseriis fecit, et ad ea quae
in the-greatest of-the-thing public miseries he-did and to those which

cotidie facit, festinat animus. Quae peto ut, quamquam multo
daily he-does hastens the-mind which I-ask that although much
notiora vobis quam mihi sunt, tamen, ut facitis, attente
better-known to-you than to-me they-are still as you-do attentively
audiatis. Debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos non
you-may-hear ought for such in matters to-rouse the-minds not
cognitio solum rerum sed etiam recordatio; etsi incidamus,
the-knowledge only of-things but also the-recollection although let-us-cut
opinor, media ne nimis sero ad extrema veniamus.
I-think the-middle-things lest too late to the-last-things we-come
Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio qui sua erga me beneficia 48
most-intimate he-was in the-tribunate with-Clodius who his toward me benefits
commemorat; eius omnium incendiorum fax, cuius etiam
recalls his of-all fires the-torch whose even
domi iam tum quiddam molitus est. Quid dicam ipse
at-home already then something contrived he-has what I-mean he-himself
optime intellegit. Inde iter Alexandream contra senatus
best understands thence the-journey to-Alexandria against of-the-senate
auctoritatem, contra rem publicam et religiones; sed habebat
the-authority against the-thing public and religious-scruples but he-had
ducem Gabinium, quicum quidvis rectissime facere posset.
as-leader Gabinius with-whom anything most-rightly to-do he-could
Qui tum inde reditus aut qualis? Prius in ultimam Galliam
what then thence the-return or of-what-kind before into farthest Gaul
ex Aegypto quam domum. Quae autem domus? Suam enim
from Egypt than home what however home his-own for
quisque domum tum obtinebat nec erat usquam tua. Domum
each home then held nor was anywhere yours home
dico? Quid erat in terris ubi in tuo pedem poneres praeter
I-say what was in the-lands where on your-own a-foot you-could-set except
unum Misenum quod cum sociis tamquam Sisaponem tenebas.
one Misenum which with partners as-if Sisapo you-held

49 Venis e Gallia ad quaesturam petendam. Aude dicere te
you-come from Gaul for the-quaestorship to-be-sought dare to-say that-you
prius ad parentem tuam venisse quam ad me. Acceperam iam
before to mother your to-have-come than to me I-had-received already
ante Caesaris litteras ut mihi satis fieri paterer a te: itaque
before of-Caesar a-letter that me satisfied to-be I-should-allow by you and-so
ne loqui quidem sum te passus de gratia. Postea sum
not to-speak even I-have you allowed about reconciliation afterward I-was
cultus a te, tu a me observatus in petitione quaesturae; quo
courted by you you by me attended in the-canvass of-the-quaestorship at-which
quidem tempore P. Clodium approbante populo Romano
indeed time Publius Clodius with-approving the-people Roman
in foro es conatus occidere, cumque eam rem tua
in the-forum you-have tried to-kill and-when that thing of-your-own
sponte conarere, non impulsu meo, tamen ita praedicabas,
accord you-attempted not at-the-instigation my still thus you-proclaimed
te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, umquam mihi
that-you not to-think unless him you-had-killed ever to-me
pro tuis in me iniuriis satis esse facturum. In quo
for your against me injuries satisfaction to-be going-to-make in which
demiror cur Milonem impulsu meo rem illam egisse dicas,
I-wonder why Milo at-instigation my thing that to-have-done you-say
cum te ultro mihi idem illud deferentem numquam
when you of-your-own-accord to-me the-same that offering never
sim adhortatus. Quamquam, si in eo perseverares, ad tuam
I-have urged although if in that you-persisted to your
gloriam rem illam referri malebam quam ad meam gratiam.
glory thing that to-be-credited I-preferred than to my favor

Quaestor, Antony ran to Caesar without lot or decree, then to the tribunate. When the senate tried to prop the falling state in January 49, he set his sold veto against it, and the decree passed against a public enemy fell on him; fleeing to Caesar's arms, he gave Caesar his pretext for war. Cicero laments what posterity will remember: the consuls and Pompey driven from Italy with the senate's best, and the state expelled from its seat.

Quaestor es factus: deinde continuo sine senatus consulto, 50
quaestor you-were made then immediately without of-the-senate a-decree
sine sorte, sine lege ad Caesarem cucurristi. Id enim unum
without lot without law to Caesar you-ran that for one
in terris egestatis, aeris alieni, nequitiae perditis vitae
in the-lands of-poverty of-bronze another's of-worthlessness with-ruined of-life
rationibus perfugium esse ducebas. Ibi te cum et illius
the-accounts a-refuge to-be you-considered there yourself when both with-his
largitionibus et tuis rapinis explevisses, si hoc est explere,
largesses and with-your plunderings you-had-filled if this is to-fill
expilare quod statim effundas, advolasti egens ad tribunatum,
to-pillage what at-once you-may-pour-out you-flew needy to the-tribunate
ut in eo magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses.
that in that magistracy if you-could to-husband your like you-might-be
Accipite nunc, quaeso, non ea quae ipse in se
hear now I-beg not those-things which he-himself against himself
atque in domesticum decus impure et intemperanter, sed
and against the-domestic honor impurely and intemperately but
quae in nos fortunasque nostras, id est in universam
which against us and-fortunes our that is against the-whole
rem publicam, impie ac nefarie fecerit. Ab huius enim
thing public impiously and nefariously he-did from of-this-man for
scelere omnium malorum principium natum reperietis.
crime of-all evils the-beginning born you-will-find

51 Nam cum L. Lentulo C. Marcello consulibus Kalendis
for when Lucius Lentulus Gaius Marcellus as-consuls on-the-Kalends
Ianuariis labentem et prope cadentem rem publicam fulcire
of-January slipping and almost falling the-thing public to-prop-up
cuperetis ipsique C. Caesari, si sana mente esset,
you-desired and-yourselves to-Gaius Caesar if in-sound mind he-were
consulere velletis, tum iste venditum atque emancipatum
to-take-thought-for wished then he sold and alienated
tribunatum consiliis vestris opposuit cervicesque suas ei
the-tribunate to-counsels your opposed and-neck his to-that
subiecit securi qua multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt.
put-under axe by-which many lesser in sins have-fallen
In te, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus et quidem incolumis,
against you Mark Antony that decreed the-senate and indeed unharmed
nondum tot luminibus exstinctis quod in hostem togatum
not-yet so-many lights extinguished which against an-enemy toga-clad
decerni est solitum more maiorum. Et tu apud patres
to-be-decreed is accustomed by-the-custom of-the-ancestors and you before fathers
conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cum ab hoc ordine
enrolled against me to-speak dared you-have when by this order
ego conservator essem, tu hostis rei publicae iudicatus?
I preserver was you an-enemy of-the-thing public judged
Commemoratio illius tui sceleris intermissa est, non
the-mention of-that your crime interrupted has-been not
memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani
the-memory wiped-out while the-race of-men while of-the-people Roman
nomen exstabit — quod quidem erit, si per te licebit,
the-name shall-stand which indeed will-be if through you it-shall-be-allowed
sempiternum — tua illa pestifera intercessio nominabitur.
everlasting your that pestilent veto shall-be-named

Quid cupide a senatu, quid temere fiebat, cum tu unus 52
what greedily by the-senate what rashly was-being-done when you alone
adulescens universum ordinem decernere de salute rei
a-young-man the-whole order to-decree about the-safety of-the-thing
publicae prohibuisti, neque semel, sed saepius, neque tu
public prevented and-not once but more-often nor you
tecum de senatus auctoritate agi passus es? quid autem
with-you about of-the-senate the-authority to-be-dealt allowed have what however
agebatur nisi ne deleri et everti rem publicam
was-being-sought except lest to-be-destroyed and to-be-overturned the-thing public
funditus velles, cum te neque principes civitatis
from-its-foundations you-should-wish when you neither the-leaders of-the-state
rogando neque maiores natu monendo neque frequens senatus
by-asking nor the-elder in-birth by-warning nor the-crowded senate
agendo de vendita atque addicta sententia movere potuit?
by-pleading about the-sold and knocked-down vote to-move could
Tum illud multis rebus ante temptatis necessario tibi volnus
then that with-many things before tried necessarily on-you the-wound
inflictum est quod paucis ante te, quorum incolumis fuit nemo:
inflicted was which on-few before you of-whom unharmed was no-one
tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque 53
then against you gave arms this order to-the-consuls and-to-the-other
imperiis et potestatibus: quae non effugisses, nisi te
commands and powers which not you-would-have-escaped unless yourself
ad arma Caesaris contulisses. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni,
to the-arms of-Caesar you-had-betaken you you I-say Mark Antony
princeps C. Caesari omnia perturbare cupienti causam
first to-Gaius Caesar all-things to-throw-into-confusion desiring the-cause
belli contra patriam ferendi dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille
of-war against the-fatherland to-be-borne gave what for else he
dicebat, quam causam sui dementissimi consili et facti
said than cause of-his-own most-insane plan and deed

adferebat, nisi quod intercessio neglecta, ius tribunicium
brought except that the-veto disregarded the-right tribunician
sublatum, circumscriptus a senatu esset Antonius? Omitto
removed hemmed-in by the-senate had-been Antony I-pass-over
quam haec falsa, quam levia, praesertim cum omnino
how these-things false how trivial especially when at-all
nulla causa iusta cuiquam esse possit contra patriam arma
no cause just for-anyone to-be can against the-fatherland arms
capiendi. Sed nihil de Caesare: tibi certe confitendum
of-taking but nothing about Caesar by-you surely to-be-confessed
est causam perniciosissimi belli in persona tua constitisse.
it-is the-cause of-the-most-destructive war in the-person your to-have-stood
54 O miserum te, si haec intellegis, miseriorem, si non
O wretched you if these-things you-understand more-wretched if not
intellegis hoc litteris mandari, hoc memoriae prodi,
you-understand this to-letters to-be-committed this to-memory to-be-handed-down
huius rei ne posteritatem quidem omnium saeculorum
of-this thing not posterity even of-all ages
umquam immemorem fore, consules ex Italia expulsos,
ever unmindful going-to-be the-consuls from Italy driven-out
cumque eis Cn. Pompeium quod imperi populi
and-with them Gnaeus Pompey who of-the-empire of-the-people
Romani decus ac lumen fuit, omnis consularis qui per
Roman the-glory and the-light was all the-ex-consuls who through
valetudinem exsequi cladem illam fugamque potuissent,
health to-follow disaster that and-flight could
praetores, praetorios, tribunos plebis, magnam partem
the-praetors the-ex-praetors the-tribunes of-the-plebs a-great part
senatus, omnem subolem iuventutis, unoque verbo rem
of-the-senate all the-offspring of-the-youth and-in-one word the-thing
publicam expulsam atque exterminatam suis sedibus!
public driven-out and banished from-its-own seats

Antony was the seed of this war, as Helen was of Troy's: the three armies lost are his work. As tribune he restored exiles, though not his uncle, and his gambling partner Licinius Lenticula. Left by Caesar to trample Italy, he rode in a Gallic chariot, an actress in an open litter among his lictors whom the towns had to greet as Volumnia, his mother following her as if she were a daughter-in-law. At Brundisium he spared Cicero, a great favor, and fell into the actress's arms before the veterans.

Ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, 55
as therefore in seeds is the-cause of-trees and of-plants
sic huius luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti. Doletis tris
so of-this most-grievous war the-seed you were you-grieve-for three
exercitus populi Romani interfectos: interfecit Antonius.
armies of-the-people Roman killed killed-them Antony
Desideratis clarissimos civis: eos quoque vobis eripuit
you-miss most-illustrious citizens them too from-you snatched
Antonius. Auctoritas huius ordinis adflicta est: adflixit
Antony the-authority of-this order struck-down has-been struck-it-down
Antonius. Omnia denique, quae postea vidimus — quid
Antony all-things finally which afterward we-saw what
autem mali non vidimus? — si recte ratiocinabimur, uni
however of-evil not have-we-seen if rightly we-shall-reckon to-one
accepta referemus Antonio. Ut Helena Troianis, sic iste
credited we-shall-enter to-Antony as Helen to-the-Trojans so he
huic rei publicae belli causa, causa pestis atque exiti
to-this thing public of-war the-cause the-cause of-plague and of-destruction
fuit. Reliquae partes tribunatus principi similes. Omnia
was the-remaining parts of-the-tribunate of-the-beginning like all-things
perfecit quae senatus salva re publica ne fieri
he-accomplished which the-senate with-safe the-thing public lest to-be-done
possent profecerat. Cuius tamen scelus in scelere cognoscite.
they-could had-achieved whose still crime within crime learn

56 Restituebat multos calamitosos: in eis patrui nulla
he-was-restoring many unfortunates among them of-his-uncle no
mentio. Si severus, cur non in omnis? Si misericors, cur
mention if severe why not against all if merciful why
non in suos? Sed omitto ceteros: Licinium Lenticulam de
not toward his-own but I-pass-over the-others Licinius Lenticula for
alea condemnatum, conlusorem suum, restituit, quasi vero
gambling condemned partner his he-restored as-if indeed
ludere cum condemnato non liceret, sed ut quod in
to-play with one-condemned not it-were-allowed but so-that what at
alea perdiderat beneficio legis dissolveret. Quam attulisti
dice he-had-lost by-the-favor of-the-law he-might-pay what did-you-bring
rationem populo Romano cur eum restitui oporteret?
reason to-the-people Roman why him to-be-restored it-was-right
Absentem, credo, in reos relatum; rem indicta causa
absent I-suppose among the-accused entered the-case with-unpleaded the-cause
iudicatam; nullum fuisse de alea lege iudicium;
judged no to-have-been about gambling under-the-law trial
vi oppressum et armis; postremo, quod de patruo
by-force crushed and by-arms finally what about uncle
tuo dicebatur, pecunia iudicium esse corruptum? Nihil
your was-said with-money the-trial to-have-been corrupted none
horum. At vir bonus et re publica dignus. Nihil id
of-these but a-man good and of-the-thing public worthy nothing that
quidem ad rem; ego tamen, quoniam condemnatum esse
indeed to the-point I still since condemned to-have-been
pro nihilo est, si ita esset, ignoscerem. Hominem omnium
for nothing is if so it-were I-would-pardon the-man of-all
nequissimum qui non dubitaret vel in foro alea ludere,
most-worthless who not would-hesitate even in the-forum at-dice to-play

lege quae est de alea condemnatum qui in integrum
by-the-law which is about gambling condemned who in full
restituit, is non apertissime studium suum ipse profitetur?
restored he not most-openly the-partiality his-own himself professes
In eodem vero tribunatu, cum Caesar in Hispaniam 57
in the-same indeed tribunate when Caesar into Spain
proficiscens huic conculcandam Italiam tradidisset, quae fuit
setting-out to-him to-be-trampled Italy had-handed-over what was
eius peragratio itinerum, lustratio municipiorum! Scio me in
his tour of-roads circuit of-towns I-know that-I in
rebus celebratissimis omnium sermone versari, eaque
things most-talked-of of-all in-the-talk to-be-engaged and-those-things
quae dico dicturusque sum notiora esse omnibus qui in Italia
which I-say and-going-to-say am better-known to-be to-all who in Italy
tum fuerunt quam mihi qui non fui: notabo tamen singulas
then were than to-me who not was I-shall-mark still single
res, etsi nullo modo poterit oratio mea satis facere vestrae
things although in-no way will-be-able speech my enough to-do for-your
scientiae. Etenim quod umquam in terris tantum flagitium
knowledge for-indeed what ever in the-lands so-great disgrace
exstitisse auditum est, tantam turpitudinem, tantum dedecus.
to-have-arisen heard-of has-been such baseness such dishonor
Vehebatur in essedo tribunus plebis; lictores laureati 58
was-carried in a-war-chariot a-tribune of-the-plebs lictors laurel-wreathed
antecedebant, inter quos aperta lectica mima portabatur,
went-before among whom in-an-open litter an-actress was-borne
quam ex oppidis municipales homines honesti, obviam
whom from the-towns townsmen men honorable to-meet-her
necessario prodeuntes, non noto illo et mimico nomine,
of-necessity coming-out not by-the-known that and stage name
sed Volumniam consalutabant. Sequebatur raeda cum
but Volumnia they-saluted followed a-carriage with

lenonibus, comites nequissimi; reiecta mater amicam impuri
pimps companions most-worthless cast-off his-mother the-mistress of-her-foul
fili tamquam nurum sequebatur. O miserae mulieris
son as-if a-daughter-in-law followed O of-the-wretched woman
fecunditatem calamitosam! Horum flagitiorum iste vestigiis
the-fecundity calamitous of-these disgraces he with-the-traces
omnia municipia, praefecturas, colonias, totam denique
all towns prefectures colonies the-whole finally
Italiam impressit.
Italy stamped

59 Reliquorum factorum eius, patres conscripti, difficilis est sane
of-the-remaining deeds his fathers enrolled difficult is truly
reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in bello est; saturavit se
the-censure and slippery engaged in war he-was he-glutted himself
sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium: felix fuit, si potest
with-the-blood most-unlike himself of-citizens fortunate he-was if can
ulla in scelere esse felicitas. Sed quoniam veteranis cautum
any in crime to-be good-fortune but since for-the-veterans safeguarded
esse volumus, quamquam dissimilis est militum causa et
to-be we-wish although unlike is of-the-soldiers the-case and
tua — illi secuti sunt, tu quaesisti ducem — tamen, ne
yours they followed have you sought a-leader still lest
apud illos me in invidiam voces, nihil de genere
among them me into ill-will you-may-bring nothing about the-kind
belli dicam. Victor e Thessalia Brundisium cum legionibus
of-war I-shall-say victor from Thessaly to-Brundisium with the-legions
revertisti. Ibi me non occidisti. Magnum beneficium!
you-returned there me not you-killed a-great benefit
Potuisse enim fateor. Quamquam nemo erat eorum qui
to-have-been-able for I-confess although no-one was of-those who
tum tecum fuerunt qui mihi non censeret parci oportere.
then with-you were who to-me not thought to-be-spared to-be-fitting

Tanta est enim caritas patriae ut vestris etiam legionibus 60
so-great is for the-love of-the-fatherland that to-your even legions
sanctus essem, quod eam a me servatam esse meminissent.
sacred I-was because it by me preserved to-have-been they-remembered
Sed fac id te dedisse mihi quod non ademisti, meque
but suppose that you to-have-given to-me what not you-took-away and-that-I
a te habere vitam, quia non a te sit erepta: licuitne
from you to-have life because not by you it-was snatched-away was-it-allowed
mihi per tuas contumelias hoc tuum beneficium sic tueri
to-me through your insults this your benefit so to-guard
ut tuebar, praesertim cum te haec auditurum videres.
as I-guarded-it especially when you these-things going-to-hear you-saw
Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem et in complexum 61
you-came to-Brundisium into the-bosom indeed and into the-embrace
tuae mimulae. Quid est? num mentior? Quam miserum
of-your little-actress what is-it surely-not I-lie how wretched
est id negare non posse quod sit turpissimum confiteri!
it-is that to-deny not to-be-able which is most-shameful to-confess
Si te municipiorum non pudebat, ne veterani quidem
if you of-the-towns not it-shamed not of-the-veterans even
exercitus? Quis enim miles fuit qui Brundisi illam
of-the-army what for soldier was-there who at-Brundisium her
non viderit? quis qui nescierit venisse eam tibi tot
not saw who who did-not-know to-have-come her to-you of-so-many
dierum viam gratulatum? quis qui non indoluerit tam sero
days a-journey to-congratulate who who not grieved so late
se quam nequam hominem secutus esset cognoscere?
himself what a-worthless man followed he-had to-learn

After a second tour of Italy with the actress, Antony was made master of the horse while Caesar was in Alexandria; he lived with the mime Hippias and vomited before the people in the forum the morning after Hippias' wedding. Then Pompey's goods were put up at auction, and while the city groaned, Antony alone dared buy them. Within days he devoured the wine, silver, and tapestries; actors and gamblers sacked the house, and Pompey's purple coverlets lay on slaves' beds. Now he lodges in Pompey's sacred house.

62 Italiae rursus percursatio eadem comite mima; in
of-Italy again a-running-through with-the-same as-companion the-actress into
oppida militum crudelis et misera deductio; in urbe auri,
the-towns of-soldiers a-cruel and wretched settling in the-city of-gold
argenti maximeque vini foeda direptio. Accessit ut Caesare
of-silver and-most of-wine a-foul plundering it-was-added that with-Caesar
ignaro, cum esset ille Alexandreae, beneficio amicorum
unaware when was he at-Alexandria by-the-favor of-the-friends
eius magister equitum constitueretur. Tum existimavit se
his master of-the-horse he-was-appointed then thought he
suo iure cum Hippia vivere et equos vectigalis Sergio
by-his-own right with Hippias to-live and the-horses tax-paying to-Sergius
mimo tradere; tum sibi non hanc quam nunc male
the-actor to-hand-over then for-himself not this which now badly
tuetur, sed M. Pisonis domum ubi habitaret legerat.
he-holds but of-Marcus Piso the-house where he-might-live he-had-chosen
Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid hereditatum
why I his decrees why plunderings why of-inheritances
possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam? Cogebat
possessions given why snatched should-bring-forward compelled-him
egestas; quo se verteret non habebat: nondum ei tanta
want where himself to-turn not he-had not-yet to-him so-great

a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio hereditas venerat;
from Lucius Rubrius not from Lucius Turselius an-inheritance had-come
nondum in Cn. Pompei locum multorumque aliorum qui
not-yet into of-Gnaeus Pompey the-place and-of-many others who
aberant repentinus heres successerat. Erat vivendum latronum
were-absent a-sudden heir had-succeeded it-was to-be-lived of-robbers
ritu, ut tantum haberet, quantum rapere potuisset.
in-the-manner that so-much he-might-have as-much-as to-seize he-could
Sed haec quae robustioris improbitatis sunt, omittamus: 63
but these-things which of-sturdier wickedness are let-us-omit
loquamur potius de nequissimo genere levitatis. Tu istis
let-us-speak rather about the-most-worthless kind of-levity you with-those
faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis
jaws with-those flanks with-that gladiatorial of-the-whole body
firmitate tantum vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauseras ut tibi
strength so-much of-wine at of-Hippias the-wedding had-drained that for-you
necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie.
necessary it-was in of-the-people Roman sight to-vomit the-next-day
O rem non modo visu foedam sed etiam auditu! Si inter
O thing not only to-see foul but also to-hear if during
cenam in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset,
dinner in very your monstrous those cups this to-you had-happened
quis non turpe duceret? In coetu vero populi Romani
who not shameful would-think in the-assembly indeed of-the-people Roman
negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare
business public conducting master of-the-horse for-whom to-belch
turpe esset, is vomens frustis esculentis vinum redolentibus
shameful would-be he vomiting with-morsels of-food of-wine smelling
gremium suum et totum tribunal implevit. Sed haec ipse
lap his-own and the-whole tribunal filled but this he-himself
fatetur esse in suis sordibus: veniamus ad splendida.
confesses to-be among his-own filth let-us-come to the-splendid-things

64 Caesar Alexandrea se recepit, felix, ut sibi quidem
Caesar from-Alexandria himself betook fortunate as to-himself indeed
videbatur, mea autem sententia, qui rei publicae sit
he-seemed in-my however opinion who to-the-thing public is
infelix, felix esse nemo potest. Hasta posita pro
unfortunate fortunate to-be no-one can with-the-spear set-up before
aede Iovis Statoris bona Cn. Pompei — miserum
the-temple of-Jupiter Stator the-goods of-Gnaeus Pompey wretched
me! Consumptis enim lacrimis tamen infixus animo haeret
me with-spent for the-tears still fixed in-the-mind sticks
dolor — bona, inquam, Cn. Pompei Magni voci
the-grief the-goods I-say of-Gnaeus Pompey the-Great to-the-voice
acerbissimae subiecta praeconis. Una in illa re servitutis
most-bitter put-under of-the-auctioneer alone in that matter of-servitude
oblita civitas ingemuit servientibusque animis, cum omnia
forgetful the-state groaned and-with-enslaved minds when all-things
metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber
by-fear were-held the-groan still of-the-people Roman free
fuit. Exspectantibus omnibus quisnam esset tam impius,
was with-waiting all who-in-the-world would-be so impious
tam demens, tam dis hominibusque hostis qui ad illud
so mad so to-gods and-men an-enemy who to that
scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo praeter
crime of-purchase should-dare to-approach found was no-one except
Antonium, praesertim cum tot essent circum hastam
Antony especially when so-many there-were around spear
illam qui alia omnia auderent: unus inventus est qui id
that who other all-things would-dare alone found was who that
auderet quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia.
would-dare which of-all had-fled and had-shrunk-from the-audacity

Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit vel, ut verius dicam, tantus 65
so-great therefore you stupidity overwhelmed or that more-truly I-may-say so-great
furor ut primum, cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde
madness that first when a-buyer you-are in-that place born then
cum Pompei sector, non te exsecratum populo Romano,
when of-Pompey the-buyer not yourself accursed to-the-people Roman
non detestabilem, non omnis tibi deos, non omnis homines
not detestable not all to-you gods not all men
et esse inimicos et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim
both to-be hostile and going-to-be you-know but how insolently at-once
helluo invasit in eius viri fortunas cuius virtute terribilior
the-glutton burst into of-that man the-fortunes whose by-valor more-terrible
erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, iustitia carior! In eius
was the-people Roman to-foreign nations by-justice dearer into of-that
igitur viri copias cum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat
therefore man the-riches when himself suddenly he-had-plunged he-exulted
gaudio persona de mimo, modo egens, repente dives. Sed, ut
with-joy a-character from a-mime just-now needy suddenly rich but as
est apud poetam nescio quem 'male parta male dilabuntur.'
is in a-poet I-know-not whom badly gotten badly slip-away
Incredibile ac simile portenti est quonam modo illa tam 66
incredible and like a-portent it-is in-what way those so
multa quam paucis non dico mensibus sed diebus
many-things in-how few not I-say months but days
effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi
he-poured-out the-greatest of-wine quantity was very-great of-the-best
pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex et
a-weight of-silver precious clothing much and elegant furniture and
magnifica multis locis, non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis,
magnificent in-many places not that indeed of-a-luxurious man

sed tamen abundantis. Horum paucis diebus nihil erat.
but still of-a-well-supplied of-these in-few days nothing there-was
Quae Charybdis tam vorax?
what Charybdis so voracious
67 Charybdin dico? quae si fuit, animal unum fuit: Oceanus,
Charybdis I-say which if it-was an-animal one it-was Ocean
me dius fidius, vix videtur tot res tam dissipatas,
so-help-me the-god of-faith scarcely seems so-many things so scattered
tam distantibus in locis positas tam cito absorbere potuisse.
so distant in places placed so quickly to-swallow to-have-been-able
Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsignatum, nihil scriptum. Apothecae
nothing was shut nothing sealed nothing written storerooms
totae nequissimis hominibus condonabantur; alia mimi
whole to-most-worthless men were-given-away some-things actors
rapiebant, alia mimae; domus erat aleatoribus referta,
seized other-things actresses the-house was with-gamblers crammed
plena ebriorum; totos dies potabatur atque id locis pluribus;
full of-drunkards whole days it-was-drunk and that in-places several
suggerebantur etiam saepe — non enim semper iste felix —
there-were-supplied also often not for always he lucky
damna aleatoria; conchyliatis Cn. Pompei peristromatis
losses of-gambling with-purple of-Gnaeus Pompey with-coverlets
servorum in cellis lectos stratos videres. Quam ob
of-slaves in the-cells couches spread you-would-see which on-account-of
rem desinite mirari haec tam celeriter esse consumpta.
thing cease to-wonder these-things so quickly to-have-been consumed
Non modo unius patrimonium quamvis amplum, ut illud
not only of-one-man a-patrimony however ample as that
fuit, sed urbis et regna celeriter tanta nequitia devorare
was but cities and kingdoms quickly so-great worthlessness to-devour
potuisset. At idem aedis etiam et hortos.
could-have but the-same-man the-house also and the-gardens

O audaciam immanem! Tu etiam ingredi illam domum ausus 68
O audacity monstrous you even to-enter that house dared
es, tu illud sanctissimum limen intrare, tu illarum aedium
have you that most-sacred threshold to-pass you of-that dwelling
dis penatibus os impurissimum ostendere? Quam domum
to-the-gods household face most-impure to-show which house
aliquamdiu nemo aspicere poterat, nemo sine lacrimis
for-some-time no-one to-look-at could no-one without tears
praeterire, hac te in domo tam diu deversari non pudet?
to-pass-by this you in house so long to-lodge not are-you-ashamed
in qua, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi potest esse
in which although nothing you-know still nothing to-you can to-be
iucundum. An tu illa in vestibulo rostra cum aspexisti,
pleasant or you those in the-vestibule beaks when you-have-looked-at
domum tuam te introire putas? Fieri non potest. Quamvis
house your that-you to-enter think to-be-done not it-can although
enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen et te
for without mind without sense you-be as you-are still both yourself
et tua et tuos nosti. Nec vero te umquam neque
and your-things and your-people you-know nor indeed you ever either
vigilantem neque in somnis credo posse mente consistere.
waking or in sleep I-believe to-be-able in-mind to-stand-firm
Necesse est, quamvis sis, ut es, violentus et furens,
necessary it-is although you-be as you-are violent and raving
cum tibi obiecta sit species singularis viri, perterritum
when to-you presented has-been the-image of-a-singular man terrified
te de somno excitari, furere etiam saepe vigilantem.
you from sleep to-be-roused to-rave even often waking
Me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid 69
me indeed it-pities of-the-walls themselves and of-the-roofs what
enim umquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex
for ever house that had-seen except chaste what except from

optimo more et sanctissima disciplina? Fuit enim ille vir, patres
best custom and most-sacred discipline he-was for that man fathers
conscripti, sicuti scitis, cum foris clarus tum domi admirandus,
enrolled just-as you-know both abroad illustrious and at-home admirable
neque rebus externis magis laudandus quam institutis
nor for-things external more to-be-praised than for-arrangements
domesticis. Huius in sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro
domestic of-his in seats instead-of bedrooms stables instead-of
conclavibus popinae sunt. Etsi iam negat. Nolite quaerere;
dining-rooms taverns are although now he-denies do-not ask
frugi factus est: illam suam suas res sibi habere iussit,
thrifty made he-is that-woman his her things for-herself to-have he-ordered
ex duodecim tabulis clavis ademit, exegit. Quam porro
from the-twelve tables the-keys he-took-away he-drove-her-out how moreover
spectatus civis, quam probatus! Cuius ex omni vita nihil
well-tried a-citizen how approved of-whom out-of all life nothing
est honestius quam quod cum mima fecit divortium.
is more-honorable than that with the-actress he-made a-divorce

XI · THE CIVIL WAR

Antony prides himself on being "both consul and Antony." He shirked the African and Spanish campaigns and, asked for the price of Pompey's goods, protested that Caesar owed him for the victory. He returned from Narbo in Gallic shoes and slipped into Rome disguised to surprise his wife with a love letter.

70 At quam crebro usurpat: 'et consul et Antonius!' Hoc est
but how often he-uses both consul and Antony this is
dicere, et consul et impudicissimus, et consul et homo
to-say both consul and most-unchaste and consul and man
nequissimus. Quid est enim aliud Antonius? Nam si dignitas
most-worthless what is for else Antony for if dignity

significaretur in nomine, dixisset, credo, aliquando avus
were-signified in the-name would-have-said I-suppose sometime grandfather
tuus se et consulem et Antonium. Numquam dixit.
your himself both consul and Antony never he-said
Dixisset etiam conlega meus, patruus tuus, nisi si tu
would-have-said also colleague my uncle your unless perhaps you
es solus Antonius. Sed omitto ea peccata quae non sunt
are the-only Antony but I-pass-over those sins which not are
earum partium propria quibus tu rem publicam vexavisti:
of-those parts peculiar with-which you the-thing public harassed
ad ipsas tuas partis redeo, id est ad civile bellum, quod
to the-very your parts I-return that is to the-civil war which
natum, conflatum, susceptum opera tua est.
born kindled undertaken by-work your has-been
Cui bello cum propter timiditatem tuam tum propter 71
to-which war both on-account-of timidity your and on-account-of
libidines defuisti. Gustaras civilem sanguinem vel potius
lusts you-were-wanting you-had-tasted civil blood or rather
exsorbueras; fueras in acie Pharsalica antesignanus;
had-drained you-had-been in the-battle-line Pharsalian a-front-ranker
L. Domitium, clarissimum et nobilissimum virum, occideras
Lucius Domitius most-illustrious and most-noble man you-had-killed
multosque praeterea qui e proelio effugerant, quos Caesar,
and-many besides who from the-battle had-fled whom Caesar
ut non nullos, fortasse servasset, crudelissime persecutus
as not none perhaps he-would-have-saved most-cruelly having-pursued
trucidaras. Quibus rebus tantis talibus gestis quid fuit causae
you-had-butchered with-which things so-great such done what was of-cause
cur in Africam Caesarem non sequerere, cum praesertim
why into Africa Caesar not you-should-follow when especially
belli pars tanta restaret? Itaque quem locum apud ipsum
of-the-war a-part so-great remained and-so what place with himself

Caesarem post eius ex Africa reditum obtinuisti? quo
Caesar after his from Africa return did-you-hold in-what
numero fuisti? Cuius tu imperatoris quaestor fueras, dictatoris
number were-you whose you of-the-commander quaestor had-been of-the-dictator
magister equitum, belli princeps, crudelitatis auctor, praedae
master of-the-horse of-the-war the-leader of-cruelty the-author of-the-booty
socius, testamento, ut dicebas ipse, filius, appellatus es de
partner by-will as you-said yourself son called you-were about
pecunia quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas.
the-money which for the-house for the-gardens for the-purchase you-owed
72 Primo respondisti plane ferociter et, ne omnia videar
first you-answered quite fiercely and lest in-all-things I-may-seem
contra te, prope modum aequa et iusta dicebas: 'A
against you almost in-measure fair-things and just-things you-said from
me C. Caesar pecuniam? Cur potius quam ego ab illo?
me Gaius Caesar money why rather than I from him
an sine me ille vicit? At ne potuit quidem. Ego ad
or without me he conquered but not he-could even I to
illum belli civilis causam attuli; ego leges perniciosas rogavi;
him of-war civil the-cause brought I laws destructive proposed
ego arma contra consules imperatoresque populi Romani,
I arms against the-consuls and-commanders of-the-people Roman
contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios
against the-senate and-the-people Roman against the-gods ancestral
arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli. Num sibi soli
and-altars and hearths against the-fatherland bore surely-not for-himself alone
vicit? Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit
he-conquered of-whom the-deed is common why not should-be
eorum praeda communis?' Ius postulabas, sed quid ad rem?
their the-booty common right you-demanded but what to the-point

Plus ille poterat. Itaque excussis tuis vocibus et ad te et 73
more he could and-so with-shaken-off your words both to you and
ad praedes tuos milites misit, cum repente a te praeclara
to sureties your soldiers he-sent when suddenly by you splendid
illa tabula prolata est. Qui risus hominum, tantam esse
that catalog brought-out was what laughter of-men so-great to-be
tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus
the-catalog so varied so many possessions from which
praeter partem Miseni nihil erat quod is qui auctionaretur
except a-part of-Misenum nothing there-was which he who was-auctioning
posset suum dicere. Auctionis vero miserabilis aspectus:
could his-own to-call of-the-auction indeed a-wretched the-look
vestis Pompei non multa eaque maculosa; eiusdem quaedam
clothing of-Pompey not much and-that stained of-the-same some
argentea vasa conlisa, sordidata mancipia, ut doleremus
silver vessels battered shabby slaves so-that we-grieved
quicquam esse ex illis reliquiis quod videre possemus.
anything to-be from those remains which to-see we-could
Hanc tamen auctionem heredes L. Rubri decreto Caesaris 74
this still auction the-heirs of-Lucius Rubrius by-the-decree of-Caesar
prohibuerunt. Haerebat nebulo: quo se verteret
prevented was-stuck the-good-for-nothing where himself to-turn
non habebat. Quin his ipsis temporibus domi Caesaris
not he-had indeed at-these very times at-the-house of-Caesar
percussor ab isto missus deprehensus dicebatur esse cum
an-assassin by him sent caught was-said to-be with
sica: de quo Caesar in senatu aperte in te invehens
a-dagger about whom Caesar in the-senate openly against you inveighing
questus est. Proficiscitur in Hispaniam Caesar paucis tibi
complained has sets-out for Spain Caesar with-a-few to-you
ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. Ne
for paying on-account-of poverty your extended days not

tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam
then even you-follow so good a-gladiator the-wooden-sword so
cito? Hunc igitur quisquam qui in suis partibus, id est
quickly him therefore anyone who in his-own party that is
in suis fortunis, tam timidus fuerit pertimescat.
in his-own fortunes so timid has-been should-dread
75 Profectus est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam; sed tuto, ut
set-out he-has at-some-time at-last for Spain but safely as
ait, pervenire non potuit. Quonam modo igitur Dolabella
he-says to-arrive not he-could in-what way therefore Dolabella
pervenit? Aut non suscipienda fuit ista causa, Antoni, aut,
arrived either not to-be-undertaken was that cause Antony or
cum suscepisses, defendenda usque ad extremum. Ter
when you-had-undertaken-it to-be-defended right to the-end three-times
depugnavit Caesar cum civibus, in Thessalia, Africa, Hispania.
fought-it-out Caesar with citizens in Thessaly Africa Spain
Omnibus adfuit his pugnis Dolabella; in Hispaniensi etiam
at-all was-present these battles Dolabella in the-Spanish even
volnus accepit. Si de meo iudicio quaeris, nollem;
a-wound he-received if about my judgment you-ask I-would-not-wish
sed tamen consilium a primo reprehendendum, laudanda
but still the-plan from the-first to-be-blamed to-be-praised
constantia. Tu vero quid es? Cn. Pompei liberi
the-constancy you indeed what are-you of-Gnaeus Pompey the-children
tum primum patriam repetebant. Esto, fuerit
then first the-fatherland were-seeking-again let-it-be it-may-have-been
haec partium causa communis. Repetebant praeterea
this of-the-party the-cause common they-were-seeking-again besides
deos patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem,
the-gods ancestral the-altars the-hearths the-household-god their-own familial
in quae tu invaseras. Haec cum peterent armis ei
into which you had-burst these-things when they-sought by-arms those

quorum erant legibus — etsi in rebus iniquissimis quid
whose they-were by-the-laws although in things most-unequal what
potest esse aequi? — tamen quem erat aequissimum contra
can to-be of-fair still whom was-it most-fair against
Cn. Pompei liberos pugnare? Quem? Te sectorem.
of-Gnaeus Pompey the-children to-fight whom you the-buyer
An ut tu Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres Dolabella 76
or that you at-Narbo the-tables of-your-hosts might-vomit-over Dolabella
pro te in Hispania dimicaret?
for you in Spain should-fight
Qui vero Narbone reditus! Etiam quaerebat cur ego ex ipso
what indeed from-Narbo a-return he-even asked why I from the-very
cursu tam subito revertissem. Exposui nuper, patres conscripti,
course so suddenly had-turned-back I-set-forth lately fathers enrolled
causam reditus mei. Volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas
the-cause of-return my I-wished if I-could even before the-Kalends
Ianuarias prodesse rei publicae. Nam, quod quaerebas quo
of-January to-benefit the-thing public for as-to-what you-asked in-what
modo redissem, primum luce, non tenebris; deinde cum calceis
manner I-had-returned first by-light not by-darkness then with shoes
et toga, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacerna. At etiam aspicis me
and toga with-no neither Gallic-sandals nor cloak but even you-look-at me
et quidem, ut videris, iratus. Ne tu iam mecum in gratiam
and indeed as you-seem angry truly you now with-me into favor
redeas, si scias quam me pudeat nequitiae tuae, cuius
would-return if you-knew how me it-shames of-the-worthlessness your of-which
te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagitiis nullum
you yourself not it-shames out-of of-all all disgraces none
turpius vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum fuisse
baser I-saw none I-heard you-who master of-the-horse to-have-been
tibi viderere, in proximum annum consulatum peteres
to-yourself you-seemed for the-next year the-consulship you-were-seeking

vel potius rogares, per municipia coloniasque Galliae, a
or rather you-were-begging through the-towns and-colonies of-Gaul from
qua nos tum cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur, petere
which we then when the-consulship was-sought not begged to-seek
consulatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et lacerna cucurristi.
the-consulship were-accustomed with Gallic-sandals and a-cloak you-ran
77 At videte levitatem hominis. Cum hora diei decima fere
but see the-levity of-the-man when at-the-hour of-day tenth about
ad Saxa rubra venisset, delituit in quadam cauponula atque
to the-Rocks Red he-had-come he-hid in a-certain little-tavern and
ibi se occultans perpotavit ad vesperum; inde cisio celeriter
there himself concealing drank-on to evening then in-a-gig quickly
ad urbem advectus domum venit capite involuto. Ianitor,
to the-city carried home he-came with-head wrapped the-doorkeeper
'Quis tu?' 'A Marco tabellarius.' Confestim ad eam deducitur
who you from Marcus a-courier at-once to her he-is-led
cuius causa venerat, eique epistulam tradidit. Quam cum
whose for-the-sake he-had-come and-to-her the-letter handed which when
illa legeret flens — erat enim scripta amatorie; caput autem
she was-reading weeping it-was for written lovingly the-head however
litterarum sibi cum illa mima posthac nihil futurum; omnem
of-the-letter for-himself with that actress hereafter nothing going-to-be all
se amorem abiecisse illim atque in hanc transfudisse —
himself love to-have-cast-off from-there and onto this to-have-poured
cum mulier fleret uberius, homo misericors ferre non
when the-woman wept more-abundantly the-man compassionate to-bear not
potuit, caput aperuit, in collum invasit. O hominem nequam!
could the-head he-uncovered on-her neck he-fell O man worthless
Quid enim aliud dicam? magis proprie nihil possum dicere.
what for else shall-I-say more properly nothing I-can to-say
Ergo, ut te Catamitum, nec opinato cum te ostendisses,
therefore that you Catamitus not expectedly when yourself you-had-shown

praeter spem mulier aspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore
beyond hope the-woman might-see therefore the-city with-terror
nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti?
nocturnal Italy of-many days with-fear you-threw-into-confusion

XII · THE AUGUR'S OBSTRUCTION

His debts and his love letter done with, Cicero turns to greater things. Antony went far to meet Caesar returning from Spain, became his intimate again, and was named consul with him, while Dolabella was cheated of the promised office; as augur, Antony claimed he could block Dolabella's election. On the day he sat silent through the voting and only when it was done declared, "On another day," though he had watched no sky.

Et domi quidem causam amoris habuisti, foris etiam turpiorem 78
and at-home indeed a-cause of-love you-had abroad also baser
ne L. Plancus praedes tuos venderet. Productus autem in
lest Lucius Plancus sureties your should-sell brought-forward however into
contionem a tribuno plebis cum respondisses te rei
the-assembly by a-tribune of-the-plebs when you-had-answered that-you of-the-thing
tuae causa venisse, populum etiam dicacem in te
your-own for-the-sake to-have-come the-people even witty against you
reddidisti. Sed nimis multa de nugis: ad maiora veniamus.
you-made but too many-things about trifles to greater-things let-us-come
C. Caesari ex Hispania redeunti obviam longissime
to-Gaius Caesar from Spain returning to-meet-him very-far
processisti. Celeriter isti, redisti, ut cognosceret te
you-went-out quickly you-went and-came-back so-that he-might-learn you
si minus fortem, at tamen strenuum. Factus es ei
if less brave but still energetic made you-were to-him
rursus nescio quo modo familiaris. Habebat hoc omnino
again I-know-not in-what way intimate he-had this altogether

Caesar: quem plane perditum aere alieno egentemque, si
Caesar whom quite ruined by-bronze another's and-needy if
eundem nequam hominem audacemque cognorat, hunc in
the-same a-worthless man and-bold he-had-known him into
familiaritatem libentissime recipiebat.
intimacy most-gladly he-received

79 His igitur rebus praeclare commendatus iussus es
by-these therefore things splendidly commended ordered you-were
renuntiari consul et quidem cum ipso. Nihil queror de
to-be-declared consul and indeed with himself nothing I-complain about
Dolabella qui tum est impulsus, inductus, elusus. Qua in
Dolabella who then was urged-on led-on mocked which in
re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidia in Dolabellam
matter how-great was each of-you treachery toward Dolabella
quis ignorat? Ille induxit ut peteret, promissum et
who does-not-know he led-him-on that he-should-seek the-thing-promised and
receptum intervertit ad seque transtulit; tu eius perfidiae
undertaken he-intercepted to and-himself transferred you his treachery
voluntatem tuam ascripsisti. Veniunt Kalendae Ianuariae;
will your added come the-Kalends of-January
cogimur in senatum: invectus est copiosius multo in
we-are-compelled into the-senate inveighed he-has more-copiously much against
istum et paratius Dolabella quam nunc ego.
him and more-preparedly Dolabella than now I

80 Hic autem iratus quae dixit, di boni! Primum cum
he however angry what-things he-said gods good first when
Caesar ostendisset se, prius quam proficisceretur, Dolabellam
Caesar had-shown himself before than he-set-out Dolabella
consulem esse iussurum — quem negant regem, qui et faceret
consul to-be going-to-order whom they-deny a-king who both did
semper eius modi aliquid et diceret — sed cum Caesar
always of-that kind something and said but when Caesar

ita dixisset, tum hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio
thus had-said then this good augur with-that himself priesthood
praeditum esse dixit ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel
endowed to-be said that the-elections by-auspices either to-hinder or
vitiare posset, idque se facturum esse adseveravit. In quo
to-vitiate he-could and-that himself going-to-do to-be he-asserted in which
primum incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite.
first the-incredible stupidity of-the-man learn
Quid enim? istud quod te sacerdoti iure facere 81
what for that which you of-the-priesthood by-right to-do
posse dixisti, si augur non esses et consul esses,
to-be-able said if an-augur not you-were and consul you-were
minus facere potuisses? Vide ne etiam facilius. Nos enim
less to-do could-you-have see lest even more-easily we for
nuntiationem solum habemus, consules et reliqui magistratus
the-announcement only have the-consuls and the-other magistrates
etiam spectionem. Esto: hoc imperite; nec enim est ab
also the-observation let-it-be this ignorantly nor for is from
homine numquam sobrio postulanda prudentia, sed videte
a-man never sober to-be-demanded wisdom but see
impudentiam. Multis ante mensibus in senatu dixit se
the-shamelessness many before months in the-senate he-said himself
Dolabellae comitia aut prohibiturum auspiciis aut id
of-Dolabella the-elections either going-to-prevent by-the-auspices or that
facturum esse quod fecit. Quisquamne divinare potest quid
going-to-do to-be which he-did anyone to-divine can what
viti in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi qui de caelo servare
of-fault in the-auspices going-to-be may-be except he-who about the-sky to-watch
constituit? quod neque licet comitiis per leges et si qui
has-decided which neither is-allowed during-elections by the-laws and if anyone
servavit non comitiis habitis, sed prius quam habeantur,
has-watched not with-the-elections held but before than they-are-held

debet nuntiare. Verum implicata inscientia impudentia est:
he-ought to-announce but entangled with-ignorance shamelessness is
nec scit quod augurem nec facit quod pudentem decet.
nor he-knows what an-augur nor does what a-modest-man befits
82 Atque ex illo die recordamini eius usque ad Idus Martias
and from that day recall his right to the-Ides of-March
consulatum. Quis umquam apparitor tam humilis, tam
consulship what ever attendant so humble so
abiectus? Nihil ipse poterat; omnia rogabat; caput in
abject nothing himself he-could all-things he-asked his-head into
aversam lecticam inserens, beneficia quae venderet a
the-back of-the-litter thrusting favors which he-might-sell from
conlega petebat. Ecce Dolabellae comitiorum dies. Sortitio
his-colleague he-sought behold of-Dolabella of-the-elections the-day the-lot
praerogativae; quiescit. Renuntiatur: tacet. Prima classis
of-the-first-voting-century he-is-quiet it-is-declared he-is-silent the-first class
vocatur, deinde ita ut adsolet suffragia, tum secunda classis,
is-called then thus as is-usual the-votes then the-second class
quae omnia sunt citius facta quam dixi.
which all were more-quickly done than I-have-said
83 Confecto negotio bonus augur — C. Laelium diceres —
with-finished the-business the-good augur Gaius Laelius you-would-say
'Alio die' inquit. O impudentiam singularem! Quid videras,
on-another day he-says O shamelessness singular what had-you-seen
quid senseras, quid audieras? Neque enim te de caelo
what had-you-perceived what had-you-heard nor for you from the-sky
servasse dixisti nec hodie dicis. Id igitur obvenit vitium
to-have-watched you-said nor today you-say that therefore occurred the-fault
quod tu iam Kalendis Ianuariis futurum esse provideras
which you already on-the-Kalends of-January going-to-be to-be had-foreseen
et tanto ante praedixeras. Ergo hercule magna, ut spero,
and so-long before had-foretold therefore by-Hercules great as I-hope

tua potius quam rei publicae calamitate ementitus es
your rather than of-the-thing public calamity falsified you-have
auspicia; obstrinxisti religione populum Romanum; augur
the-auspices you-bound with-religion the-people Roman an-augur
auguri, consul consuli obnuntiasti. Nolo plura,
to-an-augur a-consul to-a-consul you-announced-bad-omens I-do-not-wish more
ne acta Dolabellae videar convellere, quae necesse est
lest the-acts of-Dolabella I-may-seem to-tear-up which necessary it-is
aliquando ad nostrum conlegium deferantur. Sed adrogantiam
at-some-time to our college be-referred but the-arrogance
hominis insolentiamque cognoscite.
of-the-man and-insolence learn

XIII · THE LUPERCALIA

If Dolabella's election stands, Antony was not sober when he said "On another day"; if they have force, Cicero asks what it is. At the Lupercalia Antony, naked, mounted the rostra where Caesar sat in purple on a golden chair and offered him a diadem, which Caesar rejected amid applause; he had it entered in the calendar that the consul offered kingship at the people's order. Was Tarquin driven out so that Antony might set up a king at Rome?

Quam diu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella; rursus, cum 84
as long you shall-wish faulty consul Dolabella again when
voles, salvis auspiciis creatus. Si nihil est, cum augur
you-shall-wish with-safe auspices elected if nothing it-is when an-augur
eis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiasti, confitere te, cum
with-those words announces with-which you announced confess that-you when
'Alio die' dixeris, sobrium non fuisse; sin est aliqua
on-another day you-said sober not to-have-been but-if there-is some
vis in istis verbis, ea quae sit augur a conlega requiro.
force in those words that what it-is an-augur from his-colleague I-ask

Sed ne forte ex multis rebus gestis M. Antoni rem
but lest perhaps out-of the-many things done of-Marcus Antony thing
unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus.
one most-beautiful may-skip speech to the-Lupercalia let-us-come
Non dissimulat, patres conscripti: apparet esse commotum;
not he-hides fathers enrolled it-is-plain him-to-be moved
sudat, pallet. Quidlibet, modo ne nauseet, faciat quod in
he-sweats he-is-pale anything-he-likes provided not he-be-sick let-him-do what in
porticu Minucia fecit. Quae potest esse turpitudinis tantae
the-portico of-Minucius he-did what can to-be of-baseness so-great
defensio? Cupio audire, ut videam ubi rhetoris sit tanta
the-defense I-desire to-hear so-that I-may-see where of-the-rhetor be so-great
merces, ubi campus Leontinus appareat.
the-fee where the-plain Leontine may-appear
85 Sedebat in rostris conlega tuus amictus toga purpurea, in
was-sitting on the-rostra colleague your wrapped in-a-toga purple on
sella aurea, coronatus. Escendis, accedis ad sellam — ita
a-chair golden crowned you-climb-up you-approach to the-chair so
eras Lupercus ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes —
you-were a-Lupercus that you consul to-be to-remember you-ought
diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema?
a-diadem you-show a-groan in-the-whole forum whence the-diadem
Non enim abiectum sustuleras, sed attuleras domo
not for thrown-down you-had-picked-it-up but you-had-brought from-home
meditatum et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema imponebas cum
premeditated and planned crime you the-diadem were-placing with
plangore populi; ille cum plausu reiciebat. Tu ergo unus,
the-wailing of-the-people he with applause was-rejecting-it you therefore alone
scelerate, inventus es qui cum auctor regni esses, eumque
criminal found were who when the-author of-kingship you-were and-him

quem conlegam habebas dominum habere velles, idem
whom as-colleague you-had as-master to-have wished the-same-man
temptares quid populus Romanus ferre et pati posset.
should-test what the-people Roman to-bear and to-endure could
At etiam misericordiam captabas: supplex te ad 86
but even pity you-were-trying-to-catch a-suppliant yourself at
pedes abiciebas. Quid petens? Ut servires? Tibi uni
his-feet you-threw what seeking that you-might-be-a-slave for-yourself alone
peteres qui ita a puero vixeras ut omnia paterere, ut
you-should-seek who so from boyhood had-lived that all-things you-endured that
facile servires; a nobis populoque Romano mandatum
easily you-might-be-a-slave from us and-the-people Roman a-mandate
id certe non habebas. O praeclaram illam eloquentiam tuam,
that surely not you-had O splendid that eloquence your
cum es nudus contionatus! Quid hoc turpius, quid
when you-have naked harangued what than-this baser what
foedius, quid suppliciis omnibus dignius? Num exspectas
fouler what of-punishments all more-worthy surely-not you-wait
dum te stimulis fodiamus? Haec te, si ullam partem habes
until you with-goads we-dig these-words you if any part you-have
sensus, lacerat, haec cruentat oratio. Vereor ne imminuam
of-sense lacerates this bloodies speech I-fear lest I-may-diminish
summorum virorum gloriam; dicam tamen dolore commotus.
of-the-greatest men the-glory I-shall-say still by-grief moved
Quid indignius quam vivere eum qui imposuerit diadema, cum
what more-unworthy than to-live him who placed the-diadem when
omnes fateantur iure interfectum esse qui abiecerit?
all confess justly killed to-have-been him-who threw-it-down
At etiam ascribi iussit in fastis ad Lupercalia: 87
but even to-be-added he-ordered in the-calendar at the-Lupercalia
C. Caesari, dictatori perpetuo, M. Antonium consulem
to-Gaius Caesar dictator perpetual Mark Antony consul

populi iussu regnum detulisse; Caesarem uti noluisse.
of-the-people by-order kingship to-have-offered Caesar to-use to-have-refused
Iam iam minime miror te otium perturbare; non modo
now now least I-wonder that-you peace to-disturb not only
urbem odisse sed etiam lucem; cum perditissimis latronibus
the-city to-hate but even the-light with most-ruined robbers
non solum de die sed etiam in diem bibere. Ubi enim tu
not only from day but also into day to-drink where for you
in pace consistes? qui locus tibi in legibus et in iudiciis
in peace will-take-your-stand what place for-you in the-laws and in the-courts
esse potest, quae tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio
to-be can which you as-far-as in you it-was by-domination kingly
sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus, Sp. Cassius,
removed was-it-for-this Lucius Tarquinius driven-out Spurius Cassius
Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius necati ut multis post saeculis a
Spurius Maelius Marcus Manlius killed that many after ages by
M. Antonio, quod fas non est, rex Romae constitueretur?
Mark Antony which right not is a-king at-Rome should-be-established

XIV · THE IDES AND AFTER

On the Ides Antony fled home in terror. At the temple of Tellus, two days later, he made peace and gave his son as hostage; had he kept that mind he would have been a great man. Instead he inflamed the funeral and posted forged decrees on the Capitol, selling exemptions and citizenship.

88 Sed ad auspicia redeamus, de quibus Idibus Martiis fuit in
but to the-auspices let-us-return about which on-the-Ides of-March was in
senatu Caesar acturus. Quaero: tum tu quid egisses?
the-senate Caesar going-to-act I-ask then you what would-you-have-done
Audiebam equidem te paratum venisse, quod me de
I-heard indeed that-you prepared to-have-come because me about

ementitis auspiciis, quibus tamen parere necesse erat, putares
falsified auspices which still to-obey necessary it-was you-thought
esse dicturum. Sustulit illum diem fortuna rei publicae.
to-be going-to-speak took-away that day the-fortune of-the-thing public
Num etiam tuum de auspiciis iudicium interitus Caesaris
surely-not also your about the-auspices judgment the-death of-Caesar
sustulit? Sed incidi in id tempus quod eis rebus in quas
took-away but I-have-fallen upon that time which to-those things upon which
ingressa erat oratio praevertendum est. Quae tua fuga, quae
entered had the-speech to-be-put-first is what your flight what
formido praeclaro illo die, quae propter conscientiam scelerum
dread on-the-splendid that day what on-account-of the-consciousness of-crimes
desperatio vitae, cum ex illa fuga beneficio eorum qui te, si
despair of-life when from that flight by-the-kindness of-those who you if
sanus esses, salvum esse voluerunt, clam te domum recepisti!
sane you-were safe to-be wished secretly yourself home you-betook
O mea frustra semper verissima auguria rerum futurarum! 89
O my in-vain always most-true auguries of-things future
Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me
I-said to-those on the-Capitol liberators our when me
ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam rem publicam te
to you to-go they-wished that to defending the-thing public you
adhortarer, quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum; simul
I-might-exhort as-long-as you-feared all-things you going-to-promise as-soon
ac timere desisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque cum
as to-fear you-had-ceased like you going-to-be to-yourself and-so when
ceteri consulares irent, redirent, in sententia mansi: neque te
the-other ex-consuls went came-back in opinion I-remained nor you
illo die neque postero vidi neque ullam societatem optimis
on-that day nor the-next I-saw nor any alliance for-the-best
civibus cum importunissimo hoste foedere ullo confirmari
citizens with a-most-ruthless enemy by-treaty any to-be-confirmed

posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in aedem Telluris
to-be-able I-believed after the-day third I-came into the-temple of-Tellus
et quidem invitus, cum omnis aditus armati obsiderent.
and indeed unwilling when all approaches armed-men were-besieging
90 Qui tibi dies ille, Antoni, fuit? Quamquam mihi inimicus
what to-you day that Antony was although to-me an-enemy
subito exstitisti, tamen me tui miseret quod tibi
suddenly you-have-shown-yourself still me for-you it-pities because yourself
invideris. Qui tu vir, di immortales, et quantus
you-have-grudged what you a-man gods immortal and how-great
fuisses, si illius diei mentem servare potuisses! Pacem
you-would-have-been if of-that day the-mind to-keep you-could-have peace
haberemus, quae erat facta per obsidem puerum nobilem,
we-would-have which was made through a-hostage a-boy noble
M. Bambalionis nepotem. Quamquam bonum te timor
of-Marcus Bambalio the-grandson although good you fear
faciebat, non diuturnus magister offici, improbum fecit ea
made not lasting a-teacher of-duty wicked has-made that
quae, dum timor abest, a te non discedit, audacia. Etsi
which while fear is-absent from you not departs audacity although
tum, cum optimum te putabant me quidem dissentiente,
then when best you they-thought with-me indeed dissenting
funeri tyranni, si illud funus fuit, sceleratissime praefuisti.
at-the-funeral of-the-tyrant if that a-funeral was most-criminally you-presided
91 Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio; tu, tu,
your that beautiful eulogy your pity your exhortation you you
inquam, illas faces incendisti, et eas quibus semustilatus ille
I-say those torches lit both those by-which half-burnt he
est et eas quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagravit.
was and those by-which set-on-fire of-Lucius Bellienus the-house burned-down
Tu illos impetus perditorum hominum et ex maxima parte
you those attacks of-ruined men and for the-greatest part

servorum quos nos vi manuque reppulimus in nostras
of-slaves which we by-force and-hand drove-back onto our
domos immisisti. Idem tamen quasi fuligine abstersa
houses you-let-loose the-same-man still as-if with-the-soot wiped-off
reliquis diebus in Capitolio praeclara senatus consulta
on-the-remaining days on the-Capitol splendid of-the-senate decrees
fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias immunitatis tabula neve
you-made lest any after the-Ides of-March of-exemption tablet or
cuius benefici figeretur. Meministi ipse de exsulibus, scis
of-any favor should-be-posted you-remember yourself about the-exiles you-know
de immunitate quid dixeris. Optimum vero quod dictaturae
about exemption what you-said best indeed that of-the-dictatorship
nomen in perpetuum de re publica sustulisti: quo quidem
the-name in perpetuity from the-thing public you-removed by-which indeed
facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur ut eius
deed such you to-have-taken a-hatred of-kingship seemed that its
omnem propter proximum dictatorem metum tolleres.
all on-account-of the-last dictator the-fear you-would-remove
Constituta res publica videbatur aliis, mihi vero nullo
established the-thing public seemed to-others to-me indeed in-no
modo, qui omnia te gubernante naufragia metuebam.
way who all with-you steering shipwrecks feared
Num igitur me fefellit, aut num diutius sui potuit esse 92
surely-not therefore me he-deceived or surely-not longer to-himself could to-be
dissimilis? Inspectantibus vobis toto Capitolio tabulae
unlike with-looking-on you over-the-whole Capitol tablets
figebantur, neque solum singulis venibant immunitates
were-being-posted nor only to-individuals were-sold exemptions
sed etiam populis universis: civitas non iam singillatim,
but also to-peoples whole citizenship not now one-by-one
sed provinciis totis dabatur. Itaque si haec manent quae
but to-provinces whole was-given and-so if these-things remain which

stante re publica manere non possunt, provincias
with-standing the-thing public to-remain not can provinces
universas, patres conscripti, perdidistis, neque vectigalia solum
whole fathers enrolled you-have-lost nor revenues only
sed etiam imperium populi Romani huius domesticis
but also the-empire of-the-people Roman by-this-man's domestic
nundinis deminutum est.
markets diminished has-been

XV · THE FORGED DECREES

Where is the seven hundred million at the temple of Ops? How did Antony's forty million debt vanish before April? He sold a decree restoring Deiotarus, Caesar's enemy, though the king had already recovered his kingdom himself; a bond for ten million was signed in Fulvia's quarters. He sold freedom from tax to Crete, a province, and recalled exiles, while leaving his uncle among them.

93 Ubi est septiens miliens quod est in tabulis quae
where is the-seven-hundred times-a-million which is in the-accounts which
sunt ad Opis? Funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen
are at Ops' funereal that indeed money but still
quae nos, si eis quorum erat non redderetur, a tributis
which we if to-those whose it-was not it-were-returned from taxes
posset vindicare. Tu autem quadringentiens sestertium quod
could to-set-free you however forty-million sesterces which
Idibus Martiis debuisti quonam modo ante Kalendas Aprilis
on-the-Ides of-March you-owed in-what way before the-Kalends of-April
debere desisti? Sunt ea quidem innumerabilia quae
to-owe did-you-cease there-are those-things indeed countless which
a tuis emebantur non insciente te, sed unum egregium
from your-people were-bought not with-unaware you but one remarkable

de rege Deiotaro, populi Romani amicissimo, decretum
about king Deiotarus of-the-people Roman most-friendly a-decree
in Capitolio fixum: quo proposito nemo erat qui in
on the-Capitol posted with-which displayed no-one there-was who in
ipso dolore risum posset continere.
the-very grief laughter could to-restrain
Quis enim cuiquam inimicior quam Deiotaro Caesar? Aeque 94
who for to-anyone more-hostile than to-Deiotarus Caesar equally
atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensibus, ut
as to-this order as to-the-equestrian as to-the-Massilians as
omnibus quibus rem publicam populi Romani caram
to-all to-whom the-thing public of-the-people Roman dear
esse sentiebat. Igitur a quo vivo nec praesens nec
to-be he-perceived therefore from whom alive neither present nor
absens rex Deiotarus quicquam aequi boni impetravit,
absent king Deiotarus anything fair the-good obtained
apud mortuum factus est gratiosus. Compellarat hospitem
with the-dead become he-has in-favor he-had-rebuked his-host
praesens, computarat pecuniam, in eius tetrarchia unum ex
present he-had-reckoned money in his tetrarchy one of
Graecis comitibus suis conlocarat, Armeniam abstulerat
Greek companions his he-had-placed Armenia he-had-taken-away
a senatu datam. Haec vivus eripuit, reddit mortuus.
by the-senate given these-things alive he-snatched-away returns dead
At quibus verbis? Modo aequum sibi videri, modo non 95
but with-what words now fair to-himself to-seem now not
iniquum. Mira verborum complexio! At ille numquam —
unfair wonderful of-words a-combination but he never
semper enim absenti adfui Deiotaro — quicquam sibi
always for absent I-supported Deiotarus anything to-himself
quod nos pro illo postularemus aequum dixit videri.
which we for him might-request fair said to-seem

Syngrapha sesterti centiens per legatos, viros bonos,
a-bond of-sesterces ten-million through envoys men good
sed timidos et imperitos, sine nostra, sine reliquorum
but timid and inexperienced without our without of-the-other
hospitum regis sententia facta in gynaecio est, quo in
guest-friends of-the-king opinion made in the-women's-quarters was which in
loco plurimae res venierunt et veneunt. Qua ex syngrapha
place very-many things have-been-sold and are-sold which from bond
quid sis acturus meditere censeo: rex enim ipse
what you-are going-to-do you-should-ponder I-advise the-king for himself
sua sponte, nullis commentariis Caesaris, simul atque
of-his-own accord with-no notebooks of-Caesar as-soon as
audivit eius interitum, suo Marte res suas recuperavit.
he-heard his death by-his-own Mars things his-own recovered
96 Sciebat homo sapiens ius semper hoc fuisse ut, quae tyranni
knew the-man wise right always this to-have-been that what tyrants
eripuissent, ea tyrannis interfectis ei quibus erepta
had-snatched-away those-things with-tyrants killed those from-whom snatched-away
essent recuperarent. Nemo igitur iure consultus, ne iste
they-had-been should-recover no-one therefore in-law learned not he
quidem, qui tibi uni est iure consultus, per quem haec
even who for-you alone is in-law learned through whom these-things
agis, ex ista syngrapha deberi dicet pro eis rebus quae erant
you-do from that bond to-be-owed will-say for those things which were
ante syngrapham recuperatae. Non enim a te emit, sed prius
before the-bond recovered not for from you he-bought but before
quam tu suum sibi venderes ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit; nos
than you his-own to-him might-sell he-himself possessed he a-man was we
quidem contemnendi qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.
indeed contemptible who the-author hate the-acts defend

Quid ego de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus 97
what I about the-notebooks endless what about the-countless
chirographis loquar? Quorum etiam institores sunt qui
autographs shall-say of-which even shopkeepers there-are who
ea tamquam gladiatorum libellos palam venditent. Itaque
them as-if of-gladiators the-programs openly hawk and-so
tanti acervi nummorum apud istum construuntur ut iam
so-great heaps of-coins at his-house are-built-up that now
expendantur, non numerentur pecuniae. At quam caeca avaritia
are-weighed not counted the-moneys but how blind avarice
est! Nuper fixa tabula est qua civitates locupletissimae
is lately posted a-tablet was by-which the-states most-rich
Cretensium vectigalibus liberantur, statuiturque ne post
of-the-Cretans from-taxes are-freed and-it-is-decided that-not after
M. Brutum pro consule sit Creta provincia. Tu mentis
Marcus Brutus as proconsul should-be Crete a-province you of-mind
compos, tu non constringendus? An Caesaris decreto Creta post
in-possession you not to-be-bound-up or by-Caesar's decree Crete after
M. Bruti decessum potuit liberari, cum Creta nihil ad Brutum
Marcus Brutus' departure could to-be-freed when Crete nothing to Brutus
Caesare vivo pertineret? At huius venditione decreti — ne
with-Caesar alive pertained but of-this by-the-sale decree lest
nihil actum putetis — provinciam Cretam perdidistis. Omnino
nothing done you-may-think the-province Crete you-have-lost at-all
nemo ullius rei fuit emptor cui defuerit hic venditor.
no-one of-any thing was a-buyer for-whom was-lacking this seller
Et de exsulibus legem quam fixisti Caesar tulit? Nullius 98
and about the-exiles the-law which you-posted Caesar proposed of-no-one
insector calamitatem: tantum queror, primum eorum reditus
I-attack the-calamity only I-complain first of-them the-returns
inquinatos quorum causam Caesar dissimilem iudicarit; deinde
defiled whose case Caesar unlike had-judged then

nescio cur non reliquis idem tribuas: neque enim plus quam
I-know-not why not to-the-rest the-same you-grant nor for more than
tres aut quattuor reliqui sunt. Qui simili in calamitate sunt,
three or four remaining are who like in calamity are
cur tua misericordia non simili fruuntur, cur eos habes in
why your pity not like do-they-enjoy why them do-you-hold in
loco patrui? de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres,
the-place of-your-uncle about whom to-propose when about the-rest you-proposed
noluisti: quem etiam ad censuram petendam impulisti,
you-did-not-wish whom even to the-censorship seeking you-pushed
eamque petitionem comparasti quae et risus hominum
and-that canvass you-arranged which both the-laughter of-men
et querelas moveret. Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti?
and complaints would-stir why however those elections not did-you-hold

XVI · ANTONY'S FAMILY

Antony let his uncle's censorial election lapse, dropped him from the board of seven, insulted him, and divorced his cousin, the uncle's daughter, publicly charging her with adultery with Dolabella. His inquiry into Caesar's acts, promised for June, was a veterans' camp. He settled a new colony at Casilinum against the auspices and gave the Campanian and Leontine lands, the people's richest, to his drinking companions, his doctor, and his rhetor.

99 An quia tribunus plebis sinistrum fulmen nuntiabat? Cum
or because a-tribune of-the-plebs on-the-left lightning announced when
tua quid interest, nulla auspicia sunt; cum tuorum, tum
your what concerns no auspices there-are when your-people's then
fis religiosus. Quid? Eundem in vii viratu nonne
you-become scrupulous what the-same in the-seven board-of-men did-you-not
destituisti? intervenit enim cui metuisti, credo, ne salvo
abandon he-intervened for of-whom you-feared I-believe lest with-safe

capite negare non posses. Omnibus eum contumeliis onerasti
status to-refuse not you-could with-all him insults you-loaded
quem patris loco, si ulla in te pietas esset, colere debebas.
whom in-a-father's place if any in you piety there-were to-cherish you-ought
Filiam eius, sororem tuam, eiecisti, alia condicione
the-daughter his the-cousin your you-threw-out with-another match
quaesita et ante perspecta. Non est satis: probri insimulasti
sought and before looked-over not it-is enough of-disgrace you-accused
pudicissimam feminam. Quid est quod addi possit?
a-most-chaste woman what is-there which to-be-added could
Contentus eo non fuisti: frequentissimo senatu Kalendis
content with-that not you-were in-the-fullest senate on-the-Kalends
Ianuariis sedente patruo hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam
of-January with-sitting your-uncle this for-you to-be with Dolabella the-cause
odi dicere ausus es quod ab eo sorori et uxori
of-hatred to-say dared you-have that by him on-the-cousin and wife
tuae stuprum esse oblatum comperisses. Quis interpretari
your a-debauch to-have-been offered you-had-discovered who to-interpret
potest, impudentiorne qui in senatu, an improbior qui in
can whether-more-shameless who in the-senate or more-wicked who against
Dolabellam, an impurior qui patre audiente, an crudelior
Dolabella or more-impure who with-his-father hearing or more-cruel
qui in illam miseram tam spurce, tam impie dixeris.
who against that wretched-woman so foully so impiously you-spoke
Sed ad chirographa redeamus. Quae tua fuit cognitio? Acta 100
but to the-autographs let-us-return what your was the-inquiry the-acts
enim Caesaris pacis causa confirmata sunt a senatu: quae
for of-Caesar for-peace's sake confirmed were by the-senate which
quidem Caesar egisset, non ea quae egisse Caesarem dixisset
indeed Caesar had-done not those which to-have-done Caesar had-said
Antonius. Unde ista erumpunt, quo auctore proferuntur?
Antony whence those burst-forth by-what author are-they-produced

Si sunt falsa, cur probantur? Si vera, cur veneunt? At sic
if they-are false why are-they-approved if true why are-they-sold but thus
placuerat ut ex Kalendis Iuniis de Caesaris actis cum
it-had-been-resolved that from the-Kalends of-June about of-Caesar the-acts with
consilio cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium, quem umquam
a-council you-should-inquire what was the-council whom ever
convocasti, quas Kalendas Iunias exspectasti? An eas ad quas
did-you-convene what Kalends of-June did-you-await or those to which
te peragratis veteranorum coloniis stipatum armis rettulisti?
you with-toured of-the-veterans the-colonies thronged with-arms brought-back
O praeclaram illam percursationem tuam mense Aprili
O splendid that touring-about your in-the-month April
atque Maio, tum cum etiam Capuam coloniam deducere
and May then when even to-Capua a-colony to-lead
conatus es! Quem ad modum illinc abieris vel
tried you-have how to manner from-there you-went-away or
potius paene non abieris scimus.
rather almost not went-away we-know

101 Cui tu urbi minitaris. Utinam conere, ut aliquando illud
which you city you-threaten would-that you-may-try so-that at-last that
'paene' tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio!
almost be-removed but how famous is your that travel
Quid prandiorum apparatus, quid furiosam vinolentiam tuam
why of-luncheons the-preparation why the-mad drunkenness your
proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt, illa nostra: agrum
shall-I-bring-forward your those losses are these ours the-land
Campanum, qui cum de vectigalibus eximebatur ut militibus
Campanian which when from the-revenues it-was-exempted that to-the-soldiers
daretur, tamen infligi magnum rei publicae volnus
it-might-be-given still to-be-inflicted a-great on-the-thing public wound
putabamus, hunc tu compransoribus tuis et conlusoribus
we-thought this you to-fellow-lunchers your and gambling-partners

dividebas. Mimos dico et mimas, patres conscripti, in
were-dividing actors I-mean and actresses fathers enrolled on
agro Campano conlocatos. Quid iam querar de agro
the-land Campanian settled why now shall-I-complain about the-land
Leontino? quoniam quidem hae quondam arationes Campana
Leontine since indeed these once plowlands Campanian
et Leontina in populi Romani patrimonio grandiferae et
and Leontine in of-the-people Roman the-patrimony rich-yielding and
fructuosae ferebantur. Medico tria milia iugerum: quid, si te
fruitful were-reckoned to-the-doctor three thousand iugera what if you
sanasset? rhetori duo: quid, si te disertum facere potuisset.
he-had-cured to-the-rhetor two what if you eloquent to-make he-could-have
Sed ad iter Italiamque redeamus. Deduxisti coloniam 102
but to the-journey and-Italy let-us-return you-led a-colony
Casilinum, quo Caesar ante deduxerat. Consuluisti me per
to-Casilinum where Caesar before had-led-one you-consulted me by
litteras de Capua tu quidem, sed idem de Casilino
letter about Capua you indeed but the-same about Casilinum
respondissem: possesne ubi colonia esset, eo coloniam
I-would-have-answered whether-you-could where a-colony was there a-colony
novam iure deducere. Negavi in eam coloniam quae esset
new by-right to-lead I-said-no into that colony which was
auspicato deducta, dum esset incolumis, coloniam novam
with-auspices led while it-was unimpaired a-colony new
iure deduci: colonos novos ascribi posse rescripsi. Tu
by-right to-be-led colonists new to-be-enrolled to-be-able I-wrote-back you
autem insolentia elatus omni auspiciorum iure turbato
however by-insolence elated with-all of-the-auspices the-law confounded
Casilinum coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis annis ante
to-Casilinum a-colony led where it-had-been a-few years before
deducta, ut vexillum tolleres, ut aratrum circumduceres;
led so-that the-standard you-might-raise that the-plow you-might-draw-round

cuius quidem vomere portam Capuae paene perstrinxisti,
whose indeed with-the-share the-gate of-Capua almost you-grazed
ut florentis coloniae territorium minueretur.
so-that of-the-flourishing colony the-territory might-be-diminished

XVII · VARRO'S VILLA

Antony seized Varro's estate at Casinum, never sold, and reveled there from the third hour, vomiting where Varro had studied law and history. Passing Aquinum he was carried shut in his litter like a corpse, greeting no one at Anagnia. He threatened the Sidicini and Puteoli for adopting the Bruti and Cassius as patrons; meanwhile his colleague Dolabella overturned Caesar's altar in the forum, and Antony collapsed at the news.

103 Ab hac perturbatione religionum advolas in M. Varronis,
from this confounding of-religious-rules you-fly to of-Marcus Varro
sanctissimi atque integerrimi viri, fundum Casinatem. Quo
most-upright and most-blameless man the-estate at-Casinum by-what
iure, quo ore? 'Eodem,' inquies 'quo in heredum
right with-what face by-the-same you-will-say by-which onto of-the-heirs
L. Rubri, quo in heredum L. Turseli praedia,
of-Lucius Rubrius by-which onto of-the-heirs of-Lucius Turselius the-estates
quo in reliquas innumerabilis possessiones.' Et si ab
by-which onto the-remaining countless possessions and if from
hasta, valeat hasta, valeant tabulae, modo Caesaris, non
the-spear let-hold the-spear let-hold the-accounts only of-Caesar not
tuae, quibus debuisti, non quibus tu te liberavisti.
yours by-which you-owed not by-which you yourself freed
Varronis quidem Casinatem fundum quis venisse dicit,
of-Varro indeed the-Casinum estate who to-have-been-sold says
quis hastam istius venditionis vidit, quis vocem praeconis
who the-spear of-that sale saw who the-voice of-the-auctioneer

audivit? Misisse te dicis Alexandream qui emeret
heard to-have-sent yourself you-say to-Alexandria someone-who should-buy
a Caesare; ipsum enim exspectare magnum fuit.
from Caesar him for to-wait-for great it-was
Quis vero audivit umquam — nullius autem salus 104
who indeed heard ever of-no-one's however safety
curae pluribus fuit — de fortunis Varronis rem ullam
a-concern to-more was about the-fortunes of-Varro thing any
esse detractam? Quid? Si etiam scripsit ad te Caesar
to-have-been taken-away what if even wrote to you Caesar
ut redderes, quid satis potest dici de tanta
that you-should-return-it what enough can to-be-said about so-great
impudentia? Remove gladios parumper illos quos videmus:
shamelessness remove the-swords for-a-little those which we-see
iam intelleges aliam causam esse hastae Caesaris, aliam
now you-will-understand one the-case to-be of-the-spear of-Caesar another
confidentiae et temeritatis tuae. Non enim te dominus
of-the-confidence and rashness your not for you the-master
modo illis sedibus sed quivis amicus, vicinus, hospes,
only from-those seats but any friend neighbor guest
procurator arcebit. At quam multos dies in ea villa
steward will-keep-off but how many days in that villa
turpissime es perbacchatus! Ab hora tertia bibebatur,
most-shamefully you-have reveled-through from the-hour third there-was-drinking
ludebatur, vomebatur. O tecta ipsa misera, 'quam dispari
gambling vomiting O roofs themselves wretched how unlike
domino' — quamquam quo modo iste dominus — sed
by-a-master although in-what way he a-master but
tamen quam ab dispari tenebantur! Studiorum enim
still how by unlike-masters they-were-held of-studies for
suorum M. Varro voluit illud, non libidinum deversorium.
his-own Marcus Varro wished that not of-lusts a-lodging-house

105 Quae in illa villa antea dicebantur, quae cogitabantur, quae
what in that villa before was-said what was-thought what
litteris mandabantur! Iura populi Romani, monumenta
to-writing was-committed the-laws of-the-people Roman the-monuments
maiorum, omnis sapientiae ratio omnisque doctrinae. At
of-the-ancestors of-all wisdom the-theory and-of-all learning but
vero te inquilino — non enim domino — personabant
indeed with-you as-lodger not for as-master resounded
omnia vocibus ebriorum, natabant pavimenta vino,
all-things with-the-voices of-drunkards swam the-pavements with-wine
madebant parietes, ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter
were-wet the-walls freeborn boys with hirelings harlots among
matres familias versabantur. Casino salutatum veniebant,
mothers of-families moved-about from-Casinum to-greet-him they-came
Aquino, Interamna: admissus est nemo. Iure id quidem;
from-Aquinum from-Interamna admitted was no-one justly that indeed
in homine enim turpissimo obsolefiebant dignitatis insignia.
in a-man for most-shameful were-becoming-worn of-dignity the-insignia
106 Cum inde Romam proficiscens ad Aquinum accederet,
when thence to-Rome setting-out to Aquinum he-was-approaching
obviam ei processit, ut est frequens municipium, magna
to-meet him came-out as it-is a-populous town a-great
sane multitudo. At iste operta lectica latus per oppidum
truly multitude but he in-a-covered litter carried through the-town
est ut mortuus. Stulte Aquinates: sed tamen in via
was like a-dead-man foolishly men-of-Aquinum but still on the-road
habitabant. Quid Anagnini? Qui, cum essent devii,
they-lived what the-men-of-Anagnia who though they-were off-the-road
descenderunt ut istum, tamquam si esset consul, salutarent.
came-down that him as if he-were consul they-might-greet
Incredibile dictu, sed inter omnis constabat neminem esse
incredible to-say but among all it-was-agreed no-one to-have-been

resalutatum, praesertim cum duos secum Anagninos haberet,
greeted-back especially when two with-him men-of-Anagnia he-had
Mustelam et Laconem, quorum alter gladiorum est princeps,
Mustela and Laco of-whom the-one of-swords is the-chief
alter poculorum.
the-other of-cups
Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque commemorem 107
why I those his threats and-insults should-recall
quibus invectus est in Sidicinos, vexavit Puteolanos,
with-which inveighed he-has against the-Sidicini harassed the-Puteolani
quod C. Cassium et Brutos patronos adoptassent? Magno
because Gaius Cassius and the-Bruti as-patrons they-had-adopted with-great
quidem studio, iudicio, benevolentia, caritate, non, ut te
indeed zeal judgment goodwill affection not as you
et Basilum, vi et armis, et alios vestri similis quos
and Basilus by-force and arms and others of-you like whom
clientis nemo habere velit, non modo illorum cliens esse.
as-clients no-one to-have would-wish not only their client to-be
Interea dum tu abes, qui dies ille conlegae tui fuit, cum
meanwhile while you are-away what day that for-colleague your was when
illud quod venerari solebas bustum in foro evertit?
that which to-venerate you-used the-tomb in the-forum he-overturned
Qua re tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter eos qui una
with-which thing to-you announced as it-was-agreed among those who together
fuerunt concidisti. Quid evenerit postea nescio — metum
were you-collapsed what happened afterward I-know-not fear
credo valuisse et arma — conlegam quidem de caelo
I-believe to-have-prevailed and arms the-colleague indeed from the-sky
detraxisti effecistique non tu quidem etiam nunc ut
you-dragged-down and-you-brought-about not you indeed even now that
similis tui, sed certe ut dissimilis esset sui.
like to-you but surely that unlike he-should-be to-himself

His return to Rome brought armed bands with shields carried in litters. He annulled Caesar's laws and his will, carrying off the statues bequeathed to the people. Caesar's flamen, he has not been inaugurated, and he let a day of Caesar's games pass unmarked. Cicero challenges Antony to answer this speech, if he can find a word in it to rebut.

108 Qui vero inde reditus Romam, quae perturbatio totius
what indeed thence a-return to-Rome what confusion of-the-whole
urbis! Memineramus Cinnam nimis potentem, Sullam postea
city we-remembered Cinna too powerful Sulla afterward
dominantem, modo Caesarem regnantem videramus. Erant
domineering just-now Caesar reigning we-had-seen there-were
fortasse gladii, sed absconditi nec ita multi. Ista vero quae et
perhaps swords but hidden nor so many this indeed what and
quanta barbaria est! Agmine quadrato cum gladiis sequuntur;
how-great barbarism is in-column square with swords follow
scutorum lecticas portari videmus. Atque his quidem
of-shields litters to-be-carried we-see and with-these indeed
iam inveteratis, patres conscripti, consuetudine obduruimus.
now grown-old fathers enrolled by-habit we-have-hardened
Kalendis Iuniis cum in senatum, ut erat constitutum,
on-the-Kalends of-June when into the-senate as it-was arranged
venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus.
to-come we-wished by-fear terrified suddenly we-scattered
109 At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quemquam
but he who the-senate not needed nor missed anyone
et potius discessu nostro laetatus est statimque illa mirabilia
and rather at-departure our rejoiced has and-at-once those wonderful
facinora effecit. Qui chirographa Caesaris defendisset lucri
crimes accomplished he-who the-autographs of-Caesar had-defended of-gain

sui causa, is leges Caesaris easque praeclaras, ut rem
his-own for-the-sake he the-laws of-Caesar and-those splendid that the-thing
publicam concutere posset, evertit. Numerum annorum
public to-shake he-could overturned the-number of-years
provinciis prorogavit; idemque, cum actorum Caesaris
for-the-provinces he-extended and-the-same-man when of-the-acts of-Caesar
defensor esse deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus
defender to-be he-ought both in public and in private things
acta Caesaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius;
the-acts of-Caesar he-annulled in public nothing is than-law weightier
in privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine
in private most-firm is the-will laws some without
promulgatione sustulit, alias ut tolleret promulgavit.
promulgation he-removed others that he-might-remove he-promulgated
Testamentum inritum fecit, quod etiam infimis civibus
the-will void he-made which even to-the-lowest citizens
semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Caesar
always upheld has-been the-statues the-pictures which to-the-people Caesar
una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos
together with the-gardens bequeathed those he partly into the-gardens
Pompei deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.
of-Pompey carried-off partly into the-villa of-Scipio
Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens, tu illum amas 110
and you in of-Caesar the-memory diligent you him love
mortuum? Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat quam
dead what he honor greater attained had than
ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem?
that he-should-have a-couch an-image a-pediment a-flamen
Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic
there-is therefore a-flamen as for-Jupiter as for-Mars as for-Quirinus so
divo Iulio M. Antonius? Quid igitur cessas? Cur non
for-the-divine Julius Mark Antony why therefore do-you-delay why not

inauguraris? Sume diem, vide qui te inauguret: conlegae
are-you-inaugurated take a-day see who you may-inaugurate colleagues
sumus; nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive quod
we-are no-one will-deny O detestable man whether because
tyranni sacerdos es sive quod mortui! Quaero deinceps
of-a-tyrant the-priest you-are or because of-a-dead-man I-ask next
num hodiernus dies qui sit ignores? Nescis heri
whether today's day what it-is you-know-not do-you-not-know yesterday
quartum in circo diem ludorum Romanorum fuisse? te
the-fourth in the-circus day of-the-games Roman to-have-been you
autem ipsum ad populum tulisse ut quintus praeterea dies
however yourself to the-people to-have-proposed that a-fifth besides day
Caesari tribueretur? Cur non sumus praetextati? Cur honorem
to-Caesar should-be-assigned why not are-we in-bordered-togas why the-honor
Caesaris tua lege datum deseri patimur? an supplicationes
of-Caesar by-your law given to-be-deserted do-we-allow or the-thanksgivings
addendo diem contaminari passus es, pulvinaria noluisti?
by-adding a-day to-be-polluted allowed have-you the-couches you-would-not
Aut undique religionem tolle aut usque quaque conserva.
either everywhere religion remove or right-through everywhere preserve
111 Quaeris placeatne mihi pulvinar esse, fastigium, flaminem.
you-ask whether-it-pleases me a-couch to-be a-pediment a-flamen
Mihi vero nihil istorum placet: sed tu qui acta Caesaris
to-me indeed nothing of-those pleases but you who the-acts of-Caesar
defendis quid potes dicere cur alia defendas, alia non
defend what can-you to-say why some you-defend others not
cures? Nisi forte vis fateri te omnia quaestu tuo,
you-care-for unless perhaps you-wish to-confess that-you all-things by-gain your
non illius dignitate metiri. Quid ad haec tandem? exspecto
not by-his dignity to-measure what to these at-last I-await
enim eloquentiam. Disertissimum cognovi avum tuum,
for eloquence most-eloquent I-knew grandfather your

at te etiam apertiorem in dicendo. Ille numquam nudus
but you even more-open in speaking he never naked
est contionatus: tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus.
did harangue your of-a-man straightforward chest we-have-seen
Respondebisne ad haec, aut omnino hiscere audebis?
will-you-answer to these or at-all to-open-your-mouth will-you-dare
Ecquid reperies ex tam longa oratione mea cui te
anything will-you-find out-of so long speech my to-which you
respondere posse confidas? Sed praeterita omittamus.
to-answer to-be-able may-trust but past-things let-us-omit

XIX · LIBERTY OR SLAVERY

Why is the senate ringed with armed men and Ituraean archers? Antony would be better guarded by the citizens' love. The Roman people will wrest his power from him; its leaders, wherever they are, are the state's defense, and the young nobles stand ready. Peace is sweet, but between peace and slavery the difference is great. The liberators left an example, and the glory of that deed will draw imitators, which Antony in his greed cannot see.

Hunc unum diem, unum, inquam, hodiernum diem, hoc 112
this one day one I-say today's day this
punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si potes. Cur
point of-time in-which I-speak defend if you-can why
armatorum corona senatus saeptus est, cur me tui satellites
of-armed-men by-a-ring the-senate fenced-in is why me your attendants
cum gladiis audiunt, cur valvae Concordiae non patent, cur
with swords hear why the-doors of-Concord not stand-open why
homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros, Ituraeos, cum
men of-all nations most barbarous Ituraeans with
sagittis deducis in forum? Praesidi sui causa se
arrows do-you-lead into the-forum of-protection his-own for-the-sake himself

facere dicit. Non igitur miliens perire est melius quam in
to-do-it he-says not therefore a-thousand-times to-perish is better than in
sua civitate sine armatorum praesidio non posse vivere?
one's-own state without of-armed-men protection not to-be-able to-live
Sed nullum est istuc, mihi crede, praesidium: caritate te
but no is that to-me believe protection by-the-love you
et benevolentia civium saeptum oportet esse, non armis.
and goodwill of-the-citizens fenced it-is-proper to-be not by-arms
113 Eripiet et extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus,
will-snatch and will-wrest from-you those-things the-people Roman
utinam salvis nobis! Sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris,
would-that with-safe us but in-whatever way with-us you-deal
dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse
while those counsels you-use not you-can to-me believe to-be
diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara coniunx quam
long-lasting for-indeed that your least greedy wife whom
ego sine contumelia describo nimium diu debet populo
I without insult describe too long owes to-the-people
Romano tertiam pensionem. Habet populus Romanus ad quos
Roman the-third installment has the-people Roman to whom
gubernacula rei publicae deferat: qui ubicumque
the-helm of-the-thing public it-may-hand-over who wherever
terrarum sunt, ibi omne est rei publicae praesidium vel
of-the-lands they-are there all is of-the-thing public the-defense or
potius ipsa res publica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ulta
rather the-very thing public which itself so-far so-much only avenged
est, nondum recuperavit. Habet quidem certe res publica
has not-yet recovered has indeed surely the-thing public
adulescentis nobilissimos paratos defensores. Quam volent
young-men most-noble ready defenders as-much-as will-wish
illi cedant otio consulentes; tamen a re publica
they let-them-yield to-peace taking-thought still by the-thing public

revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res
they-will-be-recalled both the-name of-peace sweet is and the-very thing
salutaris; sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest.
salutary but between peace and slavery very-much there-is-difference
Pax est tranquilla libertas, servitus postremum malorum
peace is tranquil liberty slavery the-last of-evils
omnium, non modo bello sed morte etiam repellendum.
all not only by-war but by-death even to-be-repelled
Quod si se ipsos illi nostri liberatores e conspectu 114
but if themselves them those our liberators from sight
nostro abstulerunt, at exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi
our have-removed yet the-example of-the-deed they-have-left they
quod nemo fecerat fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est
what no-one had-done did Tarquinius Brutus with-war did
persecutus, qui tum rex fuit cum esse Romae licebat;
pursue who then king was when to-be at-Rome it-was-allowed
Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius propter
Spurius Cassius Spurius Maelius Marcus Manlius on-account-of
suspicionem regni appetendi sunt necati: hi primum cum
suspicion of-kingship of-seeking were killed these first with
gladiis non in regnum appetentem, sed in regnantem
swords not against kingship one-seeking but against one-reigning
impetum fecerunt. Quod cum ipsum factum per se
attack made which when the-very deed through itself
praeclarum est atque divinum, tum expositum ad imitandum
splendid is and divine then set-forth for imitating
est, praesertim cum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint quae
it-is especially since they that glory attained have which
vix caelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in
scarcely by-heaven to-be-contained to-be-able may-seem although for enough in

ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat, tamen
the-very consciousness of-the-most-beautiful deed of-reward there-was still
mortali immortalitatem non arbitror contemnendam.
for-a-mortal immortality not I-think to-be-despised
115 Recordare igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem quo dictaturam
recall therefore that Mark Antony day on-which the-dictatorship
sustulisti; pone ante oculos laetitiam senatus populique
you-removed set before your-eyes the-joy of-the-senate and-of-the-people
Romani; confer cum hac nundinatione tua tuorumque: tum
Roman compare-it with this trafficking of-yours and-your-people's then
intelleges quantum inter laudem et lucrum intersit.
you-will-understand how-much between praise and gain difference-there-is
Sed nimirum, ut quidam morbo aliquo et sensus stupore
but no-doubt as some by-disease some and of-sense by-dullness
suavitatem cibi non sentiunt, sic libidinosi, avari, facinerosi
the-sweetness of-food not perceive so the-lustful the-greedy the-criminal
verae laudis gustatum non habent. Sed si te laus adlicere ad
of-true praise the-taste not have but if you praise to-entice to
recte faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem a foedissimis
rightly doing not can not fear even from most-foul
factis potest avocare? Iudicia non metuis: si propter
deeds can to-call-away the-courts not you-fear if on-account-of
innocentiam, laudo; sin propter vim, non intellegis, qui
innocence I-praise-you but-if on-account-of force not you-understand who
isto modo iudicia non timeat, ei quid timendum sit?
in-that way the-courts not may-fear to-him what to-be-feared is

Caesar had genius, learning, and achievements, and still he was killed; Antony has only his lust for power, and the people now know whom to trust. Let Antony look to his ancestors and make peace with the state. Cicero defended it young and will not desert it old; he scorned Catiline's swords and will not fear Antony's. He would gladly give his life if his death could free Rome, wishing only to leave the people free and each man repaid as he deserves.

Quod si non metuis viros fortis egregiosque civis, quod a 116
but if not you-fear men brave and-outstanding citizens because from
corpore tuo prohibentur armis, tui te, mihi crede,
body your they-are-kept by-arms your-own-people you to-me believe
diutius non ferent. Quae est autem vita dies et noctes timere
longer not will-bear what is however a-life days and nights to-fear
a suis? Nisi vero aut maioribus habes beneficiis obligatos
from one's-own unless indeed either by-greater you-have benefits bound-men
quam ille quosdam habuit ex eis a quibus est interfectus,
than he certain-ones had of those by whom he-was killed
aut tu es ulla re cum eo comparandus. Fuit in illo
or you are in-any thing with him to-be-compared there-was in him
ingenium, ratio, memoria, litterae, cura, cogitatio, diligentia;
talent reason memory letters care thought diligence
res bello gesserat, quamvis rei publicae calamitosas,
things in-war he-had-done although for-the-thing public calamitous
at tamen magnas; multos annos regnare meditatus, magno
but still great many years to-reign having-planned with-great
labore, magnis periculis quod cogitarat effecerat;
toil with-great dangers what he-had-planned he-had-accomplished
muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, epulis multitudinem
with-shows with-monuments with-largesses with-feasts the-multitude
imperitam delenierat; suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae
ignorant he-had-soothed his-own with-rewards his-adversaries of-clemency

specie devinxerat. Quid multa? Attulerat iam liberae
by-the-show he-had-bound what many-words he-had-brought now to-a-free
civitati partim metu partim patientia consuetudinem serviendi.
state partly by-fear partly by-endurance the-habit of-serving
117 Cum illo ego te dominandi cupiditate conferre possum,
with him I you of-domineering by-the-desire to-compare can
ceteris vero rebus nullo modo comparandus es. Sed ex
in-the-other indeed things in-no way to-be-compared you-are but out-of
plurimis malis quae ab illo rei publicae sunt inusta
the-very-many evils which by him on-the-thing public have-been branded
hoc tamen boni est quod didicit iam populus Romanus
this still of-good is that has-learned now the-people Roman
quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a
how-much to-each-man it-should-trust to-whom itself it-should-commit from
quibus caveret. Haec non cogitas, neque intellegis satis
whom it-should-beware these-things not you-think nor understand enough
esse viris fortibus didicisse quam sit re pulchrum,
to-be for-men brave to-have-learned how it-is in-fact beautiful
beneficio gratum, fama gloriosum tyrannum occidere? An,
in-benefit welcome in-fame glorious a-tyrant to-kill or
cum illum homines non tulerint, te ferent?
when him men not bore you will-they-bear
118 Certatim posthac, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur neque
in-rivalry hereafter to-me believe to this work it-will-be-run nor
occasionis tarditas exspectabitur.
of-opportunity the-delay will-be-awaited
Respice, quaeso, aliquando rem publicam, M. Antoni,
look-back-at I-beg at-last the-thing public Mark Antony
quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas considera: mecum, ut
from-whom sprung you-be not with-whom you-live consider with-me as
voles: redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu
you-will return with the-thing public into favor but about yourself you

videris; ego de me ipse profitebor. Defendi rem publicam
will-see I about myself myself will-declare I-defended the-thing public
adulescens, non deseram senex: contempsi Catilinae gladios,
a-young-man not I-shall-desert-it an-old-man I-despised of-Catiline the-swords
non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter obtulerim, si
not I-shall-dread yours indeed even my-body gladly I-would-offer if
repraesentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest, ut aliquando
to-be-made-present by-death my the-liberty of-the-state can so-that at-last
dolor populi Romani pariat quod iam diu parturit!
the-pain of-the-people Roman may-bring-forth what now long it-is-in-labor-with
Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo negavi 119
for-indeed if ago years almost twenty this very in temple I-denied
posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius
to-be-able death untimely to-be for-an-ex-consul how-much more-truly
nunc negabo seni? Mihi vero, patres conscripti, iam
now shall-I-deny-it for-an-old-man to-me indeed fathers enrolled now
etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus eis quas adeptus
even to-be-wished-for death is having-discharged the-things those which attained
sum quasque gessi. Duo modo haec opto, unum ut moriens
I-have and-which I-did two only these-things I-wish one that dying
populum Romanum liberum relinquam — hoc mihi maius ab
the-people Roman free I-may-leave this to-me greater by
dis immortalibus dari nihil potest — alterum ut ita
the-gods immortal to-be-given nothing can the-other that so
cuique eveniat ut de re publica quisque mereatur.
to-each-man it-may-turn-out as about the-thing public each may-deserve